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THE
HISTORY
OF
ANCIENT EUROPE.

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THE
HISTORY
OF *Longman's*
ANCIENT EUROPE,
FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES
TO THE
SUBVERSION OF
THE WESTERN EMPIRE;
WITH A SURVEY OF
THE MOST IMPORTANT REVOLUTIONS
IN
ASIA AND AFRICA;

IN A SERIES OF
LETTERS FROM A GENTLEMAN TO HIS SON:
INTENDED AS AN ACCOMPANIMENT TO
DR. RUSSELL'S HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE.

—◆—
IN THREE VOLUMES.
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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF

CONTENTS.

PART II.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF PHILIP OF MACEDON
TO THE ACQUISITION OF THE SUPREME POWER AT ROME BY
AUGUSTUS.

LETTER I.

*History of GREECE, to the Close of the SACRED WAR, included
in a Survey of the former Part of the Reign of PHILIP of
MACEDON; with a Retrospective View of the Affairs of that
Kingdom.*

Anno ante Chr.		Page
750	Origin of the Macedonian realm - - -	2
	It's progress - - -	3
360	Elevation of Philip to the throne - - -	6
	Manners and customs of the Macedonians	ibid.
	Policy of the new king - - -	9
	His military success - - -	10
358	Revolt of the allies of Athens - - -	11
356	Termination of the social war - - -	13
	Hostilities in Thrace and Thessaly - - -	13, 14
355	Commencement of the sacred war - - -	15
353	Conflicts between Philip and the Phocians	17, 18
349	Oratorical exertions of Demosthenes against the king	20
348	Ruin of the Olynthian republic - - -	21
347	Philip's negotiations with the Athenians - - -	22
346	Close of the sacred war - - -	25

VOL. II.

2

CONTENTS.

LETTER II.

Continuation of the History of GREECE and MACEDON, to the Death of PHILIP.

Anno ante Chr.		Page
344	Arbitrary conduct of Philip - -	27
341	His expedition into Thrace - -	30
338	----- into Greece - -	34
	Zeal of the Athenians - -	36
	Battle of Charonea - -	37
336	Preparations for a Persian war - -	40
	Murder of the king - -	42

LETTER III.

History of the Reign of ALEXANDER the Great, to the Battle of Issus.

336	Spirited commencement of Alexander's reign	43
335	His cruel treatment of the Thebans -	45
334	His advance against the Persians -	48
	Battle of the Granicus - -	49
	Reduction of Halicarnassus - -	51
333	Battle of Issus - -	58

LETTER IV.

Continuation of the History of ALEXANDER the Great.

333	Conquest of Syria - - -	60
332	Siege of Tyre - - -	61
	Reduction of Egypt - - -	63
	Foundation of Alexandria - -	64
331	Battle of Gaugamela - - -	67
330	Assassination of the Persian king - -	71
	Defeat of a Grecian confederacy by Antipater	72
329	Wanton inhumanity of Alexander -	73
328	Subjugation of the Persian empire -	75

LETTER V.

Conclusion of the History of ALEXANDER.

Early history of India - - -	76
Institutions and customs of the people -	77

CONTENTS.

Anno ante Chr.		Page
327	Invasion of their country by Alexander -	82
	His incipient success - - -	84
326	Discontent and consequent return of the army	87
325	His various schemes - - -	89
323	His death - - - -	93
	Impartial view of his character - -	ibid.

LETTER VI.

History of the MACEDONIAN EMPIRE, to it's Quadruple Partition.

323	Regency of Perdiccas - - -	95
	Infamous barbarity of that general -	96
	A new confederacy in Greece - -	97
322	Humiliation of Athens - - -	98
	Death of Demosthenes - - -	ibid.
	A combination against the regent -	99
321	Who is murdered in Egypt - - -	100
320	And is succeeded by Antipater - -	101
319	Regency of Polysperchon - - -	ibid.
318	Death of Phocion - - -	102
	Administration of Demetrius the Phalerean at Athens	104
	Rivalry between Antigonus and Eumenes	ibid.
317	Murder of Philip, the young king of Macedon	105
316	Tyranny and death of Olympias, the queen-dowager	ibid.
	Death of Eumenes - - -	107
315	A league against Antigonus - - -	108
311	A convention between him and his chief opponents	111
307	Reduction of Athens by Demetrius Poliorcetes	112
	Conquest of Cyprus by that commander -	113
305	Siege of Rhodes - - -	114
302	Another association against Antigonus -	115
301	Who is slain in the battle of Ipsus -	116
	Erection of four kingdoms from the dominions of Alexander	ibid.

LETTER VII.

History of MACEDON and GREECE, to the Ruin or Expulsion of the Gallic Invaders.

301	Adventures of Demetrius - - -	117
298	Death of Cassander - - -	ibid.
	Rise of Pyrrhus to power - - -	119
294	Acquisition of the Macedonian royalty by Demetrius	120
288	Division of the realm between Pyrrhus and Lysimachus	121
286	Captivity of Demetrius - - -	122
	Expulsion of Pyrrhus from Macedon -	123

CONTENTS.

Anno ante Chr.		Page
283	Defeat of Lysimachus by Seleucus -	123
	Death of Ptolemy -	124
282	Whose son Caraunus assassinates Seleucus -	ibid.
281	And is soon after slain by the Gauls -	125
279	Irruption of those barbarians into Greece	126
	Their attack of the Delphic temple -	127
	And miserable failure -	128

LETTER VIII.

*History of MACEDON and the GRECIAN States, to the public
Appearance of ARATUS, the celebrated Sicyonian.*

278	Power of Antigonus in Greece -	129
	Restless ambition of Pyrrhus -	130
277	Who conquers the greater part of Sicily -	131
273	And expels Antigonus from his throne -	132
272	Invasion of Laconia by the same prince -	ibid.
	Expedition to Argos -	133
	Death of Pyrrhus -	134
	Re-instatement of Antigonus -	135
268	His success at Athens -	137
267	His second dethronement, and return -	ibid.
253	Seisure of Corinth -	138

LETTER IX.

History of MACEDON and GREECE, to the Ruin of Cleomenes.

253	Revolution at Sicyon -	139
245	Success of Aratus -	140
	Progress of the Achaian confederacy -	ibid.
	Policy of Demetrius, the Macedonian -	141
	Spartan reform -	142
	Schemes of Agis -	143
242	His deposition and death -	146
232	Rescue of Athens from servitude -	148
228	War between Aratus and the Spartan king Cleomenes	ibid.
227	Defeat of the Achaians -	149
	Reformative projects of Cleomenes -	ibid.
224	Alliance of Aratus with the Macedonians -	151
	Apology for his conduct -	ibid.
223	Defeat of Cleomenes by Antigonus -	154

CONTENTS.

LETTER X.

*Sequel of the MACEDONIAN and GRECIAN History, to the End
of the second Punic War.*

Anno ante Chr.		Page
223	Death of Antigonus Doson - -	155
	Turbulent spirit of the Ætolians - -	156
220	The social war - -	ibid.
219	Exploits of Philip the Macedonian - -	157
216	Humiliation of the Ætolians - -	161
215	Treaty of alliance between Philip and Hannibal	162
213	Death of Aratus - -	163
206	Spirit of his successor Philopœmen - -	167
	Tyranny of Nabis at Sparta - -	ibid.
205	A pacification in Greece - -	168
203	Farther operations of Philip - -	ibid.

LETTER XI.

*History of SICILY and of southern ITALY, from the Death of
TIMOLEON to the Beginning of the first Punic War.*

337	Disorders of Sicily - -	169
317	Rise of Agathocles to power - -	170
311	War between him and the Carthaginians - -	172
310	His early success in Africa - -	175
308	His horrible outrages - -	177, 178
307	Triumph of the Carthaginians over his troops	179
306	Civil war in Sicily - -	181
305	New enormities - -	182
289	Death of the tyrant - -	183
	Convulsions of Syracuse - -	185
275	Elevation of Hiero to the chief power - -	ibid.

LETTER XII.

*Continuation of the History of ROME, to the Formation of a
Quadruple Alliance against that State.*

343	War between the Romans and Samnites - -	188
340	Confederacy of the Latin states against Rome	190
	Unnatural cruelty of Manlius - -	ibid.
	The self-sacrifice of Decius - -	191
326	Extension of the war - -	192
324	Ill success of the Samnites - -	194
321	Their subsequent triumph - -	195

CONTENTS.

LETTER XVII.

Combined History of ROME and GREECE, to the Defeat and Humiliation of ANTIOCHUS the Great.

Anno ante Chr.		Page
200	A league for the ruin of Philip - -	275
	Defeat of the Gauls - - -	ibid.
197	Battle of Cynos-cephalæ - -	280
	Pacification - - -	281
196	Pretended deliverance of Greece - -	282
195	Character and conduct of Cato - -	284
	Hostile perseverance of the Ætolians - -	288
191	War with Antiochus the Syrian - -	289
190	Ill-success of that monarch - -	291
	Battle of Magnesia - - -	293
189	Terms of peace - - -	294

LETTER XVIII.

History of ROME and GREECE, to the Conquest of Macedon.

189	Campaign against the Gauls in Asia -	295
	Submission of the Ætolians - -	296
	War between the Achæians and Spartans -	ibid.
188	Disgrace of the latter - - -	297
187	Accusation of Scipio - - -	ibid.
	His character - - -	298
	Rise of luxury at Rome - - -	299
186	A remarkable detection of associated profligacy	300
184	Censorship of Cato - - -	ibid.
183	Murder of Philopœmen - - -	302
182	Death of Hannibal - - -	303
179	———Philip - - -	ibid.
	Preparations of his son Perseus for a war with the Ro- mans - - -	304
171	Whom he defeats in the first campaign -	305
168	Ruin of his ally Gentius - - -	307
	Battle of Pydna - - -	308
	Calamitous fate of Perseus - - -	309

CONTENTS.

LETTER XIX.

History of the ROMAN Republic and of GREECE, to the complete Reduction of the latter Country under the Yoke of the former State.

Anno ante Chr.		Page
167	Settlement of the affairs of Macedon and Illyria	311
	Rigorous treatment of the Epirots	312
	Various negotiations - - -	313
162	Adventures of Demetrius the Syrian	315
	Concerns of Egypt - - -	316
156	War between the Romans and Dalmatians	317
154	— with the Ligurians - - -	318
153	Affairs of Spain - - -	ibid.
151, 150	Treacherous cruelty of Lucullus and Galba	319, 320
	Commotions in Macedon - - -	321
149	A new war with the Carthaginians	325
146	Reduction of their capital - - -	327
	Splendid triumph of Æmilianus Scipio	328
	Insidious policy of the Romans toward the Greeks	ibid.
	An attempt for the dissolution of the Achaian confederacy - - -	329
	An open rupture - - -	331
	Massacre at Corinth - - -	332
	Subjugation of Greece - - -	ibid.

LETTER XX.

A Survey of the Philosophy, Literature, and Arts of the GREEKS, from the Time of Philip the Macedonian to the Conquest of their Country by the Arms of ROME.

Effect of the rivalry of the Grecian states	333
State of philosophy in the reigns of Philip and Alexander - - -	334
Sect of Pyrrhonists - - -	ibid.
The Middle Academy - - -	335
The New Academy - - -	336
Peripatetic sect - - -	ibid.
Character of Aristotle - - -	337
Stoic school - - -	338
Epicurean sect - - -	340
Survey of poetry - - -	341
— the drama - - -	342
— history - - -	343
— oratory - - -	ibid.
Fame of Demosthenes - - -	344
Progress of science - - -	345

CONTENTS.

Anno ante Chr.		Page
	Mechanic skill of Archimedes - -	346
	Musical attainments - -	347
	Medical profession - -	ibid.
	Architectural art - -	348
	Sculpture and painting - -	349

LETTER XXI.

History of ROME, and it's Dependencies, to the Sedition of the Elder GRACCHUS.

	Usual effect of national prosperity -	351
145	Progress of the war in the western peninsula -	352
	Exertions and exploits of Viriathus -	ibid.
141	Siege of Numantia - -	354
140	Murder of the Lusitanian chief - -	356
137	Courage and vigor of the Numantians -	358
135	Their miserable state - -	361
	Desperation of their leading men -	ibid.
	Submission of the rest to Scipio - -	ibid.
	Schemes of Tiberius Gracchus for the benefit of the plebei- ans - -	362
133	Consequent commotions - -	365
	His death and character - -	366

LETTER XXII.

Sequel of the ROMAN History, to the Death of the Younger GRACCHUS.

133	Insurrection of the slaves in Sicily -	367
132	Sieges of Tauromenium and Enna -	368
	Suppression of the revolt - -	369
131	War in Asia Minor - -	370
130	Valuable acquisitions - -	ibid.
	State of Egypt and Syria - -	371
129	Disputes at Rome, respecting an agrarian law -	374
	Death of Scipio - -	ibid.
122	Democratic zeal of Caius Gracchus -	376
121	Whose ruin is followed by a massacre of his partisans -	379

CONTENTS.

LETTER XXIII.

Continuation of the ROMAN History, to the Close of the War with Jugurtha.

Anno ante Chr.		Page
	Insatiate ambition of the leaders of the republic	380
	War in Gaul - - -	ibid.
121	Battle near the Rhone - - -	381
118	Submission of various nations - - -	ibid.
112	War in Numidia - - -	383
111	Murder of Adherbal by Jugurtha - - -	384
110	Intrigues of the assassin at Rome - - -	ibid.
109	His success over Aulus - - -	385
	His conflicts with Metellus - - -	387
	Character of Marius - - -	388
107	By whom Jugurtha is totally defeated - - -	391
106	Surrender of that prince by his father-in-law Bocchus	392

LETTER XXIV.

The ROMAN History, continued to the Sedition of LIVIUS DRUSUS.

	Progress of the Cimbri - - -	393
	Incursions of the Scordisci into the provincial territories	395
107	Defeat of the legionaries by the Tigurini - - -	ibid.
102	—— of the Teutones and their associates by Marius - - -	396
101	Signal victory over the Cimbri - - -	397
	A new rebellion of the slaves in Sicily - - -	398
100	Discomfiture of their leader Athenio - - -	401
	Turbulent ambition of Marius - - -	ibid.
	Exile of Metellus - - -	402
99	His honorable recall - - -	403
	Hostilities in Spain - - -	404
92	Exploits of Sylla in Asia - - -	405
91	Schemes of Drusus - - -	406
	His death - - -	407

LETTER XXV.

Continuation of the ROMAN History to the Termination of the Social War.

	Pretensions of the allies of Rome to the privileges of citizens - - -	408
90	Revolt of the claimants - - -	409
	Their early success - - -	ibid.

CONTENTS.

Anno ante Chr.		Page
89	Their subsequent misfortunes - -	412
88	Submission of the majority - -	413
	War with Mithridates - -	416
	Commotions in the metropolis - -	417
	Escape of Marius - -	419
87	Close of the war with the allies - -	420

LETTER XXVI.

History of the ROMAN Republic, to the Adjustment of a Pacification with Mithridates.

87	Ambitious views of Cinna - -	421
	Intestine war - -	422
	Triumph of Marius over the aristocratic party - -	424
	Horrible outrages - -	ibid.
86	Progress of the Mithridatic war - -	427
	Capture of Athens - -	428
	Brutality of Sylla - -	429
	His victory at Chæroneæ - -	430
84	Restoration of peace - -	432

LETTER XXVII.

Progress of the ROMAN History, to the Resignation of the Dictator Sylla.

84	Death of Cinna in a mutiny - -	434
83	Renewal of the civil war - -	435
82	Defeat of the younger Marius by Sylla - -	437
	Whose chief associates are also victorious - -	438
	Decisive conflict - -	439
	Barbarity and perfidy of Sylla - -	440
	Rage of massacre - -	441
81	Aristocratic regulations - -	442
	A new war with Mithridates - -	444
79	Sylla's renunciation of authority - -	445

LETTER XXVIII.

The ROMAN History, continued to the Conquest of the Pontic Kingdom.

78	Death of Sylla - -	447
	Hostilities against the Asiatic pirates - -	448
77	----- the Spanish mal-contents - -	450

CONTENTS.

Anno ante Chr.		Page
	Vigor and address of their leader Sertorius -	451
76	Exploits of Metellus Pius - -	ibid.
	And of Pompey - - -	452
73	Murder of Sertorius - - -	454
	Revolt of the gladiators - -	455
71	Suppression of this rebellion - -	458
	Discomfiture of Mithridates - -	460

LETTER XXIX.

History of ROME, continued to the Close of the Asiatic War.

70	Consulate of Pompey and Crassus -	461
69	Hostilities against the Cretans - -	462
	----- Armenians - -	463
68	Defeat of Tigranes and Mithridates -	464
67	Battle of Zela - - -	465
	Chastisement of the pirates by Pompey -	467
66	Conquest of Crete - - -	469
	Remarkable success of Pompey - -	471, 472
65	His extraordinary power - - -	473
63	Siege of Jerusalem - - -	476
	Ruin of Mithridates - - -	478

LETTER XXX.

*Continuation of the ROMAN History, to the Defeat of the
Catilinarian Conspiracy.*

63	Discontent and traitorous views of Catiline -	479
	Detection of the conspiracy by Cicero -	483
	Punishment of the chief accomplices of the incendiary	489
62	Defeat of the insurgents - - -	490
	Fall of Catiline - - -	ibid.

LETTER XXXI.

*Continuation of the ROMAN History, to the Recall of CICERO
from Exile.*

62	Agitation of Rome - - -	491
	Ambitious hopes of Cæsar - - -	492
60	His union with Pompey and Crassus, or the first trium- virate - - -	494
59	Schemes of the three usurpers - - -	495
	Their hostility to Cicero - - -	497
58	Who is banished - - -	499
	Aggressive injustice of Cæsar in Gau -	500
	Defeat of a powerful German prince -	501
	Recall of the injured orator - - -	504

CONTENTS.

LETTER XXXII.

*The ROMAN History, continued to the first Invasion of GERMANY
by the Romans.*

Anno ante Chr.		Page
57	Cæsar's campaign against the Belgæ -	505
	His narrow escape - - -	508
	His subsequent victory - - -	509
	Expedition of Cato - - -	ibid.
	Who subdues Cyprus - - -	510
56	Progress of the Romans in Gaul - -	512
	Arbitrary conduct of the three confederates -	515
55	Destruction of the greater part of a German army	519

LETTER XXXIII.

*A Progressive View of the ROMAN Affairs, to the disastrous
Expedition of Crassus.*

	Early history of Britain - -	520
55	An invasion of the island by Cæsar -	522
54	A second attempt - - -	523
	Expedition of Gabinius to Palestine -	525
	Re-instatement of Ptolemy, king of Egypt -	526
	Rising jealousy between Pompey and Cæsar	528
	Farther operations in Gaul - - -	529
53	An unjust war against the Parthians -	533
	Who severely chastise the arrogant invaders	536
	Character of Crassus - - -	537

LETTER XXXV

The ROMAN History, continued to the Conquest of Gaul.

53	Perturbed state of Rome - - -	538
52	Grant of the chief power to Pompey -	540
	A revolt in Gaul - - -	541
51	New insurrections - - -	545
	General submission - - -	547
	Laudable conduct of Cicero in the government of Ci- licia - - -	548

LETTER XXXV.

*History of the ROMAN Republic, to the Commencement of
Cæsar's Usurpation.*

51	Strong opposition to the arbitrary views of Cæsar	549
50	Preparations for the defence of the state -	551

CONTENTS.

Anno ante Chr.		Page
49	Zeal of Mark Antony in support of Cæsar -	553
	Who at length resolves to subvert the government	555
	Proceedings of the senatorial party at this crisis	556
	Flight of Pompey - - -	557
	Cæsar's success in Spain - - -	560
	Accession of Cicero, Brutus, and Cato, to the Pompeian cause - - - -	562
	Hostilities in Africa - - -	563
	Fall of the turbulent Curio - - -	565
	Submission of Italy to the sway of Cæsar -	566

LETTER XXXVI.

*The ROMAN History, continued to the Ruin and Death of
Pompey.*

48	Great preparations of both parties -	567
	Blockade of Dyrrhachium - - -	569
	Danger of the Cæsarians - - -	570
	Battle of Pharsalia - - -	573
	Murder of Pompey - - -	576
	His character - - -	577

LETTER XXXVII.

Sequel of the ROMAN History, to the Death of JULIUS CÆSAR.

47	War in Egypt - - -	579
	Amorous pursuits of Cæsar - - -	581
	Tyranny of Mark Antony at Rome - - -	582
	Sanguinary riots - - -	583
	Cæsar's triumph over Pharnaces - - -	584
46	----- the Pompeians in Africa	587
	Suicidal violence of Cato - - -	589
	Political and civil regulations in Italy - - -	591
	Efforts of the younger Pompey in Spain - - -	ibid.
45	Battle of Munda - - -	592
	Profuse grants of honor and authority to Cæsar	593
	Arrogance of the exulting dictator - - -	594
44	Discontent of the republican party - - -	595
	Conspiracy against the usurper - - -	597
	Who is put to death in the senate-house	ibid.
	Survey of his character and conduct - - -	598

CONTENTS.

LETTER XXXVIII.

History of ROME, and it's Dependencies, to the temporary Reconciliation of Octavius with Mark Antony and the Younger Pompey.

Anno ante Chr.		Page
44	Exterior accommodation between the enemies and the friends of Cæsar - - -	601
	Intrigues of Antony - - -	602
	Appearance of Octavius at Rome - - -	604
	His undisguised ambition - - -	605
43	Republican zeal of the senate - - -	606
	Renewal of intestine war - - -	607
	Usurpation of the consulate by Octavius - - -	608
	Second triumvirate - - -	ibid.
	Murderous rage of the three despots - - -	609
	Death and character of Cicero - - -	611
42	Military operations of Brutus and Cassius - - -	613
	Battle of Philippi - - -	615
	Death of Brutus - - -	617
41	Contest between Octavius and Antony's wife and brother - - -	619
	Arbitrary career of Antony in Asia Minor - - -	620
	His voluptuous dissipation - - -	621
40	Progress of Octavius in Italy and Gaul - - -	623
	Alliance between Antony and Pompey - - -	624
	A new partition of territory - - -	ibid.
39	A triple confederacy - - -	625

LETTER XXXIX.

History of ROME, and it's Dependencies, to the Battle of Actium and the Conquest of Egypt.

38	Revival of animosity - - -	627
	Naval losses and danger of Octavius - - -	628
36	Who is again defeated - - -	630
	Retrieval of his affairs - - -	631
	Retreat of Pompey into Asia - - -	632
	Parthian war - - -	633
	Hostilities in Judæa - - -	634
	Disgraceful campaign in Media - - -	635
35	Death of Pompey - - -	637
34	Subjugation of Illyria by Octavius - - -	638
	----- Armenia by Antony - - -	639
	Mutual jealousy of those aspiring leaders - - -	640
32	Preparations for a decisive contest - - -	641
31	Naval conflict near Actium - - -	643
30	Complete reduction of Egypt under the Roman sway - - -	647
29	Death of Antony - - -	ibid.
	----- Cleopatra - - -	649

THE
HISTORY
OF
ANCIENT EUROPE.

PART II.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF PHILIP OF MACEDON,
TO THE ACQUISITION OF THE SUPREME POWER AT ROME
BY AUGUSTUS.

LETTER I.

*History of GREECE, to the Close of the SACRED WAR, included in
a Survey of the former Part of the Reign of PHILIP of MACE-
DON; with a retrospective View of the Affairs of that Kingdom.*

MY DEAR SON,

THE glory which the Greeks had acquired in the Persian war, generated a spirit of vanity and insolence; and the absence of external danger was productive of an overweening confidence and a pernicious security. The concomitant increase of luxury, and a growing fondness for pleasure, tended to sap the foundations both of public and private virtue: jealousy and discord introduced their venom among the states; and an opportunity of decisive advantage was thus afforded to a neighbouring prince, who, not content with the Macedonian royalty, aimed at the ruin of Grecian independence.

With regard to the rise of the kingdom of Macedon, it
VOL. II.

may be observed, that Caranus, the brother of Phidon, who tyrannised over Argos¹, assembled a body of Greeks, chiefly Peloponnesians, and led them beyond the boundaries of Thessaly. Being pleased with the appearance of Emathia, he took by surprise the town of Edessa; and, pursuing his advantage, expelled several princes from their territories. He thus gave a beginning to that kingdom which some politic and warlike rulers at length rendered so illustrious². After some obscure reigns, Perdiccas mounted the throne. He is said to have been a brave, able, and fortunate prince; but of the particulars of his reign we are not informed. Argæus, and his son Philip, were embroiled with the Illyrians; and the latter prince lost his life in a conflict with those barbarians. By Thracian hostilities the Macedonians were also severely harassed; but they did not despair of future success. After another defeat from the Illyrians, they carried their infant king Aëropus into the field in a cradle, and were so animated by his presence, that they routed the enemy with great slaughter. Alcetas apparently enjoyed a peaceful reign. While Amyntas exercised the sovereignty, the army of Darius the Persian entered Europe; and the Macedonians, being ordered to submit to that powerful

1 Sir Isaac Newton makes Caranus contemporary with Solon, who was archon of Athens in the 594th year before Christ: yet he does not deny that the new king was the brother of Phidon. We are informed by Pausanias, whose chronology is generally accurate with regard to events that followed the middle of the eighth century before Christ, that Phidon was living in the eighth Olympiad (from 748 to 745); and it also appears that he reigned long before it, and for some years after it. It may therefore be presumed, that his brother began to act as king of Macedon in the interval from 770 to 750, probably about the last-mentioned year, and died almost ninety years before Solon was born, or (if the former date be assumed) above a century. Some chronologists refer the rise of the kingdom to 811, others to 794; but, while the philosopher places it too late, the others make it too ancient.—It ought to be added, that Sir Isaac brings down Solon's administration to 562; an alteration of date which removes the legislator still farther from the time of Caranus.

2 Herodotus attributes the foundation of the kingdom to Perdiccas; but Livy, Paternulus, and Justin, speak of Caranus as the first king.

monarch, consented to acknowledge his supremacy³. Their next king, Alexander, ostensibly assisted Xerxes; but he found an opportunity of imparting to the Greeks such secret intelligence as promoted their success, still remaining on amicable terms with their haughty foe, by whose kindness his dominions were augmented. He lived in a magnificent style; exhibited frequent instances of liberality; and acquired the respect of the neighbouring princes and communities by the wisdom of his government and the prosperity of his reign. His son Perdiccas involved himself in a contest with the Athenians, by encouraging the revolt of Potidæa; and they, in revenge, instigated the Thracian king Sitalces to invade Macedon. Success attended the first efforts of the barbarians; but, when they had repeatedly experienced the valor of the natives, the policy of Perdiccas averted the storm. He gave his sister in marriage with an ample dowry, to Seuthes, a relative of Sitalces, and, employing him as a mediator, procured the retreat of the Thracians⁴. His nephew Amyntas, who had joined the enemy in the hope of obtaining the crown, was driven into the obscurity of retirement, and did not again attempt the dethronement of the reigning prince. The Macedonians afterward assisted the Spartans in the conquest of some Chalcidian towns

³ Seven deputies, being sent into Macedon by the Persian general Megabazus, and hospitably entertained by Amyntas, took the liberty of requesting that the ladies of the court might be permitted to join the festive party. The king reluctantly consented. His son Alexander, resenting the indecent familiarity with which the females were treated, led them out of the apartment, on pretence of bathing, and introduced the same number of beardless striplings, attired like women, to the intoxicated strangers, who were all suddenly stabbed with daggers which the young men had concealed under their clothes. Bubares, an officer who was sent to take vengeance for this treachery, was pacified by the expostulations of Alexander, and by an offer of the hand of his beautiful sister. This story, which bears a romantic aspect, rests on the credit of Herodotus.

⁴ Thucyd. lib. iv.—Diod. lib. xii.

belonging to the Athenians, and chastised the Lyncestæ⁵ for their occasional hostilities.

Archelaus, a natural son of Perdiccas, murdered his legitimate brother, and seized the throne⁶. He also put to death his uncle Alcetas and his cousin, from whose pretensions he apprehended disturbance⁷. The stain of these enormities he endeavoured to remove by attending to the general welfare of his subjects, and by patronising literature and genius. He studiously provided for the military defence of the kingdom, and did not neglect the concerns of naval equipment, to which his predecessors had paid little regard. Having given offence to a favorite courtier, he suffered that fate to which he had subjected his unoffending relatives⁸. His son Orestes succeeded to the throne; but Aëropus, not content with the dignity of guardian or protector, assumed the sovereignty. Pausanias, son of the usurper, filled the throne for only one year, before he was assassinated by Amyntas (a descendant of the first Alexander); who did not, however, long enjoy the crown in peace, being driven into exile by the joint efforts of the Illyrians and the mal-content Macedonians under Argæus, brother of Pausanias. When the conqueror had reigned for two years, he was attacked by the Thessalians, who restored Amyntas to the throne⁹.

To the free city of Olynthus, which had been gradually rising into power, Amyntas had transferred a portion of

5 A warlike community residing near the centre of Macedon.

6 This part of the Macedonian history is differently related. Some writers have spoken of two princes of the name of Archelaus, father and son; but, as far as we may judge from Diodorus, this is an unauthorised division of one into two. The Archelaus of this historian appears to have been the prince who is mentioned by Plato.

7 Plat. Gorg.

8 Æliani Var. Hist. lib. viii.—Plato says, that the assassin was actuated by a desire of reigning, but that he only enjoyed his wish for two or three days, being then murdered in his turn.

territory, when he found himself unable to retain the kingdom ; and his demand of restitution was now disregarded, because no conditions had been annexed to the grant. Intent upon the recovery of the gift, he solicited aid from the Spartans, who readily agreed to exert their endeavours for the ruin of the refractory state. The Olynthians defended themselves with spirit, and repelled their assailants. In another conflict, they slew Teleutias, the brother of king Agesilaus, and 1200 of his followers. When Agesipolis, the other Lacedæmonian king, advanced against them with a greater force, they avoided a general action, and harassed him with desultory hostilities : but their fortune declined when they were attacked by Polybiades, who, having obtained some advantages in the field, drove them within the walls of their capital, and compelled them to submit to Spartan supremacy¹⁰.

Amyntas left three sons,—Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip. Their mother was Eurydice, a profligate princess, who conspired against the life of her husband, but was disappointed in her flagitious aims, by her daughter's disclosure of her machinations. The eldest of the three brothers had scarcely entered upon the royal functions, when he was obliged to act against the Illyrians ; but they soon agreed to a pacification with him, in consequence of a bribe, and received his brother Philip as an hostage. His tranquillity was afterward disturbed by the competition of Ptolemy, an illegitimate son of Amyntas¹¹ ; whom, however, he quieted by the mediation of Pelopidas¹². Philip was now sent to Thebes to answer by a personal surrender for the performance of the stipulated conditions ; and, while he resided in that city, he derived instruction from the advice and example of the celebrated Epami-

¹⁰ Diod. lib. xv. sect. 19, 21—23.

¹¹ Diod.—or perhaps some stranger who was the gallant of Eurydice.

¹² Plut. Vit. Pelopidæ.

nondas. Ptolemy obtained the crown by the murder of Alexander;—a crime in which Eurydice seems to have been his accomplice¹³. After a short reign, he was put to death by Perdiccas, who governed for five years, and then lost his life in a battle with the Illyrians, by whom above 4000 of his men were slain¹⁴.

Returning at this critical time from Thebes, Philip declared himself the guardian of the minor son of his unfortunate brother; but the public voice, influenced in all probability by the ambitious intrigues of the regent, soon called him to the throne. He anxiously observed the perturbed state of affairs, and found it necessary to exert, for his honor and safety, all the courage and policy of which he was master.

The reign of this great prince may, not improperly, be introduced with some remarks on the character of the people who were subject to his sway. Courage was an inherent virtue in their composition; and, indeed, in early times, few nations appear to have been destitute of that quality. It was frequently called into action by turbulent neighbours, and sometimes by private dissensions: yet it did not secure the nation from falling occasionally under a foreign yoke. The people had a rudeness of character, and a plainness or rusticity of manners, at a time when a great degree of civilisation prevailed among the Greeks. Their want of polish, however, was not tantamount to barbarism. They practised the useful arts with success; they were, in general, orderly and submissive to their rulers; and with manly firmness they united a due sense of subordination. They were strongly impressed with religious ideas, and also attended to the dic-

¹³ Just. lib. vii. cap. 5.

¹⁴ Diod. lib. xvi. sect. 2.—By admitting this account, we avoid the addition of another crime to the guilt of Eurydice, whom Justin (not always well informed) accuses of the murder of Perdiccas.

tates of morality : but, in the former respect, they leaned to superstition, and, in the latter, they were not always judiciously correct.

Their government was monarchical ; and their kings were not controlled by positive laws : yet they were obliged to pay some regard to the national will, and more particularly to the inclinations of the army. They did not rule like oriental despots, but cherished in their minds, with all their ambitious or arbitrary views, an idea of the inalienable rights of man.

The military system of the Macedonians may be thought worthy of particular notice, in consideration of their boasted phalanx. Their infantry consisted of three divisions, armed in different modes. Beside those who were very lightly armed, and who trusted to a short spear and a dagger, there were the targeteers and the heavy troops. Ill-formed bucklers of wood, or of wicker-work, were at first used by the warriors of the second description : but, in the progress of art, the conjunct use of leather and of brass improved the fabrication of those means of defence. Swords calculated both for piercing and for cutting were used by the same class, with great alertness and dexterity. The combatants of the third class were defended by a large shield, a leathern cap or helmet, and a breast-plate of quilted linen : they made use of long pikes¹⁵, and had the best swords which the art of their countrymen could furnish. From these the phalanx was formed.

This compact body usually amounted to 16,000 men, arranged in ten divisions ; each of which had sixteen ranks or rows, composed respectively of one hundred men¹⁶. In preparing for an engagement, the ranks were so closely drawn up, that only a foot and a half, in space, parted each combatant from his nearest associate. The pikes of

¹⁵ Exceeding twenty feet.

¹⁶ Sometimes, however, it consisted of thirty-two rows ; and at other times it was only eight in depth, with two hundred in each line.

the fifth rank projected three feet beyond the front of the phalanx, so as even to be of some use in offensive movements ; while the remaining ranks merely endeavoured to support the preceding rows by not exhibiting the smallest tendency to a retreat.

The phalanx derived all it's efficacy from condensation. It was not altogether calculated for offensive operations. It resembled a quadrangular tower or fortress, defensible at every point, and seemingly defying all attempts to force it : but this appearance of strength was not a certain prognostic of success. It was expedient that it should sometimes attack the enemy, as well as defend itself ; and, in marching to the assault, with inclined pikes, and shields as closely approximating as the position of the ranks would allow, it's movements, however slow, had a terrific aspect : but an effectual impression did not necessarily follow. On the other hand, if it waited for aggression, it might for a time maintain it's continuity ; but the ranks were liable to be broken by a repetition of impetuous assaults from a more active foe ; and, when confusion had once arisen in such a mass, rallying was impracticable. For this reason, the Roman tactics were superior to the Macedonian military system.

The usual station of the phalanx was in the centre of the army, the wings being formed by the rest of the infantry, in concert with the cavalry. It assumed various shapes in battle, still preserving it's characteristic steadiness ; and, when it had seriously checked the efforts of the enemy, the wings endeavoured to take a decisive advantage of the rising disorder.

An able prince, viewing with a penetrating eye the state of his country, may find many opportunities of quickening the progress of his subjects ; and, if the character and conduct of Philip did not contribute to perfect the morality of the Macedonians, he certainly, by his advice and regulations, improved their attainments both in

arts and in arms. He commenced his reign with indications of judgement and policy. He saw all the dangers of his situation, and took the most prudent measures for the security of himself and of his people. As the war, in which the kingdom was involved, rendered vigorous exertions essentially necessary for the prevention of national ruin, he anxiously attended to the state of the army. It does not appear that he invented the Macedonian phalanx; but it is allowed that he improved it, particularly in the counter-march, which had been so practised as to resemble a retreat, but which he altered into the appearance of an intrepid onset. He restored the discipline of the army, which had been greatly relaxed; and, at the same time, conciliated the soldiers by his affability and kindness, and his manifestation of a regard for their interest. He sent an ambassador to the king of the Pæonians, to request a forbearance of hostility; and, by his plausible promises, and pecuniary presents to the leading men of the state, he obtained the favor of peace. With the Thracian court he also tried the arts of corruption, and thus obviated the mischief which an encouragement of the pretensions of Pausanias might have produced. To check the views of another competitor, he proceeded in a different way. Concluding that the Athenians chiefly supported Argæus from a desire of recovering Amphipolis, he, without either surrendering it into their hands, or keeping it in his own possession, declared it to be a free city¹⁷.

The Athenians not being conciliated by the conduct of Philip, a detachment from their army escorted their candidate to Ægæ; but, finding that the inhabitants would not receive him, the troops retired to Methone. The king attacked them on their march; and the vigor of his phalanx put them to the rout. By ordering the Grecian captives to be dismissed without ransom, he highly pleased

the rulers of Athens ; and, by receiving into his own army the Macedonian partisans of his rival, who lost his life in the engagement, he acquired the praise of magnanimity.

A negotiation being now proposed by Philip, the Athenians concluded with him a treaty of peace and of alliance. He rejoiced at this accommodation, because it left him at leisure to take advantage of the death of the Pæonian prince, whose territories he immediately invaded, and subdued by the fortune of the field. His

Ante Chr.

359.

next object was the rescue of his kingdom from tributary subjection to the Illyrian king, from whom he also wished to recover the towns which had belonged to the Macedonian realm. A battle, in which there was little disparity of force, arose from the rejection of Philip's demands of restitution. Victory long remained doubtful ; but at length the efforts of the phalanx disordered the Illyrian column ; and the alertness of the cavalry completed the defeat. Bardylis fell in the heat of action ; and 7000 of his subjects shared his fate. The towns were restored by the vanquished ; peace was granted to their humble solicitations ; and a great part of Illyria was rendered tributary¹⁸.

The importance of Amphipolis occasioned a new contest. The inhabitants were inclined to think, that Philip would not suffer the Athenians to encroach on their freedom, and, on the other hand, that the republic would not tamely acquiesce in his seizure of the city. An officer was sent from Athens, with a small force, to besiege the place ; but, as the citizens were assisted by the people of Olynthus, and also by the Thracians, the siege was relinquished. The Olynthian state now proposed, to the Athenians, such an union as might check the ambitious views of the king of Macedon : but he exerted all his arts

to obstruct the confederacy, and promised that the town should be given up to its former masters, if they would restore Pydna. Thus amused, the Athenians turned a deaf ear to the proposals of the Olynthians, who were so offended at this treatment, that they entered into an alliance with Philip. That prince no longer delayed his preparations for the siege of Amphipolis; and it was prosecuted with such vigor, that the city was taken Ante Chr. 358. by storm. He punished with exile the chief opposers of his aims, and condescended to receive the rest of the inhabitants under his especial protection¹⁹.

To gratify the Olynthians, he resolved upon the reduction of Pydna; and, the resolution being soon carried into effect, he presented the town and the dependent lands to his new allies. He pleased them still more by assisting them in the siege of Potidæa, which they had long wished to possess. The place was taken; and he did not advance the least claim of participation. He might have detained the Athenian garrison; but he sent back every individual to Athens.

The application of the inhabitants of Amphipolis to the Athenians for vigorous aid had been neglected by the administrators of the republic, who were not only employed in quelling the commotions excited by the Thebans in Eubœa, but were alarmed by a revolt of various allies and dependents.

The shameful rapacity and vexatious tyranny of the Athenian government had excited the indignation of the people of Chios, Cos, and Rhodes; and the same spirit of discontent prevailed at Byzantium. When they had formed a confederacy for mutual defence, Mausolus, king of Caria, assisted them with troops. Chares, whose influence was greater than his merit, and who had encouraged that oppression of which they complained, ad-

vised that they should be attacked without delay ; and he was gratified with the command of the armament destined for the suppression of the revolt.

A fleet not sufficiently large to cope with that of the confederates, sailed to Chios ; and the capital was invested both by land and sea. Such sallies were made by the garrison, as put to the test the courage of the besiegers, who could not easily sustain these attacks. Chabrias, who seems to have acted without any command, except that of a single ship, pushed forward into the harbour with the utmost intrepidity, expecting to be followed by the rest of the fleet. Disappointed in this respect, he continued to resist ; and, when he was surrounded by the enemy, and his pierced vessel began to sink, he refused to imitate the example of the soldiers and seamen, who, leaping overboard, swam to other ships. He thought it disgraceful to quit his endangered vessel, and surrendered his life to the weapons of his exulting foes²⁰. The siege was soon after relinquished by Chares, whose popularity suffered by the failure²¹.

To strengthen the armament of Chares, Mnestheus
 Ante Chr. was sent to the Ægean sea, with sixty ships ; and,
 356. as the revolted were harassing Lemnos and other islands, the two commanders resolved to form the siege of Byzantium, in the hope of diverting the confederates from their insular devastations. When the opposite fleets met, neither party wished to decline an engagement : but the wind began to blow with such violence against the Athenians, that they could not risque a conflict without extreme danger. The rash boldness of Chares, defying the storm, prompted him to advance ; while Iphicrates and Timotheus (who, without being invested with equal authority, had been sent to aid Mnestheus with the weight

²⁰ Cornel. Nep. Vit. Chabriæ.

²¹ There is a chasm of one year in the account given of this war by Diodorus : both parties, we may suppose, were then wholly inactive.

of their experience) remonstrated against the imprudence and peril of an attack. So incensed was Chares at this opposition to his will, that he accused those brave and respectable veterans of having betrayed the interest of their country. They were tried after their return to Athens ; but their judges were not so inhuman as to condemn them to death. They were heavily fined ; and that was a sufficient degree of injustice. Retiring into exile, they were no more employed in the public service²². They gave way to persons of inferior merit, who, like Chares, courted the people. When such men were preferred, the state could not be expected to prosper.

Discontinuing the war against the allies, Chares directed his course to the Lydian province, and joined his troops to those of Artabazus, who had revolted from the Persian monarch. The rebellious governor, thus reinforced, proved victorious over the royal army ; and he rewarded his auxiliaries with a copious pecuniary supply. The king was so incensed at the conduct of the bold Athenian, that he threatened to assist the Chians and their associates with a powerful armament. This menace accelerated the conclusion of peace with the allies, who were not indisposed to an honorable accommodation.

During this war, Philip, who professed a wish for neutrality, attended with studious zeal to his own interest. Wishing to extend his territories on the side of Thrace, he advanced with an army against Cotys, who had dispossessed the Athenians of the peninsula which formed a part of that country. Having met with little opposition in his progress to Crenidæ, he drove the inhabitants from the place, and colonised it with his own subjects. He was attracted to this neighbourhood by a desire of enriching himself with the produce of those mines of gold which had been long neglected. By his order, they were wrought

²² Cornel. Nep. Vit. Timoth.—Diod. lib. xvi. sect. 21.

with considerable effect; and a prince who, at the beginning of his reign, had scarcely any coin in his kingdom, soon had an abundant supply. He knew that money could command every thing, except happiness; and he used it with great success for the promotion of his views of empire.

While he attentively observed the conduct and proceedings of the neighbouring princes, and, more particularly, of every state in Greece, he received with joy an application from Thessaly, on the death of Alexander the Pheræan, who had been murdered by the brothers of his wife. The destroyers of that execrable tyrant were applauded for the bold act; but, when they had usurped the government, and exercised it with oppressive violence, the nobles had recourse to Philip for the deliverance of their nation from the galling yoke. He readily promised to assist in the expulsion of the usurpers; and, leading an army toward Pheræ, he defeated them with little difficulty, and deprived them of that power which they had so grossly abused. The Thessalians were so pleased at this success, that they gratified their protector with the use of their ports and navy, and allowed him to summon their cavalry to his aid, whenever he might have occasion for the service of those excellent troops²³.

Soon after his return from this expedition, Philip espoused Olympias, the daughter of Neoptolemus. The death of this prince had lately placed the sole sovereignty of Epirus in the hands of his brother Arymbas, who was very willing to agree to an alliance that seemed to promise advantage and security²⁴. The enemies of Philip, thinking perhaps that marriage would relax his vigor, made preparations for an invasion of his realm. These

²³ Diod. lib. xvi. sect. 14.—Demost. Orat.

²⁴ Pausanias says, that one prince had hitherto exercised the sole sway in Epirus, but that Neoptolemus and his brother, after mutual dissensions, agreed to reign jointly.

were the Pæonians, Thracians, and Illyrians, whose united attempts, they thought, could not fail. The king marched against the first of these nations, and again reduced them to subjection. He was less successful in Thrace; but Parmenio, whom he sent into Illyria, was completely victorious. At the time when the success of this general was announced to him, he received intelligence of the birth of his son Alexander, who afterward became the most celebrated warrior of the ancient world.

The *social* war (or that which was carried on with the allies) had not long ceased, when the *sacred* war broke out. As the Phocians had cultivated some lands which were sacred to the Delphic God, they were heavily fined by a decree of the Amphictionic council; and the same assembly, influenced by the Thebans, ordered the Lacedæmonians to pay a large sum for the seizure of Cadmea. Philomelus advised the Phocians not to submit to the unjust sentence, and reminded them of their original authority over the temple and the oracle. They gave him the command of an army levied for their defence; and, when he had procured from Archidamus a promise of co-operation, he assaulted the temple, and, by the slaughter of ^{Ante Chr.} a few opposers, gained full possession of the ^{355.} opulent sanctuary. For this sacrilege, war was declared against the Phocians.

Zealous in the cause of religion, the Locrians attacked Philomelus; but the profane general easily routed them. He fortified the temple, and, having augmented his army to the number of 5000, plundered the Locrian territories, again defeating the force that opposed him. Procuring from the oracular priestess an answer which favored his views, he announced it to the Greeks for his own justification, and declared that he merely asserted the rights of Phocis, without any intention of appropriating the sacred treasure, or insulting the majesty of Apollo. The Athenians concluded an alliance with him: but they neglected their

engagements; and the Spartans contented themselves with promising to join him. Being in want of pecuniary

Ante Chr. supplies, he exacted contributions from the inha-

354. bitants of Delphi; but, as the produce of his requisitions did not satisfy his rapacity, he ventured to pillage the temple; and, by collecting mercenary adventurers, doubled his army. He, a third time, routed the Locrians; and the Thessalians felt the vigor of his arms. A Bœotian commander now advanced with 13,000 men, to overwhelm the sacrilegious host; and, having intercepted a party of foragers, he ordered them to be put to death, by the authority of an Amphictionic sentence. This cruelty was productive of severe retaliation, and was therefore prudently discontinued. Philomelus was reinforced by the Achæians; but, being still out-numbered by his adversaries, he was repelled in a skirmish and defeated in a more general action. He immediately threw himself down a precipitous rock, to avoid the punishment which he dreaded. Onomarchus, who assumed the command, re-assembled the fugitives, and returned into the Phocian territory²⁵.

Philip had not yet interfered in this war. He was pleased at it's continuance, as it seemed to weaken both parties, and he wished that all the Grecian states might become too feeble to oppose his ambitious purposes. Unwilling to remain wholly unemployed, or confine himself to his present possessions, he formed the siege of Methone, which was under the protection of the Atheni-

Ante Chr. ans. He lost an eye by the stroke of an arrow,

355. intentionally directed (as some say) by an archer whose offer of service he had refused, and whom (it is added) he punished with death, when he had overpowered the obstinate resistance of the besieged²⁶. The town was

²⁵ Diod. lib. xvi. sect. 23—31.—Justin. lib. viii. cap. 1.

²⁶ That he lost an eye is indisputable; but the above-mentioned circumstances are not stated either by Diodorus or by Justin; and Dr. Leland has pro-

demolished ; and the adjacent lands were divided among the captors.

The new leader of the Phocians, having over-ruled, by his eloquence and address, the suggestions of those who were pacifically disposed, prepared for the third campaign with great zeal and uncommon alacrity. He met with success both in the Locrian and Dorian territories, and invaded Bœotia, where he reduced Orchomenus. His career, however, was stopped by the Thebans, who routed his army near Chæronea. He had bribed the directors of the affairs of Thessaly to desert the sacred alliance ; and, as Lycophron, one of the brothers who had murdered the Pheræan tyrant, had taken measures for the recovery of his power, the Phocian general sent troops to re-establish this usurper. Philip, being again requested by the nobles to deliver them from oppression, opportunely arrived, and defeated Lycophron and his allies. Onomarchus, who hoped to domineer over Thessaly by the medium of the ostensible ruler, hastened from Phocis to support his friend, and exerted all his vigor in the field. He first drew the Macedonians into a pursuit by a pretended flight, and then assailed their phalanx with such impetuosity, that it's ranks were broken, and the king retreated after a great loss of his men. The next conflict had a very different termination. Onomarchus was employed in the devastation of Bœotia, when he was recalled into Thessaly by the danger to which Lycophron was exposed, on the return of Philip. Above 20,000 men were now embattled on the side of the usurper ; and the king, having eloquently dissuaded the natives from submitting to the yoke which the Phocians were preparing for them, drew a great number into his army, and took the field with 23,000 men. When neither party seemed dis-

perly controverted, on this occasion, the statements of Solinus, Suidas, and Ulpian : yet he leaves the question undecided, when he might justly have condemned those particulars as fabrications.

posed to retreat, the Thessalian cavalry, maintaining their high reputation, procured victory for the arms of Philip. Onomarchus fled toward the sea, where an Athenian fleet was discerned: but the crew could not afford any assistance to the fugitives. In the battle and the pursuit, 6000 of the vanquished lost their lives. Their commander was among the victims²⁷; and his corpse was gibbeted by the conqueror, who seems to have ordered the rest of the bodies to be thrown into the sea, as unworthy of funeral honors²⁸. Lycophron was obliged to relinquish all authority; and the politic king, reserving Pheræ and other towns to himself, suffered the Thessalians to enjoy the shadow of liberty.

Phayllus, who obtained the chief authority in Phœcis, resolved to prosecute the war with undiminished vigor. He convinced the Athenians of the expediency of executing their engagements, and obtained from
 Ante Chr. 352. them a considerable supply of men; and the Spartans, influenced by bribery as well as by persuasion, sent an auxiliary force to his camp. He rushed into Bœotia, and encountered the hostile army with a confidence which was miserably disappointed. In another battle, and also in a third, he was driven from the field with disgrace. He was not so discouraged as to desist from hostilities. He wrested several towns from the Locrians; but, when he had assaulted a Phocian city called Abæ, where the people defended the temple of Apollo against him, the Bœotians surprised him in the night, and made

²⁷ Diod. lib. xvi. sect 35.—But Pausanias says, that he was assassinated by his incensed soldiers.

²⁸ It is uncertain, from the words of Diodorus, whether the dead, or the 3000 living prisoners, were so treated. After mentioning the number of those who fell with their general, and also of the captives, that historian says, “Philip hung up Onomarchus: the rest, as sacrilegious delinquents, he ordered to be thrown into the sea.” The ambiguity of expression is such, that it is not easy to decide: but I would rather suspect the king of bigoted absurdity than of horrible cruelty.

some havoc in his camp. They then marched to assist the Locrians at Aryca; but he put them to flight, stormed the town, and demolished it. He died before the close of the year, amidst tortures which (says Diodorus) he deserved for his impiety. His nephew Phalæcus was allowed to succeed him, under the guardianship of Mnaseas, who was soon after slain in battle. The youth took into his own hands the reins of government, and continued the war with greater spirit than success.

The ambition of Archidamus excited hostilities in the Peloponnesus. Aiming at the restoration of the Spartan supremacy in Greece, he began with encroachments on the liberties of the Argives, and proceeded to harass the Megalopolitan state. A league was formed against him; but the campaign terminated in some respects to his advantage.

The sacred war declined into mere devastations; and the Peloponnesian states relaxed in their hostile zeal. Yet the Greeks would not suffer their warlike spirit wholly to languish; for 3000 Argives, and 1000 Thebans, (beside 6000 inhabitants of the Grecian cities in Asia Minor,) accompanied the Persians in an expedition to Egypt, which ended in the conquest of that kingdom. A much greater number of Greeks, at the same time, formed a part of that army which the Egyptian sovereign brought into the field.

Philip continued to strengthen his realm by occasional accessions. He had alarmed the Athenians, after the defeat of Onomarchus, by advancing to Thermopylæ, on pretence of chastising the Phocians, but, in reality, to forward his views for the acquisition of a paramount authority in Greece. Troops were instantly levied for the defence of the pass; and so firm a front did the Athenians display, that the king, mortified and incensed, returned into Macedon. He now led an army into the Chalcidian territory, and reduced many of its towns by force or by

Ante-Chr. corruption²⁹. The power of the Olynthian com-
 349. munity rendered the conquest of it's capital more difficult than that of most of the Chalcidian towns: he therefore prepared a very considerable force to act against it; alleging, as a pretence for hostility, that the state had granted protection to his enemies, particularly to two of his half-brothers, who had conspired against him.

A sense of danger prompted the Olynthians to implore the speedy aid of the Athenians; and the masculine eloquence of Demosthenes was exerted in their behalf. This celebrated orator, at the time of Philip's march to Thermopylæ, had endeavoured to rouse his countrymen to vigorous exertions against that artful prince, whose aims, he knew, were unfriendly to the liberties of Greece; and he now urged the people, by unmasking his future views, to give him an early check, by sending a large armament to confound his present schemes. His oratory made less impression upon his auditors than he wished: but it produced a vote, importing, that thirty ships and 2000 soldiers should be dispatched for the defence of the Olynthians. These succours, however, were not forwarded
 Ante Chr. with the requisite diligence; and the king was
 348. proceeding with rapid success, at a time when no one, except the men who were on board, knew where the armament could be found. He obtained a considerable advantage in the field, before he commenced a regular siege of Olynthus; and the fears of the inhabitants induced them to make another application to the Athenians for effectual aid. Some galleys were sent out in search of Chares, to whom the imprudence of the government had

²⁹ To this expedition Justin probably refers, where he speaks of Philip's conquest of *Cappadocia*, between the visit to Thermopylæ and the attack of the Olynthians. It does not appear, from any original writer, that the king was out of Europe at the time alluded to; nor is there any reason to think that he ever had any concern with *Cappadocia*.

intrusted the command of the auxiliary force. He now re-appeared, and, having merely dispersed a small party of Philip's partisans on the coast of Pallene, boasted of this trivial act as if it had been a glorious exploit. Demosthenes objected to the smallness of the force which had been sent out; reprobated the evasion of military duty by the superior and opulent citizens, who, by the ancient laws, ought to take their turn in the service; and condemned the waste of public money upon games and theatrical entertainments. A new levy was ordered, to the amount of 4000 men, few of whom, however, were citizens of Athens. These were sent to Olynthus under the conduct of Charidemus; and their safe arrival encouraged the inhabitants to risque another engagement, which proved to them as unsuccessful as the former. By the persuasions of those traitorous citizens who had been bribed with Philip's gold, the people banished Apollonides, and gave the chief military command to Euthykrates and Lasthenes, the secret friends of that prince. When many of the besiegers had fallen in repeated assaults, the two commanders sallied out with a body of cavalry, and suffered themselves and the whole troop to be surrounded and captured. The spirit of defence was now relaxed; treachery opened the gates; the city was pillaged, and nearly demolished; and all the inhabitants were sold as slaves. The tyrant conceived that he sufficiently evinced his humanity in permitting them to live. To his two brothers, whom he found in the town, he was less humane; for he ordered them to be put to death, by the sentence of a military council³⁰.

The overthrow of the Olynthian state inspired Philip with a joy which he could not disguise. He courteously thanked the soldiers in general, and applauded their zeal for his service; and he liberally rewarded the exertions of

30 Diod. lib, xvi. sect. 54.—Demost. Orat.—Just. viii. 3.

his principal officers. He celebrated the Olympic games with extraordinary magnificence ; charmed the spectators with his affability and polite address ; and gave frequent entertainments, in which he displayed all the elegance and grandeur of royal hospitality. Hilarity and good humor prevailed at the plenteous board ; and, while the enlivening cup went round, many of the guests were tempted to ask favors, which the king obligingly granted.

Alarmed at the success of Philip, the Athenians sent deputies to the different states, to propose a general confederacy for the defence and security of Greece : but no such alliance was now concluded. The intrigues of his partisans proved efficacious in counter-acting that inclination for war, which was manifested in various assemblies ; and Phrynon, a wealthy citizen, being sent in a public character to the Macedonian court, was so artfully amused by the king, who assured him of his anxious wish to cultivate the friendship of Athens, that he seemed to be fully convinced of his sincerity, and exerted his endeavours with success to turn the tide from war to peace. It was voted in a popular assembly, that ten ambassadors should be deputed to the court of Philip, for the adjustment of a complete accommodation. Demosthenes and Æschines were among the number ; and the former was particularly eager for an opportunity of maintaining the rights and pretensions of Athens, in the presence of a monarch who seemed to think only of his own interest. But, when he and his associates were admitted to an audience, his confidence vanished ; and so great was his confusion, that he could only speak with hesitation and incoherence ; while Æschines distinguished himself by a pointed harangue, which excited the particular attention of Philip. In re-
Ante Chr. turn for this diplomatic visit, the king sent Par-
347. menio, Eurylochus, and his minister Antipater, to negotiate with the Athenians in their capital. Philocrates advised, that not only a pacification, but also an al-

liance, should be concluded without delay : and Æschines, who is supposed to have been seduced by bribery, supported this proposition, in the hope of securing the good-will and forbearance of the Macedonian king. The motion being adopted, he and four other envoys repaired to Pella, for the final settlement of the treaty³¹.

In the mean time, the Phocian war was not entirely discontinued ; but, for some years, it had not proceeded beyond occasional and desultory ravages. The Bœotians now wished for peace, that they might recover by treaty the towns which they had lost ; and the Phocians, to atone for their sacrilegious guilt, deposed Phalæcus, for whom they substituted three governors, whom they ordered to inquire into the successive embezzlements. Philo, having had a great concern in the disposal of the stolen treasure, was condemned, and tortured to death. Some of those whom he named as fellow-delinquents, restored the remains of the spoil, but were not indulged with pardon. The Athenians and Lacedæmonians were severely blamed by the pious votaries of Apollo for their encouragement of the Phocians, and for having received a part of the sacred treasure. In another instance, the former had recently proved that they were not very scrupulous in this respect. Iphicrates, when he commanded a fleet in their service, intercepted some vessels, containing ornamental offerings for the temples of Jupiter and Apollo ; and they were applied to the public use, as ordinary spoils. Dionysius the younger, prince of Syracuse, who had sent out these votive presents, wrote to the senate and people of Athens in the following terms : “ It is not proper that I should express my good wishes, or address you in the usual style of compliment, since you commit sacrilege both by land and sea, and have even converted into money the images and figures which I sent to the Gods ; thus im-

“ piously violating the majesty of the greatest of all the Deities, Apollo and Olympian Jupiter ³².”

With a view of bringing the war to a close, the Bœotians at length solicited the interference of Philip. He was pleased with the application, as it furnished him with an opportunity of effectually promoting his interest in Greece. He immediately sent troops, by whose aid the Phocians were routed near Abæ ³³; and about 500 of the fugitives, having taken up their temporary abode in the temple of Apollo, perished in a conflagration that broke out among their tents, in which were beds of straw ³⁴. When he was ready for a personal expedition, he concluded with the Athenians that treaty which they ^{Ante Chr.} ³⁴⁶ desired, but refused to reckon the Phocians among the contracting parties, as their delinquency, in his opinion, rendered them unworthy of such an indulgence. Having thus allayed the rising suspicions, he prosecuted his schemes with full confidence of success.

The penetration of the principal citizens of Athens enabled them to develope the artful character of Philip, and to foresee his selfish and sinister aims: but the populace considered him as a gracious and honorable prince, whose alliance was pregnant with advantage.

The treaty was warmly condemned by Demosthenes, who affirmed that it was a mere delusion on the part of Philip, prognosticated that the subjection of Phocis would be followed by the ruin of the freedom and independence of Greece, and earnestly advised the defence of Thermopylæ. But the assembled people confirmed the agreement, and applauded the condescension and kindness of the king, who had promised, in every important respect,

³² Diod. lib. xvi. sect. 57, 58.

³³ Diod. lib. xvi. sect. 59.

³⁴ The Jesuit Briet, suffering the feelings of a man to be absorbed in the malignant ferocity of a Romish inquisitor, speaks of the dreadful fate of these poor wretches, as the just punishment of their enormous guilt:—*pœnâ sacrilegis debitâ, vivi combusti sunt.*

to support the interest of Athens. They did not consider that he had given promises equally plausible to the rivals of their state, and that he only intended to deceive and over-reach all the Grecian communities. Their troops, stationed near the pass, were not commanded to draw the sword; and Philip, trusting to this indecision, boldly advanced toward the frontiers. Phalæcus might have given him some trouble, being at the head of 8000 armed adventurers; but he was glad to compound with the king for a safe retreat. Being thus enabled to pass the barrier with ease, the Macedonian army entered Phocis, in conjunction with the troops of Thessaly and Bœotia; and the intimidated people yielded without resistance. A partial Amphictionic council assembled, not to deliberate freely, but to sanction such a decree as was dictated by a potent and arbitrary prince. It was ordained, that the right of the Phocians to send deputies to this assembly should be transferred to the king of Macedon; that they should not bear arms or use horses before they had made complete restitution to the Delphic treasury; that all who were implicated in the guilt of sacrilege should forfeit every privilege and all protection; that the three principal towns should be dismantled, and the rest so far destroyed as to be severally reduced to sixty houses; and that the lands should be retained only on condition of annually paying sixty talents for the use of the temple, until the amount of treasure should be as great as it was at the commencement of the depredations. The execution of this severe decree was resisted by the inhabitants of some of the Phocian cities; but their contumacy was punished by the doom of slavery, and the total demolition of the towns which they wished to defend³⁵.

³⁵ Diod. lib. xvi. sect. 61.—Demost. Orat.—Pausan. lib. x.—The last-named author exempts Abæ from the general decree, on account of the innocence of the inhabitants.

LETTER II.

Continuation of the History of GREECE and MACEDON, to the Death of PHILIP.

THE rigor, exercised in Greece by a foreign despot, gave general disgust ; and, while Philip was outwardly applauded by many of the Greeks as the friend of religion, he was hated by the majority for his arrogant interference, and his treacherous designs. The Athenians, in particular, blamed themselves for their credulity and their passive demeanor, and loudly proclaimed the necessity of taking arms. Troops were levied for the defence of the persecuted Phocians ; and the fortifications of the city and the Piræus were diligently repaired. But the popular zeal was allayed by a spirited letter which Philip sent to the Athenians, exhorting them, if they had any regard for their own interest or security, to adhere to their recent engagements of peace and forbearance.

Ante Chr. Philip, after his return to his own kingdom,
345. amused himself with transplantations of his subjects, and other objects of internal policy. Those removals which he thought convenient, did not appear in the same light to the people who were thus driven like cattle from one place to another, without regard to their feelings or inclinations. It has been imagined, that the transplanted individuals “ had been conquered in war, or “ had forfeited the rights of subjects by their rebellion or “ other crimes ¹.” This appears to have been the case in some instances : but we may suppose, with equal probability, that Philip, however rational, wise, and politic, sometimes acted (like other despots) from caprice, and

1 Dr. Leland's History of the Life and Reign of Philip.

from the mere desire of displaying his superiority of power².

These regulations were followed by an expedition against the Illyrians. Philip seems (says an an- Ante Chr. 344.
cient historian) to have cherished an hereditary

hatred to that nation; and, either from this permanent animosity alone, or for some new offence, of which no particulars are stated, he invaded Illyria, reduced many of it's towns, and returned with copious spoils. He soon after re-visited Thessaly, where he crushed the power of some arbitrary magistrates, repressed the attempts of faction, and fully established his own authority³.

To the affairs of Greece he continued to pay the greatest attention. He found that the Athenians had concluded an alliance with the Lacedæmonians, as a check upon his encroachments; and that the Theban emissaries in the Peloponnesus were, at the same time, intriguing for the formation of a league against Sparta. He supported the Thebans and their allies, because he found them more subservient to his will; and peremptorily desired Archidamus to desist from his attempts to acquire an undue authority over other states. He occasionally aimed at the possession of particular towns; and, although he sometimes gave way to a rising opposition, he at other times finally persevered.

By sending troops to assist the Argives and Messenians, he nearly excited a war in the Peloponnesus. The Spartans called upon the Athenians for support; and Demosthenes forcibly urged the expediency of an immediate compliance with the request, unless they wished to see Philip in possession of the peninsula. That prince at length undertook an expedition into Laconia, took Trinasus by artifice, and received the submissions of several

² *Populos et urbes* (says Justin) *ad libidinem suam transfert.*

³ Diod. lib. xvi. sect. 70.

states. The Lacedæmonians, too weak to withstand the invader, acquiesced in such terms as were calculated to favor their adversaries; and the king retired, well pleased with the facility of his success.

A contest for the superiority of influence in Thrace, he was now at leisure to decide. On the death of Cotys, who was assassinated by two of his subjects for having put their father to death, his three sons had governed in conjunction, until Cersobleptes, the eldest, found means to dispossess his brothers. From this prince the Athenians had procured a restitution of the whole Chersonesus, except the town of Cardia. He was afterward deprived, by Philip's restless ambition, of a very considerable portion of his territories: but, if he did not recover any part of what he had thus lost, he appears to have been still enabled to harass with hostilities the subjects of Macedon. The king marched against him, and, having defeated him in more
 Ante Chr. 343. than one engagement, subjected his people to the annual contribution of a tenth part of the produce of their lands⁴. He then advanced as far as Cardia, which he had taken under his protection; and, as the Athenians were accused by the inhabitants of encroaching on their rights, he promised such aid as would effectually secure them. The Athenian possessions in the Chersonesus were under the government of Diopithes, who, resenting Philip's interference in the affairs
 Ante Chr. 342. of this part of Thrace, made an incursion into the territories which belonged to that monarch (on the Thracian coast), and imprisoned a Macedonian envoy. Demosthenes defended the conduct of this general, who, he said, had only taken a trifling revenge for the king's unwarrantable practices.

⁴ Demost. Orat.—Justin says, that, Cersobleptes and his brother Amadocus having left to the king's arbitration the disputes which had arisen between them, he invaded Thrace as an enemy, instead of appearing as a mediator, and seized the territories of both princes.

In Epirus, Philip strengthened his interest, on the death of Arymbas, by excluding Æacides, the son of the deceased prince, and procuring the crown for his brother-in-law Alexander, the son of Neoptolemus⁵. Arymbas had been educated at Athens, where he acquired a considerable portion of the learning of the times, and imbibed the knowledge of law and policy, which enabled him to improve the constitution of his country.

In Eubœa, at this time, the Macedonian influence declined. The king had made early attempts to weaken the interest of Athens in that island. His first experiments were those of corruption; his next efforts were acts of violence. He gained possession of several fortresses, seized Oreum, and, by the medium of dependent officers, tyrannised over a considerable part of the country. Pericles was sent with a small force to re-establish the authority of the republic. He endeavoured to stem the torrent of corruption and treachery, and was victorious in the first encounter over the partisans of the royal seducer. The conduct of his successor, Molossus, rather injured than promoted the Athenian cause. He suffered the opposite party to extend its sway, and was made prisoner with the bulk of his army. From Oreum and Eretria, the mandates of the Macedonian agents were sent to all quarters of the island, and, if any opposition arose, it was speedily quelled. But the arrogance and severity of these tyrants at length became intolerable. The people declared themselves ready to shake off the yoke, if the Athenians would send a

⁵ Diod. lib. xvi. sect. 73.—Justin accuses Philip of dethroning Arymbas (whom he calls Arrybas); and affirms, that the injured prince died in exile. Demosthenes (Olynth. iii.) speaks of an expedition against Arymbas, among other instances of the aggressive ambition of the Macedonian monarch; it is supposed, by one of his commentators, that he alludes to the assistance which was given to Neoptolemus by his son-in-law, who compelled the reigning prince to admit his brother to a participation of the royal dignity: but we have better authority for believing that Neoptolemus died before his daughter was married to Philip.

litary force under an able leader ; and, when Phocion had again made his appearance in the island, he expelled the royal garrisons, and restored the Athenian Ante Chr. 341. sway. The zeal of Demosthenes had been so usefully exerted in promoting this change, and he had so ably counter-acted, by his negotiations, the intrigues of Philip's friends, that a golden crown was decreed to him, as a mark of signal honor, by the senate and people of Athens.

Philip dissembled his chagrin at the revolution in Eubœa, and resolved to attack the allies of Athens on the coast of the Propontis. As the inhabitants of Perinthus and Byzantium carried on a great trade with Attica, he knew that his acquisition of those cities would severely distress the Athenians, by cutting off their supplies of corn. He therefore marched into Thrace with 30,000 men, and commenced a vigorous siege. Towers, considerably higher than the walls of Perinthus, were prepared ; and, from those erections, missiles of every kind were showered upon the defenders of the place, while the walls were furiously battered, and also undermined. When breaches appeared in many parts, the besiegers rushed forward, as if a general assault would be decisive : but the garrison hastily erected a new wall, and kept out the daring foe. The Byzantines sent succours, which the Macedonians could not prevent from being introduced ; and the most determined courage was exerted for the preservation of the city. To stimulate the perseverance of the inhabitants, the Persian potentate, who was desirous of checking the career of Philip, sent ample supplies of men and stores. He also endeavoured to rouse the Athenians to a sense of their danger, and is said to have bribed Demosthenes to the continued exercise of his ardent eloquence in the same cause ⁶ : but the orator was sufficiently disposed

to animate his countrymen, without the enticements of pecuniary contribution.

Unable to take Perinthus by assault (for even the houses, forming one row above another, were used as fortifications), Philip left a part of his army to block up the place, and marched with the other division toward Selymbria. The Byzantines, apprehending a speedy visit, sent an agent to Athens to request immediate aid. An armament was fitted out for that service ; but the choice of a commander was not the most judicious. The influence of Chares procured the appointment for himself ; and he sailed into the Propontis with confident alacrity. When he arrived in the vicinity of Byzantium, he was excluded from the harbour by the disgust of the citizens, who entertained a very unfavorable opinion of his capacity and character. When the Athenians were informed of this rejection, they were displeased at the contemptuous behaviour of their allies, who, they said, did not deserve to be assisted ; but Phocion vindicated the Byzantines, and condemned the nomination of a dissolute and rapacious citizen, who was not qualified to execute the functions of a commander. The assembly did not disapprove the manly freedom of this speaker, and immediately appointed him to supersede Chares. He sailed ^{Ante Chr.} with a reinforcement, and was readily admitted ^{340.}

into the port of Byzantium ; and his troops, in concert with the garrison, repelled the assaults of Philip, who, finding that succours were also sent from Chios and Rhodes, relinquished both sieges, and retired with disgrace⁷. Phocion recovered some small towns which had been recently taken, and made incursions into the king's Thracian territories ; but, being attacked by a superior force, and wounded, he returned to the fleet. On his arrival at Athens, he found the people in a state of in-

7 Diod. lib. xvi. sect. 77, 78.—Plut. Vit. Phocionis.

flammability. Philip had addressed them in a long epistle, accusing them of aggression, and denouncing war. The challenge was accepted ; for the zeal of liberty and independence pervaded the community. Phocion, whose courage was tempered with circumspection, and who was sensible of the corrupt degeneracy of his countrymen, blamed the indiscrete warmth of Demosthenes, and advised forbearance and moderation : but he declaimed to the winds. The storm had arisen, and the proud waves disdained all control.

A dispute with Atheas, a Scythian king⁸, furnished Philip with a pretence for the discontinuance of his operations in Thrace. Envoys from the court of the barbarian prince had solicited his aid against the Istrians, alluring him by a promise of the reversion of his crown, but the death of the Istrian king induced Atheas to disavow the negotiation ; and he refused even to comply with Philip's demand of a sum of money, for the payment of the troops that he had sent to the Scythian confines. A Macedonian army now advanced toward the Danube ; and, in the battle which ensued, discipline prevailed over strength and superiority of number. It is said, that 20,000 men, women, and children, were made prisoners on this occasion ; but they were, in all probability, dismissed by the victor. The spoil, which consisted chiefly of cattle, tempted the Triballi to attack the king on his return, as he refused to allow them a share. He was wounded in the thigh, and rescued by his gallant son. The assailants were repelled ; but the Macedonians could only save a part of the spoil. This attack was the more displeasing, as it was wholly unexpected⁹.

8 The name of *Scythia* is vaguely applied by many ancient writers ; but this prince seems to have reigned over the Getæ between the Danube and the Niester, or between the former river and the Euxine. It is not stated whether the invaders passed the Danube to meet the enemy.

9 Just. lib. ix. cap. 2, 3.

The war between Philip and the Athenians did not immediately follow the menaces which had been thrown out. The king waited for an opportunity of acting with extraordinary effect; and he artfully prepared the conjuncture, by the introduction of religious concerns. At a session of the Amphictionic council, Ante Chr. 339.

Æschines, tutored by the Macedonian despot, demanded the punishment of the people of Amphissa (in Locris), for having taken possession of consecrated ground, and for repairing a harbour, which, in the time of Solon, had been solemnly devoted to destruction for the sacrilegious guilt of the people of Cirrha. The majority of the members agreed to the motion, and summoned the inhabitants of Delphi to assist them in demolishing the harbour, and in destroying the fruits of profane industry: but the executors of the decree were assaulted by the Locrians, and indignantly driven from the spot. Some of the members, in marking the boundaries, were again attacked, and the president was wounded. As the Locrians refused to submit to the sentence of banishment pronounced against the chief delinquents, or to pay the imposed fine, a vote passed for the appointment of Philip to the command of that army which was destined to support the cause of religion, and punish the refractory and outrageous spirit of the citizens of Amphissa¹⁰.

He had secured this pleasing vote by his arts and intrigues; and his emissaries in the different states of Greece were instructed to applaud the appointment, and promote a general submission to the decree for chastising the Locrians. Having equipped a great armament, he Ante Chr. 338. commenced his voyage to Greece with the most elevated hopes. The Athenians sent out a fleet to oppose his disembarkation: but he eluded their hostile purpose by pretending, that he was suddenly called away by the

¹⁰ Æschin. Orat. in Ctesiphontem.

perturbed state of Thrace. When their ships had sailed toward that country, he found an opportunity of landing; and he immediately demanded an addition to his army from each of the states that sent deputies to the council. Even the Bœotians were not so credulous as to imagine that so great a force was only intended to act against the people of Amphissa. They could not avoid suspecting the king's views, and began to wish that they had never entered into any engagements with a prince of his selfish and insidious character. At first, they disregarded his citation; but their reverence for the supreme assembly prompted them to detach an armed *corps* into the Phocian territory, where the combined troops were ordered to meet. The Athenians sent a body of foreign mercenaries for the defence of the Locrians; but they did not venture to resist the Macedonian and Amphictionic army. Philip garrisoned Amphissa, and destroyed some towns, where sacrilege, for a time, had overwhelmed piety; and the storm seemed ready to burst upon some of those states which were known to be unfriendly to his interest.

In the approaching contest, the military fame of the Thebans rendered the Athenians as anxious to secure their adjunction, as Philip was eager to prevent it. Both parties sent deputies to Thebes; and those of Athens counter-acted, with zeal and ability, the intrigues of the Macedonian agents. The Thebans were yet undetermined, when the king, to accelerate their decision, ordered the seizure of Elatea. This was a Phocian town, conveniently situated for over-awing Bœotia.

The intelligence of this act of hostility operated upon the Athenians like an electrical shock. The city was a scene of confusion; and every one called or wished for an immediate national assembly. An alarm was repeatedly sounded during the night, as if an enemy had appeared at the gates; and the day had scarcely dawned, when the senate and people assembled. For some time, no speaker

offered himself. The silence was at length broken by that orator who had so frequently appealed to the patriotic feelings of the citizens. Demosthenes first stated the object which Philip had in view in the late seizure. It was, he said, to encourage his partisans at Thebes, and infuse such terror into his adversaries, that they might yield without farther resistance to the measures proposed by the former. An avoidance of association with the Thebans, because animosities had long subsisted between them and the Athenians, would be, in effect, a compliance with the wishes of Philip, who would thus be enabled to triumph at Thebes, and procure useful allies for the invasion of Attica. The orator then exhorted his hearers to shake off all fears for themselves, and think only of the evils which the well-affected Bœotians had cause to apprehend. “ Let a respectable army (he added) “ march without delay to Eleusis. The Greeks, in general, will then see, that you are in a posture of defence ; “ and the patriotic Thebans in particular will be animated “ to vigorous exertions, when they observe, that, while “ the dastardly men who have sold their country to Philip have an army at Elatea to assist them, you are prepared to support those who are willing to preserve their “ liberty.” He advised the immediate appointment of new ambassadors, who should first go to Thebes to negotiate an alliance, and afterward promote the same object in other parts of Greece.

To the propositions of Demosthenes, a ready assent was given ; and, while an army and fleet were in preparation, he and other envoys repaired to Thebes, where, at a meeting of the people, his commanding eloquence triumphed over the oratorical exertions of the delegates of Philip. A warmth of zeal for the maintenance of Grecian liberty pervaded the assembly ; and an alliance was concluded with the Bœotian state¹¹.

11 Diod. lib. xvi. sect. 86.

The best Athenian general, at that time, was Phocion. He was not an advocate for the war, because he did not think that his countrymen were able to cope with the more disciplined army of Philip. He knew that they were brave ; but, amidst the corruption of their manners, they wanted steadiness and vigor. They had transient fits of courage and enthusiasm, without the firm and determined mind. Regardless of the claims and merit of Phocion, they chose Chares and Lysicles for their generals. From such leaders, little benefit could be expected ; disgrace was rather to be apprehended.

If the Athenians had not procured the association of the Thebans, they would probably have declined the contest, and have submitted to the requisitions of Philip. But the strength which they derived from the league gave them a high degree of confidence. Eager for the decision of the dispute, they expedited the advance of their troops into Bœotia ; and an intercourse, apparently the most friendly, ensued between the soldiers of each army, as if all the animosities of former rivalry had been forgotten. Demosthenes, though by no means eminent as a warrior, was permitted to direct the movements of the allied force ; and to the Thebans he gave the precedence, that no disgust might cool the ardor which they now displayed.

In this confederacy, the Lacedæmonians did not embark. The Corinthians are reckoned among the allies ; and some other aid, not very important, seems also to have been derived from the Peloponnesus. Northern Greece furnished the greater part of the army, which consisted of about 27,000 men ; while the royal host comprehended 32,000 warriors¹². Philip, marching into Bœotia, fixed

12 Diod. lib. xvi. sect. 86.—Justin elevates the Athenian army to a far greater amount than that of Philip ; but the Sicilian historian says, that the king far surpassed his opponents, both in the number of men and in military skill.

upon the plain of Chæronea for the scene of slaughter. His son, who conducted the left wing, opposed the best troops of Thebes ; but he lost many of his men, and particularly of his young companions, before he made any impression upon the enemy. The right wing, led by the king himself, encountered the Athenians ; while the centre, chiefly composed of his Grecian allies, attacked the Peloponnesian combatants. A part of each of these two divisions gave way to the impetuosity of the adverse warriors, and retreated in disorder. An able general might have profited by this circumstance, and have flanked the unbroken troops of Philip with effect ; but Lysicles, by a rash pursuit, gave that prince an opportunity of assaulting him, both transversely and in the rear, with victorious effect. The Thebans, and the Greeks of the centre, were also put to flight. Of the Athenians, above 1000 fell, and 2000 were captured¹³. The Theban loss is not particularised by historians ; but it was probably equal to that of their chief associates.

Demosthenes escaped from the field, with the stigma of cowardice. He who had so eagerly recommended war, was not qualified to promote it's success by the animation of his example. He threw down his shield, and fled with the utmost precipitation¹⁴. He has been censured¹⁵ for inflaming by his harangues the divisions and animosities of Greece, and thus facilitating the progress of Philip. This reprehension alludes to his invectives against the leading men of different states, whom he branded for their connexions with Philip, as traitors to the liberties of Greece. But it is not probable that the warmth of an orator, whose intentions were favorable to the great cause of liberty, would provoke others to a desertion of that cause. His motives would excuse or palliate the acri-

¹³ Diod. lib. xvi. sect. 87.—Pausan. vii. 10.—Polyæn.

¹⁴ As Horace did long afterward—*relictâ non benè parmâ*.

¹⁵ By the Abbé de Mably.

mouy of his animadversions; and none but those who were otherwise fully determined upon the maintenance of amity with Philip, would have suffered such reproaches to rouse their resentment. Demosthenes may be more properly blamed for his loud call to arms, at a time when the divided state of Greece, and the degeneracy of the people, seemed to render the contest hopeless.

The royal victor could not refrain from indecorous transport and exultation, when, after an entertainment, he viewed with his principal officers the bodies of his lifeless adversaries. He leaped about with degrading joy, ridiculed the misfortunes of the Athenians, and satirised that arrogance and presumption which had ventured to oppose his policy and power. Being reproved by Demades, a captive orator, for descending to a personation of Ther-sites, when fortune had favored him with an opportunity of assuming the character of Agamemnon, he felt the applicability of the remark, desisted from his intemperate sallies, and treated his honest censor as his friend¹⁶. Apprehending that his great success might almost super-induce an oblivion of his true nature, and of the frail species to which he belonged, he ordered one of his attendants to say to him every morning, before he entered upon public business, "Philip, thou art a man"¹⁷.

In his treatment of the prisoners, the king made a distinction between the Athenians and the Thebans. He unconditionally liberated the former; and sent his son to Athens, with Antipater, to assure the people of his pacific and friendly intentions. But he would not restore the Theban captives without ransom: he demanded money for giving up the bodies of the slain to funeral honors: he even put some of their leaders to death, and banished others, as ungrateful rebels and revolters¹⁸.

¹⁶ Diod. lib. xvi. sect. 88.—Plut. Vit. Demost.

¹⁷ Æliani Var. Hist. lib. viii. cap. 15.

¹⁸ Just. lib. ix. cap. 4.

The shock of the defeat was not so violent, as to reduce the Athenians to absolute despair. They voted for the manumission of slaves, and the grant of municipal privileges to all strangers who would arm in their cause: they repaired the fortifications of the city, and strengthened the works of the Piræus. Instead of reproaching Demosthenes for having sounded the war-whoop, or blaming him for his dastardly flight, they still listened to his advice, and followed his directions. They punished with death the misconduct of Lysicles, and requested Phocion to accept the command of their army. So transient, however, was their vigor, that, when the conqueror promised to leave them in the enjoyment of their constitution, they no longer thought of war, but sent deputies to adjust a pacification. He had seised the island of Samos, and resolved to keep it, as an useful station: all the rest of their territories he allowed them to retain. They outwardly applauded his lenity and kindness, while they inwardly repined at the authority which they expected him to assume.

A grand scheme now occupied the attention of Philip. His ambition increasing with his success, and the general submission of the Grecian states leaving him at full leisure, he resolved to turn his arms against the Persians, in the hope of subduing their declining empire, or, at least, of revenging the invasion of Xerxes. He announced this scheme in a council of Grecian representatives, *Ante Chr.* at Corinth; and, when the proposal had been ^{337.} sanctioned, he was invested with the command of the numerous army which the various states were required to furnish for the enterprise. The Athenians were not pleased with a measure that was forced upon the assembly; but they deemed it prudent to acquiesce in the project. The Lacedæmonians did not concur in it; and, when Philip blamed them for their inattention to the interest of Greece, they still refused to contribute any supplies of men or

money. They were influenced on this occasion by Agis, who, on the fall of his father Archidamus in a battle between the Lucanians and his Tarentine allies, had been placed upon one of the Spartan thrones.

The preparations for the enterprise were sufficiently
 Ante Chr. advanced, in the following spring, to allow the
 336. transportation of a considerable force to Asia Minor, under the command of Parmenio and Attalus, who received orders to rescue the Grecian cities from the Persian yoke. Philip intended soon to follow; but he was suddenly prevented from executing his intentions, or augmenting his fame and power.

Before any troops were sent off under Attalus, the king had contracted an affinity with that commander. Having divorced himself from Olympias (with whose temper he was disgusted, and whom he suspected of infidelity) he gave his hand to Cleopatra, the general's niece. At the nuptial entertainment, Attalus indiscretely said, that the Macedonians were bound to pray for the birth of a lawful heir, in consequence of the auspicious marriage which they were now celebrating. Alexander, resenting the insinuation of his illegitimacy, threw a cup at the head of the general, who instantly treated the prince in the same way. Philip, with his sword drawn, ran to chastise the youth, and, falling down in the attempt from hurry and lameness, was ridiculed by his petulant son for pretending to pass from Europe into Asia, when he could not move from one table to another without falling. Dreading his father's displeasure, the prince retired into Illyria, while his mother took refuge in Epirus¹⁹.

In an expedition against the Illyrians, Pausanias, a youth who was in favor with Philip, threw himself before his endangered sovereign, and fell from repeated wounds. He had been insulted with gross and unpardonable re-

flexions upon the nature of the king's regard for him, and therefore declared to Attalus, that he could not survive the affront. The inflictor of the foul stigma bore the same name, and also enjoyed the royal favor. Attalus, deeply lamenting the death of his friend, testified his resentment, in a very extraordinary mode, against the calumniator who had driven him out of the world. He invited him to an entertainment, encouraged him to drink to excess, and then desired some abandoned wretches to treat his insensible person with the most horrible insults. Thus degraded, Pausanias informed the king of the outrage, and demanded justice. Philip evaded the demand, and promoted the complainant to a higher station among his military attendants. Instead of feeling gratitude for this favor, he considered it as an affront to suppose that he could be so easily pacified. Transported with indignation, he vowed revenge; and those who were disgusted at the injurious treatment which Olympias had received (for an artful and intriguing princess can readily find partisans) fanned the flame of his resentment²⁰.

When Philip was ready to commence his expedition, he offered splendid sacrifices at Ægæ, and at the same time celebrated the marriage of his daughter with his brother-in-law, the king of Epirus. To the games and festivities which attended these ceremonies, he invited distinguished persons from all parts of Greece; and mirth and joy seemed universally to prevail. The king received crowns of gold and flattering addresses from the deputies of Athens and other states: he was saluted by the people with loud acclamations; and seemed to think himself a god upon earth. At the theatre, immediately after twelve statues of different deities had been carried in procession, his own sculptured figure was exhibited, as another object of respect and reverence. His natural per-

son then appeared, the guard following at too great a distance to be able to defend him in case of danger. Pausanias, who had stationed himself near the entrance, drew a dagger which he had concealed under his robe, and humbled the towering pride of the monarch by stabbing him to the heart. The assassin endeavoured to escape, but was overtaken by some officers of the guard, and pierced with many wounds²¹.

The character of Philip was a compound of virtues and vices. He was affable, liberal, frequently merciful, and sometimes regardful of justice; and, on the other hand, he was debauched, corrupt, artful, and inordinately ambitious. He was sagacious and politic; but his abilities were directed to sinister purposes, and his policy was tortuous and dishonorable. He basely undermined those rights and liberties which he had no right to attack; and, that he might more securely accomplish his aims, he endeavoured to subvert the foundations of moral virtue.

LETTER III.

History of the Reign of ALEXANDER the Great, to the Battle of Issus.

THE ardent mind of Alexander, and his extraordinary thirst of glory, would, even under the most unfavorable circumstances, have stimulated him to invasion and conquest, to the assumption of high power and the extension of lordly sway: but he found additional incitements to

21 Diod. lib. xvi. sect. 93. 95.—It is not certain that Olympias instigated Pausanias to the murderous deed; but it appears that she was highly pleased at the king's death, and testified her vindictive joy by placing a crown of gold on the traitor's head, when his body was exposed on a gibbet. *Justin.*

such a course, in the result of the artful and persevering policy of his ambitious predecessor. The Macedonian realm had been considerably extended by Philip, and he had brought the people into implicit subjection. Greece, if not subdued to complete servility, was over-awed and humbled. The preparations for an oriental war were great and formidable ; and, if they should not be applied to the avowed object, they might be employed to crush all remains of freedom. If prudence and moderation had been the prevailing qualities of Alexander, he would have contented himself with the good government of Macedon, and with the exercise of his authority for the general benefit of Greece, without engaging in remote expeditions, or indulging himself in the phrensy of conquest. But he was nursed in ambition, and did not possess that philosophical strength of mind which would have effectually controlled such a dangerous propensity. Instead of manifesting a beneficent disposition, and displaying an estimable character, he sought only to dazzle and inflame the world.

When he was suddenly called to the exercise of royalty, his natural capacity had been apparently so ^{Ante Chr.} improved by education, that he was thought to be ^{336.} qualified, at the age of twenty years, for the task of government : but his qualifications were more specious than solid ; and his passions, instead of being controlled by judgement, seemed to disdain that useful curb.

The determined spirit of the young monarch was soon displayed. He ordered the accomplices of Pausanias to be sacrificed at the funeral of his father ; and sent Hecataeus in pursuit of Attalus, whose ambitious views he strongly suspected, and whom the emissary inveigled into the snares of destruction. The apprehended competition of Caranus, an illegitimate son of Philip, was also extinguished by the stroke of death¹.

1 Diod. lib. xvii. sect. 2, 5.—Just. xi. 2.

Being eagerly inclined to undertake the expedition proposed by the late monarch, Alexander hastened into Greece, and procured from the general assembly an appointment to the chief command of the confederate host. He returned to chastise the Triballi and the Getæ, who
 Ante Chr. 335. had taken arms against him; and, when he had reduced them to submission, he attacked the Illyrians with equal vigor and efficacy².

Despising the youth and inexperience of the new king, and trusting to the number of his enemies, the Thebans meditated a revolt; and a rumor of his fall in battle hurried them into action. They suddenly slew all the Macedonians whom they could find, belonging to the garrison of Cadmea³: and, after a fruitless demand of surrender, they surrounded that fortress with such apparently strong works, that the relief of the besieged seemed hopeless. To the Argives, Arcadians, and Eleans, earnest applications were made by the besiegers for assistance. Troops were sent to the isthmus, in ostensible compliance with the request; but they were not led against the king's army. Demosthenes exhorted the Athenians to act with vigor in defence of the Thebans, whose interest, he said, was the common cause of Greece. They voted a supply of men, without executing the ordinance for that purpose. The orator, disgusted at their neglect of the interests of their neighbours, evinced his zeal by sending to Thebes a considerable quantity of arms⁴.

When the great force which the Macedonians could send into the field, and the promising talents and determined courage of the king, were properly considered, prudence might have dictated to the Thebans the propriety of submission. But their eagerness for a recovery of their independence prompted them to persevere in defiance of danger, and their courage rose to enthusiasm.

2 Arriani Expedit. Alex. lib. 1.—Diod.—Just.

3 Plut. Vit. Demost. 4 Diod. lib. xvii. sect. 8.

Alexander promised to pardon their revolt, if they would deliver up their most active instigators. They treated the offer as an insult, and, in return, desired him to put his evil counsellors into their hands. Finding them pertinaciously disposed to withstand all his efforts, he resolved to inflict on them all the miseries of war. He made a three-fold arrangement of his force; ordering one division to attack the entrenchments, and another to oppose the Theban army, and keeping the third as a *corps de reserve*. The works were defended by men who had recently emerged from slavery, and by emigrants from various countries; while the best troops of the state faced the Macedonian phalanx. The contest was warm and vigorous; and victory long hovered in suspense: but the sanguine confidence of Alexander would not suffer him to despair of ultimate success. He ordered the reserve to be brought into action; and, exulting in the view of an unguarded part of the fortifications, he desired Perdiccas to push forward into the city with some select cohorts. That intrepid officer soon entered; and not all the efforts of the armed inhabitants could dislodge his detachment. Those who had fought near the town now hastened within the walls to expel the intruders; and, on the other hand, the Macedonians sallied from the citadel, and spread confusion among the harassed Thebans. A dreadful slaughter ensued. None would condescend to supplicate mercy; and the rage of massacre, unchecked by the royal victor, strewed the earth with the bodies of all who appeared in arms as defenders of liberty. Slavery was the fate of the rest, with an exception of the ministers of religion, of the few opposers of the revolt, the descendants of the celebrated Pindar, and the particular friends of the Macedonian nobles or officers⁵. The city was then de-

⁵ About 6000 men lost their lives in the battle and in the assault; and the number of captives, of both sexes, amounted to 30,000, according to Diodorus and Plutarch. It is said, that Alexander never could forgive himself for the

stroyed, at the request of the Thespians and other Greeks who served in the army of Alexander, and who thus gratified their own malignity, while they flattered the vindictive passions of the young despot. This was an unfavorable specimen of the new reign; an ominous presage of progressive enormities!

The success and cruelty of Alexander did not so far intimidate the Athenians as to prevent them from affording an asylum to those who escaped from the ruin of Thebes, in defiance of the king's prohibition. They deemed it expedient, however, to send Demosthenes, and other distinguished citizens, to appease the wrath of the conqueror of Thebes. The orator did not venture to meet the prince whom his eloquence had assailed, but retired before the envoys reached the royal camp. Alexander demanded the surrender of that persevering enemy of Macedon, and of nine other orators. "You will ruin yourselves," said Demosthenes to the assembled people, "if, like cowardly sheep, you deliver up to the wolf the faithful dogs who guard you." Phocion exhorted his fellow-citizens to comply with the demand, rather than endanger the state: but the assembly silenced him with clamorous indignation, and refused to betray the popular speakers. Demades undertook the task of conciliation; and, being sent to Alexander, he persuaded him to relinquish the imperious requisition⁶.

Having diffused terror through Greece by the vigor of his arms, the king returned into Macedon, and directed

inhumanity with which he sullied his triumph; and that, with a view of atoning in some degree for it, he granted every favor which, during the whole remainder of his reign, any Theban ventured to ask of him. *Plutarch.*

6 Diod. lib. xvii. sect. 15.—Plut. Vit. Demost.—Justin says, that the Athenians, in consideration of the safety of their orators, agreed to the banishment of their leaders or generals, who, hastening to the court of Darius, usefully served him in his military operations. But this statement is not supported by other writers. Arrian merely speaks of the exile of Charidemus (whom Plutarch reckons among the orators), and of his retreat to the Persian court.

his attention to the grand enterprise by which he hoped to immortalise his name. He called his generals, ministers, and friends, to a council, and requested them to give their opinions with the utmost freedom on the subject of the Asiatic war. All concurred in recommending an expedition against Darius, as a task worthy of his heroism, honorable to the Macedonian name, and calculated for the essential benefit of confederate Greece: but there were two who, while they applauded the design, advised such a delay of it's execution as would give him time to strengthen his throne by the birth of a son. These counsellors were Antipater and Parmenio, for whom he had a great regard, but whose suggestions he slighted on this occasion.

To procure the favor of the Gods, he solemnised magnificent sacrifices, which were accompanied with sports, banquets, and scenic exhibitions. This mixture of religion and entertainment gratified the Macedonians for nine days; and the festivity was followed by the bustle of military preparation. The royal treasury was not so well filled as to answer every contingent demand, when so great a conquest was in agitation: but Alexander, looking forward to immense spoils, intended that the war should pay itself. He testified his liberality by the distribution of all his lands among his friends⁷. "What (said Perdicas) "have you reserved for yourself?"—"Hope," replied the king.—"The same reserve will content me," rejoined Perdicas; and he refused the royal donation. Some other courtiers and officers were equally disinterested.

Leaving the realm to the care of Antipater, to whom 13,500 soldiers were assigned for that service, Alexander began his march in the spring to the ^{Ante Chr. 334.} coast of the Thracian peninsula. The fleet of Darius might have opposed his passage over the Hellespont; but no thoughts of that kind were entertained. He was so

⁷ Plut. Vit. Alexandri.—Just. lib. xi. cap. 5.

pleased at his approach to the Asiatic coast, that, having thrown a spear from his ship, so as to fix it in the earth, he leaped upon the shore, and exclaimed, "Thus I take possession of Asia, as a gift from the Gods!" He had an intention of destroying Lampsacus, for the revolt of the people; but the intercession of Anaximenes, whom his father had patronised for literary merit, diverted him from his purpose. When he reached the plain where Troy had stood, he exulted in the fame which the Greeks had acquired on that spot. He viewed the tombs of the heroes who had fallen in their glorious career; manifested his esteem for their characters by the honors which he paid to their *manès*; and particularly envied the good fortune of Achilles, in finding a Homer to record his achievements and perpetuate his renown.

He numbered his army while he rested in Phrygia, and found that he had 36,100 men under his command. As the troops thus assembled were destined to rise to high distinction in the annals of martial exploits, some particularity of statement may be expected. The force upon which the king chiefly depended, consisted of 13,000 Macedonians who served on foot, and 4200 horsemen, of whom the Thessalians and Greeks formed more than one half: the Illyrians and Triballi, with the Odrysæ, amounted to 5000, to whom were added 1000 skilful archers, levied among the Agriani: 7000 of the infantry were furnished by the Grecian allied states, and 5000 were a motley band of mercenaries: the rest were light troops from Pæonia and Thrace⁸.

Such a force appeared contemptible to the Persian despot, who, with great ease, could bring more numerous armies into the field. But a Rhodian named Memnon, the best officer in his service, did not think so highly of

8 This account is borrowed from Diodorus. Plutarch does not greatly differ from that historian, when he says, that the writers who state the smallest number enumerate 35,000, and others do not extend it beyond 38,000.

the troops of his master, or so meanly of those of Alexander. He therefore proposed that the Persians should avoid a general engagement, and obstruct the advance of the enemy by ravaging the country : he also recommended the transportation of a considerable army into Macedon or Greece, that the invaders of Asia might be recalled into Europe. The other commanders differed from Memnon, and voted for an immediate conflict.

The progress of Alexander gave him a view of the Persian army⁹, stationed on the banks of the Granicus. Obeying the impulse of his courage, he disregarded both the depth of the river and the steepness of the opposite bank, and attempted the passage amidst showers of arrows. He passed over safely with a body of horse; and Parmenio followed him with another division. A fierce conflict ensued, in which the king's alacrity and valor were highly conspicuous. Being marked out by the enemy, he was involved in extreme danger, and would probably have received a mortal blow through his fractured helmet, if Clitus had not cut off the daring arm that was lifted against him. The Persian cavalry being at length routed, the infantry of Darius did not long withstand the energy of the invaders; but all began to give way except the Greek stipendiaries of that prince. These remained in their ranks, as if they intended to act with vigor: but, after a short resistance, they were overwhelmed by their adversaries, who slew a great number, and reserved 2000 for laborious captivity. The satrap Arsites, who had shown a particular eagerness for an engagement, and had fondly dreamed of certain victory, would not survive the disgrace of defeat, but hastened from the field, and put an end to his own life. About 12,500 men fell

⁹ The accounts of the number of this army materially differ. Diodorus makes it amount to 110,000 men. Justin absurdly elevates it to 600,000; but Gronovius thinks, that this author wrote *ferè centum*, rather than *sexcenta*, as Strabo speaks only of 40,000 men, as forming the Persian host.

on the side of the vanquished ; while a very small loss was sustained by the victors¹⁰. That the survivors might be encouraged to honorable exertions, Alexander granted to the families of the slain a perpetual exemption from imposts and from service. He took extraordinary care of the wounded, and alleviated their sufferings by personal condolence. Of the spoils, he sent the most costly portion to his mother and his friends in Europe ; and, to the Athenians, whom he esteemed above the rest of the Greeks, he sent three hundred shields. To most of the spoils, he annexed this inscription : “ Alexander the son of Philip, and the Greeks, except the Lacedæmonians, won this token of success from the barbarians of Asia¹¹.”

A rapid course of conquest followed this signal victory. Sardes, the chief seat of the Persian power in Asia Minor, submitted without resistance ; and the whole province of Lydia followed the example of the capital. Proceeding into Ionia, the king gratified the people of Ephesus with a restoration of their favorite government. Finding that Miletus was occupied by Memnon, who had escaped with a considerable force from the late battle, he besieged the town with great vigor, and made so many breaches by the fury of his assaults, that the garrison surrendered, to avoid a general massacre. Some of the Persians were put to the sword ; others escaped ; the rest were enslaved. The Milesians, on the contrary, were treated with lenity and kindness¹².

Alexander's fleet had assisted in this siege : but he now dismissed the greater part of it, as if he had no farther occasion for it in the war with Darius. He found the establishment too expensive for his finances ; and he pro-

10 Yet it is probable that many more of these fell than the number stated by Justin (129), by Arrian (115), or by Plutarch from Aristobulus (34). Diodorus, apparently without authority, swells the number of prisoners, carried off by the Macedonians, to 20,000.

11 Diod. lib. xvii. sect. 19—21.—Arr. i. 17.—Plut. Vit. Alex.

12 Diod. lib. xvii. sect. 22.

bably concluded, that his men, from a preclusion of the means of escape, would fight with more determined courage¹³.

The reduction of Halicarnassus was a more difficult task than that of Miletus. All the towns which Alexander approached in his way to the Carian capital, were suffered to remain at peace, and enjoy the benefit of their own laws. Ada, a princess who claimed the sovereignty of Caria, courted the favor of the Macedonian king, by the surrender of a fortress which she possessed ; and he promised to support her pretensions. He commenced with great vigor the siege of Halicarnassus ; and the garrison acted with equal zeal. Memnon, who had escaped from Miletus, ably directed the defence. He burned the engines that shattered the walls ; repaired the breaches ; cut off many of the besiegers in sallies ; and might have compelled a less resolute enemy than Alexander to raise the siege. But the perseverance of the Macedonians at length prevailed. When a spirited *sortie*, conducted by an Athenian named Ephialtes, had failed, Memnon, and the greater part of the garrison and inhabitants, took an opportunity of retiring at night from the town to the isle of Cos, leaving a select *corps* in the citadel. The king, exasperated at the severe loss which he had sustained, gave orders for the total destruction of the city ; and, having surrounded the fortress with a wall and a fosse, advanced into Lycia. The citadel, not long afterward, was taken by Ptolemy, to whom the chief command in Caria was assigned, while the general government of the country was transferred to Ada¹⁴.

The ill success of Memnon did not deprive him of the good opinion of Darius, who intrusted him with the chief conduct of the war. Sailing with a great armament, that

13 This was the motive which induced William the Norman, after he had landed in Britain, to destroy the fleet which brought over the invading army.

14 Diod. lib. xvii. sect. 24—27.—Arr. lib i.—Strab. lib. xiv.

Ante Chr. 333. commander appeared before Chios ; and, being assisted by a strong party among the islanders, he seised and garrisoned the city. Proceeding to Lesbos, he easily reduced some of it's towns ; but he lost a considerable number of his men at the siege of Mitylene, and did not live to see that flourishing city in his possession ; for he fell a victim to a pestilential disorder. His nephew Pharnabazus succeeded him in the chief command, and, having brought the siege to a close, left the government in the hands of Diogenes, a Lesbian exile ¹⁵.

It was the intention of Memnon to hasten into Greece, and form a confederacy among those states which were jealous of Alexander's arbitrary views. He might then, he thought, rush into Macedon, and alarm the absent king with the dread of losing his dominions. This scheme might have very materially altered the state of affairs ; but the death of the general who proposed it gave other counsellors an opportunity of recommending a different course. A council being called by Darius, for the adjustment of military operations, the expedition to Greece was discountenanced by the majority ; and it was proposed, that the invaders should be attacked by a very numerous army, under the personal command of the *great king*. The valor of the Persians, it was said, would thus be more effectually called into action ; and the war might be speedily terminated. Charidemus, the Athenian, advised Darius not to engage rashly, as his adversaries were far more expert in war than his subjects ; and he suggested the expediency of enlisting a great number of Greeks, the only warriors who could oppose the enemy with a prospect of success. He offered to undertake the task of raising an army in Greece by the seasonable use of Persian gold ; and maintained, that 100,000 men, if one third ¹⁶ of the num-

¹⁵ Arr. lib. ii. cap. 1.

¹⁶ According to Quintus Curtius, Darius had almost that number of Greeks in his army. Perhaps, Charidemus proposed that the Grecian force should be augmented to 100,000.

ber should consist of such warriors, would suffice for the ruin or expulsion of the Macedonians; and, perhaps, 500,000 Asiatics, without the European aid which he recommended, would not prevail over the enemy. The despot did not, at first, seem to be offended at these suggestions. Some of his courtiers, however, hinted, that Charidemus wished for an opportunity of betraying the Persian cause; and, when the bold Greek had sharply reprehended the malice of the speakers, and satirised the cowardice of the Persians, the enraged prince ordered him to be put to death. The victim of royal indignation prognosticated, in his last moments, the disgrace and ruin of his arbitrary destroyer¹⁷

Being unable to find a general on whose skill and judgement he could fully depend, Darius resolved to take the field in person. He assembled, at Babylon, 311,200 men, of whom 100,000 were Persians, while 107,000 were Medes and Armenians¹⁸. If he had been well acquainted with the art of directing the operations of such an army (for the troops under his command were far from being unwarlike), he might have overwhelmed the small force that dared to encroach upon his dominions. But he was not qualified to cope with Alexander, or with the able officers who had been trained to arms under Philip.

In the mean time, the Macedonians were eagerly employed in the extension of their conquests. They overran Lycia and Pamphylia; and then marched to the northward, into the extensive region called the Greater Phrygia. Having reduced Gordium and other towns, they entered Paphlagonia; and the king received the submission

17 Diod. lib. xvii. sect. 29, 30.

18 Q. Curt. lib. iii. cap. 4.—Diodorus magnifies the amount to 500,000; and Arrian, to 600,000. Justin agrees with the Sicilian writer; and Plutarch, as usual, adopts the greater number. Curtius adds, to his enumeration, that the king might have had a considerable force from Bactria, Sogdiana, and India, if his eagerness to meet the invaders had not induced him to decline farther reinforcements.

of the inhabitants. The Cappadocians were also obliged to bow their necks to his yoke. When he had regulated the affairs of their country, he advanced toward the province of Cilicia, being encouraged by the death of Memnon to try his fortune in the field against the greatest force that Darius could bring into action. He prosecuted his march, through a pass which a small number of men might have long defended against him, and arrived in safety at Tarsus. The enemy had set fire to some parts of that city : but the approach of a *corps* under Parmenio intimidated the incendiaries into flight, and the flames were seasonably extinguished.

An indisposition, produced by imprudence, delayed the king's advance from Tarsus. He had thrown himself, when he was in a state of profuse perspiration, into the uncommonly-cold stream of the Cydnus ; and the sudden effect of the plunge alarmed his attendants with the dread of his speedy expiration. Philip, a Greek physician, offered his service for the relief of the endangered monarch, and promised to prepare a draught which, he hoped, would be efficacious. Before the potion was ready, a letter came from Parmenio, intimating that the physician had been bribed by the Persian king to a deed of the most iniquitous treachery. He never before had suspected Philip, with whom he had long been acquainted ; and he thought that it would be better to trust to his honor and humanity, than to risque the consequences of an unchecked disorder. When the physician re-appeared in the royal tent, his patient, holding the warning note in one hand, took the offered cup with the other ; drank it's unascertained contents with an unaltered countenance ; and then desired Philip to read the letter, eyeing him in the mean time with anxious scrutiny. The frank and manly behaviour of the physician, free from the confusion of guilt, convinced Alexander of the falsehood of the charge. Yet the stupor which followed, excited doubts in the

minds of many. On the third day, all doubts were removed by the king's recovery ; and the most lively joy pervaded the camp ¹⁹.

From the accused physician, there was no danger of treason ; but, by an officer whom Alexander had lately promoted to a high command, a scheme of regicide had been planned, in consideration of the promise of a great reward, both in money and power, from Darius. The plot was discovered, on the interception of a Persian messenger ; and the seizure of the traitor prevented the perpetration of the intended villany.

While Alexander was advancing from Tarsus, Darius was moving in pompous procession toward the province of Syria. First appeared the sacred fire, the object of popular adoration, borne on silver altars. The priests followed, singing hymns as they advanced. Young men richly arrayed, equal in number to the days of the year, were the next in order. A white horse of extraordinary size, consecrated to the sun, and the chariot of Mithra, drawn by horses of the same purity of hue, then came forward, in compliance with the ordinance of Cyrus. The cavalry of twelve nations, dissimilar in aspect, and varying in dress and in arms, were followed by the Persian *immortals*, whose exterior garments were interwoven with gold, whose tunics were decorated with precious stones, and who wore collars of the most valuable of all metals. A numerous body of men, robed like women, many of whom were connected with the royal family by consanguinity ²⁰, preceded a party of guards, armed with short spears, whose march announced the king's approach. The car of the

19 Arr. lib. ii. sect. 4.—Plut. Vit. Alex.—Just. xi. 8.—Diodorus neither mentions the cause of Alexander's disorder, nor the ill-founded but friendly intimation of Parmenio.

20 Curtius says, that these amounted to 15,000, and were called the king's relatives. The majority, we may suppose, were only so styled by way of honor, as the counsellors of his Britannic majesty, without having the least tincture of royal blood, are called, in his commissions, his *well-beloved cousins*.

despot, as well as his person, shone with the barbaric pomp of gold and jewels. Splendid images of the Gods embellished and sanctified the vehicle ; and a golden eagle was seen in front, ready, as it were, to wing it's daring flight,—the emblem of ambition, majesty, and power. Spearmen, to the amount of 10,000, next appeared ; and a considerable army of infantry advanced, before the mother and the wife of Darius presented themselves. His children, with their instructors,—a company of eunuchs,—and the royal concubines, 360 in number,—successively exhibited their decorated persons. Mules and camels, escorted by archers, carried the royal treasure. The wives of the king's relatives and friends, the various attendants of the camp, and the light troops, closed the procession ²¹.

Such was the idle pomp which pleased the vain heart of Darius ; and, with similar parade and encumbrances, the armies of Asiatic princes, in the present age, are led into the field. The same ostentation, the same fondness for splendor, the same mixture of luxury and vicious indulgence with the preparations for military outrage, are still prevalent, from the Hellespont to the Indian ocean.

When the king of Macedon had reached Issus, which the garrison had quitted on his approach, he deliberated, in a council of war, whether he should advance without delay against the enemy, or wait the arrival of those reinforcements which he expected from Europe. Parmenio recommended that part of the country as the most favorable spot for an engagement ; and a determination of hazarding a conflict became the general wish of the soldiery.

21 Q. Curt. lib. iii. cap. 7, 8.—Diodorus says, that the king was not attended to the field of battle by the whole train which at first burthened his march, but that he left his baggage, and the useless multitude, at Damascus. Curtius also says, that the treasure and the most valuable property were sent to that city, with a small guard, while the king's family continued to attend the army ; and, from his manner of speaking, we may conclude, that a great part of the unwarlike crowd at the same time retired.

Darius had conducted his army into the northern division of Syria, and had reached a very extensive plain, where his whole force might be conveniently brought into action. Here a prudent general would have remained, rather than have given the enemy, by removal, an extraordinary advantage. The Grecian officers in the Persian service exhorted him to continue in this station, or (if that advice should not be agreeable to him) to employ only a part of his force in present opposition to the invaders, and reserve a great portion for farther exigencies, instead of trusting to the issue of one battle, which might be ruinous to his empire. Some of his courtiers accused the Greeks of treachery, and requested him to punish such faithless advisers : but he declared, that he would not suffer himself to be provoked to wanton cruelty. He thanked the Greeks for their honest counsel, while he wished to adopt a different plan of operations. He was induced to believe, that the delay of the enemy's appearance arose from fear, and that, when Alexander marched from Issus, he merely intended to retreat.

Blinded by vain confidence, the Persian monarch quitted the Syrian plains, and entered Cilicia by the pass of Amanus. Having crossed the Pinarus, he hastily advanced, in the hope of overtaking a fugitive enemy. The king of Macedon was informed of these important movements by some of his soldiers, whom he had left at Issus (because they were disabled or in a feeble state of health), and who were subsequently maimed by the brutality of the Persians. He immediately marched back, and made dispositions for conflict, before his adversaries could retire from the defiles in which they had entangled themselves. He found sufficient space for the regular extension of his army, which he so arranged, as to prevent the enemy from surrounding him ²².

When both armies were ready for action, Alexander addressed short speeches to the different nations that composed his force. He stimulated the Illyrians and Thracians to an exertion of all their courage, by holding out the prospect of rich spoils: he called, to the recollection of the Greeks, the exploits of former days, and inflamed them against the Persians by hints of hereditary animosity and internecine hatred; and he flattered his peculiar subjects by boasting of their victorious progress in Europe, and expressing his confident hopes of the unparalleled extension of their fame in the regions of Asia. Darius also harangued his troops, and endeavoured to rouse their zeal by reminding them of the ancient glory of the Persian arms, and of the transcendent dignity of that empire to which they had the honor of belonging.

The right wing of the invading army was stationed near a mountain, and the left near the sea. With the former the king passed the Pinarus, and commenced a conflict with the most undaunted alacrity. It was his particular wish to prevent the Persians from having many opportunities of exercising their skill in the use of missiles; and, with this view, he ordered his men to advance so rapidly, as to draw the enemy into a close fight. The resistance was not pusillanimously feeble: but the vigor of the Macedonians and their associates at length prevailed over all the efforts of the Asiatic warriors in this part of the field; and the confusion which arose became so irremediable, that, after great slaughter, the left wing of Darius was broken and dispersed. His central body, of which Grecian mercenaries composed the greater part, long withstood the efforts of the phalanx, and even threw that body into disorder; but, being suddenly flanked by the right wing of the Macedonians, the Greeks began to give way, and the centre was at length totally routed. The Persian right maintained the conflict with courage and alertness; but Parmenio, being reinforced by a strong body of Thes-

salian cavalry, turned the tide in favor of Alexander. Darius fled from the field when his left wing began to retreat, and reached the Euphrates in safety : but his mother, wife, and children, who remained in the camp, were made prisoners. The pursuit was vigorous and sanguinary ; but it is not probable that so many as 100,000 of the vanquished were slain even in the whole course of the day (as Alexander's historical panegyrist²³ affirms), whether we admit or reject that account which confines the loss of the victors to 450²⁴.

Having detached Parmenio to Damascus for the seizure of the Persian treasure, the victor proceeded with his favorite Hephæstion to the royal tent, to visit his illustrious captives. The aged princess, mistaking the courtier for the king, fell prostrate before him. When she had corrected her error by transferring her submission to the monarch himself, he politely raised her from her suppliant attitude, saying, " The mistake is unimportant ; for " my friend is another Alexander." He was equally respectful to the beautiful wife of Darius, whom he comforted with promises of the kindest treatment ; and, embracing her son, declared that he would give him a princely education, and provide also for the matrimonial establishment of her two daughters²⁵.

The continence of Alexander, in resisting all the attractions of beauty, at a time when, beside the royal family, many fair attendants of the court were presented to his notice, may be applauded, without suspicion of partiality, as peculiarly honorable in a youthful conqueror. He himself doubted his own forbearance and

²³ Arrian.

²⁴ Diodorus specifies this small number, and yet extends the amount of the slain, on the part of Darius, to 120,000 of the infantry, and 10,000 of the cavalry. Justin diminishes Alexander's loss to 280, and that of Darius to 71,000 men ; adding, that the prisoners amounted to 40,000.

²⁵ Diod. lib. xvii, sect. 37, 38.—Just. xi, 9.

moderation of amorous desire; for he thought it necessary to control his passions, by deliberately promising that he would not pay a second visit to the Persian queen²⁶.

LETTER IV.

Continuation of the History of ALEXANDER the Great.

Ante Chr.
333. WHEN the king of Macedon revolved in his mind the signal triumph of his arms, and thought also of his generous treatment of the vanquished, his vanity was so highly gratified, that he considered himself as the greatest hero of the age. But the fame which he had acquired did not content his eager thirst of glory: it only served to stimulate him to greater enterprises, and to a wider range of conquest. He wished to be absolute master of the whole territory extending from Byzantium to the Indus; and his friends, who were acquainted with his restless activity and insatiable ambition, foresaw that he would not confine himself to such limits, but would penetrate into more distant regions.

His present object was the conquest of Syria. Damascus was taken without an effort; other towns followed the example of submission; and the province of Cœle-Syria readily accepted a Macedonian governor. At Marathus, Alexander received from Darius an epistle, not of supplication, but of advice. After the offer of a ransom for his family, a general conflict was proposed upon equal terms: yet, if the late victory had not annihilated that moderation of which the invader, even at first, had so small a share, forbearance was recommended as preferable to

hostility ; and an alliance, it was hoped, might be speedily adjusted. The answer repelled the charge of aggression, by referring to the repeated invasions of Greece by the Persians, and insisted upon the submission of Darius¹.

Proceeding into Phœnicia, the Macedonians were gratified with the surrender of all the towns of that ^{Ante Chr.} province, except Tyre. To the Sidonians they ^{332.} gave, for a king, a poor gardener (who was, however, of royal descent), in lieu of Strato, who was attached to the Persian interest². When they had formed the siege of Tyre, Sanballat, who had the chief sway in Samaria, joined them with 8000 men ; but Jaddua, the high-priest of the Jews, disregarded Alexander's application for aid, alleging that he was bound by oath not to oppose Darius³.

The long resistance of the Tyrians excited the indignation of Alexander, who ought rather to have admired their courage. Their king was then serving as an auxiliary in the Persian fleet ; but his absence from his seat of government did not weaken the defensive energy of the citizens. Animated with courage and zeal, they checked, for above six months, the approaches of the foe. For the more convenient prosecution of the siege, the Macedonians connected with the continent, by a mole, the island upon which New-Tyre was situated. They could not accomplish this difficult work while the Tyrians were masters of the neighbouring sea ; but, when Alexander had procured a considerable fleet from Cyprus, as well as from Aradus and Sidon, he endeavoured to draw his adversaries into a naval engagement ; and, as they declined the challenge, he prosecuted his great object with little interruption. Upon the mole he erected lofty wooden towers, which, being placed close to the walls, enabled his men to harass the besieged ; whose vigorous efforts,

1 Curt. lib. iv. cap. 1, 2.

2 Just. lib. xi. cap. 10.—Curt. iv. 3, 4.

3 Josephi Antiq. lib. xi. cap. 8.

however, prevented the assailants from making a lodgement. Missiles were lavished on both sides from the engines with mutual effect: torches and other combustibles were thrown with eagerness and ferocity; and vessels, full of burning sand, were occasionally hurled upon the besiegers, to their great annoyance and discouragement⁴.

The difficulties and dangers of the siege made such an impression upon the king's mind, that he even entertained an idea of abandoning the enterprise, and hastening into Egypt: but the inglorious thought was quickly discarded; and, rousing the spirit of his troops, he vigorously renewed the siege. He gave directions for a fierce assault from the mole, and ordered the divided fleet either to force the two harbours, or to batter the walls wherever they could be approached. His commands were executed with that alacrity and zeal which ensured success. From the towers platforms were thrown to the damaged walls and works of the enemy; and, in defiance of the most strenuous opposition, the Macedonians rushed into the city, while the Cyprian seamen forced the northern port. A body of citizens, inflamed by despair, attacked a party which was headed by Alexander himself, and suffered that defeat which they did not expect to avoid. The vindictive prince encouraged the fury of his men to acts of cruelty; and, when 6000 Tyrians had fallen in the massacre, he coolly subjected 2000 of the captives to the disgrace and misery of crucifixion⁵. All, however, who fled to the temples, were pardoned; and many were saved by the humanity of the Sidonians; while servitude was the fate of the rest⁶.

During the siege, Darius made another application to

⁴ Arr. lib. ii. sect. 18—22.—Diod. xvii. 41—45.—Curt. iv. 10—15.

⁵ Diod. lib. xvii. sect. 46.—Curt. iv. 18.

⁶ Arrian says, that the number of those who were sold as slaves amounted to 30,000.

Alexander. For the redemption of his family, he offered 10,000 talents; and, as the price of an accommodation, he promised to cede all the Asiatic provinces to the westward of the Euphrates. The haughty monarch replied, that the offer of a part of the Persian empire could not reasonably content a prince who claimed the whole, and that a personal appeal to the clemency of the victor was the most proper step which Darius could take⁷.

Meditating the subjugation of Egypt, Alexander visited Palestine in his way, and presented himself in the city of Jerusalem, where his conduct was more conciliatory, and his behaviour more gracious, than the Jews expected from the menaces which he had uttered, when their pontiff was disposed to be refractory. He viewed, with an air of devotion, the procession of the priests and the people; saluted Jaddua with apparent humility; sacrificed in the temple; and promised to tolerate the religion, and secure the privileges of the Jewish nation⁸.

After the siege of Gaza, which terminated in the slaughter of all the male inhabitants, the Macedonian army invaded Egypt. Disgusted at the tyranny of the Persian government, the people of the capital and other considerable towns were ready to revolt from Darius, and submit to his rival. Having garrisoned Pelusium, Alexander sent his fleet up the Nile, and marched over the desert to Heliopolis. The satrap Mazaces received him at Memphis with submissive respect; and, being thus speedily successful, the king condescended to sacrifice to Apis, and also gratified the citizens with gymnastic sports and musical entertainments⁹.

He was so eager to promote the respectability and commercial prosperity of his new kingdom, that he resolved

7 Arr. lib. ii. sect. 25.

8 Josephi Antiq. lib. xi.

9 Arr. lib. iii. sect. 1.—Amyntas, a Macedonian deserter, had escaped from the battle of Issus with a multitude of mercenaries, and, landing in Egypt, had announced himself as a governor sent by Darius. Near Memphis,

to erect a city near the coast, which should rival in magnificence the most celebrated capitals of Europe and Asia, and transmit his name with honor to posterity. The spot which he selected for that purpose was near the Mareotic marsh, to the westward of Canopus. He marked the extent of the wall, pointed out the proper places for a *forum* and for temples, and gave a variety of directions to the conductors of the great work. To salubrity of air, or the convenience of fresh water, he did not sufficiently attend on this occasion; for, if he had, he would have made a different choice¹⁰.

As soon as he had sketched the plan of Alexandria, he undertook a hazardous journey into Marmarica, with views of secret policy and of ostensible devotion. He wished to consult the oracle of Jupiter, whose temple was in the sandy desert¹¹, and to receive such an answer as might establish his authority on the basis of profound reverence. He knew that corrupt priests would be ready to favor him, and raise him, for their own interest, to an envied height of dignity. After a laborious march over hot sands—by which, when the wind blew with violence, the soldiers, wandering without a road or a path, were in danger of being overwhelmed,—the king and his fellow-adventurers reached the holy precincts. The land which surrounded the temple was an *oasis*, or a fertile and cultivated spot, in the midst of a dreary waste. Being admitted into the temple, Alexander was saluted as the son of Jupiter: he was pronounced invincible; and the highest

he was victorious over a body of the inhabitants; but a greater number soon after attacked and slew him, and cut off his whole force. As this adventurer seems to have aimed at independence, Alexander was pleased at the abortion of his scheme.

10 The village of Rachotis, inhabited by individuals who subsisted by fishing or by pasturage, previously stood on the same spot.

11 Thence he was called *Jupiter Ammon* (from *αμμος*, sand); unless we suppose that the epithet refers to Ham, the post-diluvian colonist of Egypt, whom his posterity deified for his public services.

gratifications that his desire of dominion could receive, were liberally promised to him¹³.

Elate with this glorious prospect, he sacrificed to his pretended father; and, having rewarded the priests, he returned to the destined seat of Egyptian government, in which the architect Dinocrates had already made some progress. He then re-visited Memphis, where he made such arrangements as policy dictated for the preservation of his important conquest. He suffered the people to retain their ancient laws, and gave them a native governor; but, to prevent any excess of authority, or obviate any sinister views, on the part of this viceroy, he deputed many officers to preside over different districts, and ordered them to attend only to his own instructions; and, to secure the obedience of the troops that were left to garrison the chief towns, he subjected the whole number to Macedonian officers, except the foreign mercenaries, who were kept in subordination by an Ætolian general¹⁴.

In confident expectation of a decisive victory over Darius, Alexander re-entered Asia in the spring. *Ante Chr.* Not discouraged by the report of the extraordinary^{331.} preparations which the Persians had made for their defence, he crossed the Tigris; and, while he was marching through the Assyrian province, he descried the hostile cavalry in a spacious plain. If a superiority of number could have ensured success, the hopes of the Macedonian monarch must have vanished into air. The force of his adversary, in all probability, amounted to 500,000 men¹⁵: while his own army scarcely exceeded 47,000. Yet he was so far from being intimidated by the disparity, that he resolved to risque a battle without delay.

13 Diod lib. xvii. sect. 51.—Just. xi. 11.—Plut. Vit. Alex.

14 Arr. lib. iii. sect. 5.

15 Arrian elevates the number to 1,040,000; and Diodorus speaks of a million, a fifth part of which, he says, consisted of cavalry. Plutarch concurs with the Sicilian; but Justin reduces the calculation to 500,000.

Near the village of Gaugamela¹⁶, the two armies met. Darius, by his choice of a situation, was willing to give his troops an ample space for freedom of action, as he imputed his defeat at Issus to the want of room for exertion. To encompass the invading host, and, with the aid of his scythed chariots, to force the phalanx, were his grand objects; but, as it was natural to suspect him of such views, Alexander cautiously provided against their accomplishment.

The disposition of the Asiatic host was not so injudicious as might have been expected. The best troops were stationed on the left, as it was concluded that Alexander would be at the head of the right wing. Among these, beside the Persians, were the Bactrians, the warriors of Sogdiana, the Massagetæ, Babylonians, Phrygians, and the natives of Armenia Minor. The cavalry, in various parts of the line, were mingled with the infantry; and from the Bactrian horse, in particular, useful co-operation was expected. To the right were stationed the Albanians, Sacæ, Cappadocians, Mesopotamians, Syrians, Parthians, and Hyrcanians. In the centre appeared Darius and his relatives, with a numerous body of Persians and of Grecian mercenaries, reinforced by varied bands of provincials. Bodies of horse flanked each wing; and 200 chariots were ready, as the king fondly hoped, to spread confusion among the ranks of the invaders. To facilitate the course of these machines and the operations of the cavalry, all the inequalities of the ground were smoothed by persevering labor¹⁷.

It was remarked, as a proof of Alexander's composure of mind in the midst of danger, that he slept more soundly

¹⁶ The conflict derived its designation from Arbela, notwithstanding the distance of that town from the scene of action. "The Macedonians (says Strabo) thought it more honorable to name the battle from a considerable town, than from a small village;" as if the former obscurity of the spot could detract from the splendor of the victory.

¹⁷ Arr. lib. iii.—Curt. lib. iv.

than usual on the night which preceded the battle. Parmenio ventured to rouse him. "You have slept (said the general) as calmly, as if you had already triumphed. "How can your mind be so tranquil, when the peril to "which you are exposed is so alarming to your friends "and subjects?"—"I have no doubt of success (replied the intrepid king), as, instead of the trouble of seeking a "retiring enemy, I find him ready to meet me¹⁸."

Darius, observing a movement which pointed to an extension of the Macedonian right wing, gave orders for counter-acting that intention. Alexander instantly directed Menidas, who commanded the equestrian mercenaries, to oppose the advancing detachment: but the Massagetæ and Bactrians so fiercely assailed that officer, that it was deemed expedient to send Aretas to his support with the Pæonians and other troops, by whose efforts the barbarians were at length repelled.

During this preliminary contest, the chariots advanced to the attack. The clangor which the soldiers made by striking their shields with their spears, and the missiles that were profusely discharged, so terrified the horses, that many turned back in great confusion, while others were killed by some daring men, who seized the reins and dislodged the drivers. Many of the vehicles, reaching the phalanx, were suffered to pass through an opening which was sufficiently wide to secure that body from any other injury than a partial loss.

The conflict between Alexander himself and the left wing continued in the mean time to rage; and, from the extraordinary valor of that prince and his followers, it terminated in his favor. He then marched to attack the Persian centre, with the bulk of his army, arranged in the form of a wedge. He met, for a short time, with a spirited resistance; but, as his men, inspired with a determination

¹⁸ Plut. Vit. Alex.—Diod.

of conquering or dying, boldly pushed forward, and made great havock, the horrors of the scene made such an impression upon Darius, that he fled in extreme consternation. The discouraged division no longer withstood the accelerated force of the enemy ; and a dreadful slaughter of the fugitives ensued ¹⁹.

The danger of his left wing recalled Alexander from the pursuit. Parmenio had been so severely pressed, that he dreaded a ruinous defeat, unless immediate aid should be afforded to his recoiling division. The king's arrival in this part of the field would have had a speedy effect, if the overthrow of the Persian right wing, by the returning vigor of Parmenio and his associates, and the strenuous exertions of the Thessalians, had not already completed the discomfiture of an army, which, under the guidance of better officers and a more able general, might have crushed the phalanx, and all it's attendant troops and battalions ²⁰.

It is affirmed, that the loss amounted to 300,000 on the part of Darius, exclusive of a much greater number of prisoners ; and that the victor lost only one hundred of his men and a thousand of his horses ²¹: but, even if all ancient historians had concurred in this account, no reader who has common sense would believe it. Another calculation confines the loss of the vanquished to 90,000, and estimates the Macedonian victims at 500, and the wounded at the same number ²². According to a third computation, Darius lost only 40,000 men ²³.

An eager desire of numbering the Persian king among the captives urged Alexander to advance with rapidity, in

¹⁹ Arr. lib. iii. sect. 14.

²⁰ Diod. lib. xvii. sect. 60.—Arr. iii. 15.—Plut.

²¹ Arrian mentions the high amount of the slain as a report ; but he speaks positively of the multitude of prisoners, and of the very inconsiderable loss sustained by the conquerors.

²² Diod. lib. xvii. sect. 61.

²³ Curt. lib. iv. cap. 63.

the hope of tracing the *route* of the unfortunate fugitive : but, being disappointed in his search, he stopped upon the banks of the Lycus, and permitted his soldiers to indulge in repose. He renewed the pursuit even in the night, but without the desired effect. Proceeding to Arbela, he found copious spoils, more valuable than those which Parmenio had found in the camp of Gaugamela. He then hastened to Babylon, which the inhabitants did not defend against him. They were so pleased at his arrival, that they readily accepted him for their sovereign ; and his order for the re-establishment of their public worship, which the despotism of the Persians had refused to tolerate, rewarded them for their submission to his authority. When he had suffered his troops to indulge, for a month, in the luxury and debaucheries of Babylon, he led them to Susa, where he found an ample treasure, which enabled him to extend his accustomed liberality to the verge of profusion. Gold and silver uncoined, equal in value to 40,000 talents, and coin amounting to 9000, became his property by the laws of war, with many other articles of great worth ²⁴.

Advancing toward the territories of the Uxii, he met with an unexpected but temporary check. The inhabitants of the level country were subjects of Darius ; but the mountaineers were free from the yoke ; and, proud of their independence, they declared that they would not permit a foreign army to pass through their territory without paying for the indulgence. Alexander affected to acquiesce in the demand ; and, having passed over the mountains by the guidance of some Susians, he massacred many of the Uxii, and reduced the rest to a state of tributary vassalage. In a mountainous pass leading to Persepolis, he was menaced with opposition from the satrap Ariobarzanes, who occupied a strong camp. He stormed this post, with

the loss of some of his best soldiers; slew a multitude of its defenders; and, continuing his progress, easily obtained possession of the Persian capital²⁵.

The outrages which followed the seizure of Persepolis were justified, in his opinion, by the conduct of Xerxes at Athens; as if the Macedonians, whose ancestors were the allies of that monarch, were bound to avenge the Grecian cause upon the subjects and possessions of a prince who had no concern in the invasion of Greece. The city was given up to military licentiousness²⁶, by the command of that personage whose duty it was to secure it from injury, in return for the ready submission of the inhabitants. Exulting in the royal permission, the troops rushed forward, murdered the male citizens, and pillaged every part of the town, except the palace and its precincts. Many of the soldiers, contending for the most attractive spoils, killed or maimed even their own companions. When the avidity of the *brigands* had abated, their sensual passions began to operate; and the plundered habitations became scenes of intemperance and lust.

The treasure which Alexander seized at Persepolis amounted to 120,000 talents,—the accumulated wealth of a series of kings. As he was thus rewarded, both with opulence and power, for all the toils and dangers of war, it might have been expected that, while he was rioting in success, he would have forborne the wanton destruction of the palace,—a splendid work of art, a noble monument of architectural genius. But, at the instigation of Thais, the concubine of his friend Ptolemy, whom he had admitted to an entertainment among more honorable guests, the intoxicated prince rushed out of the festive hall, amidst the sounds of music and the blaze of torches, and set fire to the royal mansion²⁷. This, indeed, was a triv-

²⁵ Arr. lib. iii. sect. 17, 18.

²⁶ Diod. lib. xvii. sect. 70.

²⁷ Plut. Vit. Alex.—Diod. lib. xvii. sect. 72.—Arrian speaks of the de-

act, when compared with the unprovoked murder of thousands of human beings : yet it was disgraceful to his character, both as a king and as a man.

Darius, in the mean while, was wandering in suspense and perplexity. At one time, he seemed Ante Chr.
330. inclined to risque a new conflict : at another moment, he resolved to retire to the borders of Scythia, or to a more distant region. Bessus, governor of Bactriana, drew him toward that province by holding out a prospect of powerful aid, and, conspiring with Nabarzanes, found an opportunity of seizing the person of his sovereign. It was the intention of these traitors, either to deliver him up to Alexander, in case of a vigorous pursuit, and thus to conciliate the conqueror ; or (if they should find that the enemy had desisted from the prosecution of the late success) to murder the king, and maintain their usurpation ²⁸.

The approach of the Macedonian king filled the conspirators with confusion. They had not the courage to meet him in the field ; nor would they venture even to treat with him on the subject which chiefly occupied their thoughts. Darius was compelled to attend them in their precipitate retreat ; and, when their danger assumed a more menacing aspect, two of their accomplices pierced him with javelins. Alexander lamented the fate of an unfortunate prince, whose virtues seemed to entitle him to a longer life. He denounced vengeance against Bessus, who, being taken after a vigilant search, was fastened to two trees, which had been forcibly bent toward each other, and torn in pieces by the divulsion ²⁹.

The death of Darius was soon followed by the general submission of the Persians to the king of Macedon ; who did not, however, establish his sway, without farther hos-

struction of the palace, but omits the circumstances stated by the other writers. He says, however, that Parmenio remonstrated against the outrage.

²⁸ Arr. lib. iii. sect. 21.—Curt. lib. v.

ilities, over all the dependencies of the monarchy. While he was prosecuting his success, he received agreeable intelligence from Europe, being informed of a victory which Antipater had obtained.

Agis, who reigned at Sparta with Cleomenes II., studiously fomented the jealousy which the Lacedæmonians had justly conceived of Alexander's arbitrary views, and encouraged them to form such a confederacy as might repress the arrogant ambition of that monarch. He drew to his standard 8000 Greeks who had served in the army of Darius, and had escaped from the battle of Issus; strengthened his force by accessions from various parts of the Peloponnesus; and hoped to profit effectually by the absence of the best troops that Macedon, Thrace, and northern Greece, could furnish. Having received a large sum of money from the Persian king, who also sent a small fleet to act under his command, he detached many of the Cretan towns from the Macedonian interest, and promised himself farther success, while an insurrection in Thrace seemed to occupy the chief attention of Alexander's vice-roy. He had raised an army, consisting of 22,000 men, and advanced to form the siege of Megalopolis, because the inhabitants had refused to join him. But Antipater, hastily appeasing the commotions of Thrace, augmented his force among the Grecian states, and presented himself before the confederates with 40,000 men. Agis fought with the most undaunted spirit; and the Lacedæmonians, for some time, displayed all the courage of freemen; but, observing the retreat of their associates, they at length gave way. The king, however, still faced the enemy, and sacrificed many victims to his desperate fury, before he was disabled by a succession of wounds. He might have saved himself by flight; but he thought it disgraceful to quit the field. Of the vanquished, 5300 lost their lives; and, of the victors, not less than 3500³⁰.

30 Diod. lib. xvii. sect. 48, 62, 63.—Just. xii. 1.

The jealous vanity of Alexander prompted him to ridicule that victory which had crushed the Peloponnesian confederacy : yet he could not be insensible of it's importance, as it tended to secure his hereditary dominions, and to establish his authority in Greece. He continued his eastern progress with alacrity, over-ran Hyrcania, compelled the warlike Mardians to submit, Ante Chr. 329. subdued the territory of Aria, and directed his prosperous course to the Bactrian province. He not only marked his *route* with the blood of the Asiatic tribes, who dared to resist his arms, but wreaked sanguinary vengeance upon many of his own subjects and friends. Philotas, son of the veteran Parmenio, had offended his master by with-holding information concerning a supposed plot, which seemed to be unworthy of his notice ; and, when Dimnus, who was accused of having organised or at least devised this conspiracy, had killed himself, the king was so far convinced of the reality of the plot, that he ordered Philotas to be apprehended, and tortured into confession. The reputed conspirator, and others who were involved in the same charge by the malice of courtly sycophants, were consigned to military execution³¹.

As Alexander concluded that Parmenio would never forgive him for this cruelty, he would not suffer that able minister and popular general long to survive his unfortunate son. He sent private instructions to three officers who served in Media under the devoted commander, requiring them to take the earliest opportunity of putting him to death ; and, when they had executed their nefarious commission, he ordered that all the soldiers who had ventured to reprobate the arbitrary act, should be separated from the rest of the army, to prevent that communication of sentiment which might propagate disaffection.

The murder of Clitus, by whose prompt assistance his

³¹ Plut. Vit. Alex.—Diod. lib. xvii. sect. 79, 86.—Arr. iii. 26

life had been saved on the banks of the Granicus, was excused by the courtiers for that freedom of remark which had provoked it. Both the king and the gallant Ante Chr. 328. officer were elevated with wine; and a dispute respecting the superiority of the generals and troops of Philip to those of his son, and upon other military topics, divided the young from the senior part of the company. The enraged prince pretended to construe, into a seditious spirit, the disrespect with which he was treated by Clitus; and, seising a spear, rushed upon his father's panegyrist, whom his friends instantly forced out of the hall: but he imprudently returned, repeating a verse from Euripides, as a sarcasm upon the prevailing government, and was transfixed by the fury of his sovereign, who, when the aged officer lay breathless at his feet, feelingly lamented the temporary phrensy which had driven him to the murderous act³².

After the reduction of the chief towns of Bactriana, Alexander reached the Oxus, and penetrated into Sogdiana. Proceeding to the north-eastward, he ventured to garrison some of the Scythian towns; but his arrogance did not intimidate the barbarians, who took an opportunity of massacring many of the intruders, and strengthened their towns with additional works. Five of these towns being taken by assault within two days, the Macedonians vented their sanguinary rage upon the male inhabitants, and enslaved the women and children. At Cyropolis, the invaders met with a more strenuous resistance, and lost many of their number: but they captured the town, and slew 8000 of the Scythians. The approach of a new army drew the king to the banks of the Jaxartes; and the insults and reproaches which were thrown out against him, provoked him to pass the river. He put to flight all who dared to meet him in the field, and was subsequently gra-

tified with the submission of one of their princes, who disclaimed all concern in the late hostilities against him³³.

Being recalled to the southward by the intelligence of a severe loss in Sogdiana, he drove the enemy from the walls of Maracanda, and recovered some towns in which the standard of revolt had been erected : but the complete pacification of the province could not be effected without fierce collisions and occasional loss. In this scene of action, his most resolute opponent was Spitamenes, a Persian nobleman, whose course was at length checked by the treacherous barbarity of his wife. The desire of avoiding the toils of war, which her husband compelled her to share with him, prompted her to send his head to Alexander. This act of violence excited various emotions in the king's breast. He was pleased at the removal of an enemy, while he was shocked at the deliberate atrocity of an unfeeling woman, who could thus rage against a fond and generous husband. After some deliberation, he commanded her to retire from the camp, and conceal her disgrace in obscurity.

When, by his vigor and perseverance, he had made himself master of the Persian empire, he extended his views to the conquest of India, without adverting to Ante Chr. 327. the difficulties and perils of the enterprise. His fame, he thought, had already reached that country, and made such an impression as would greatly facilitate his progress.

33 Arr. lib. iv. sect. 1—5.

LETTER V.

Conclusion of the History of ALEXANDER.

THE extensive region comprehended between Persia and China, extending from Tartary and Thibet in the north to the island of Ceylon and the peninsula of Malacca in the south, received from the Greeks the name of India, which they borrowed from it's original designation. The high antiquity of it's colonisation is peremptorily affirmed by the modern Hindoos; and, while some assert without knowlege, others believe without consideration or inquiry. It is pretended by some of the Bramins or Brahmans (but all do not concur in the same extravagance of absurdity), that the Indian empire existed for myriads of years, antecedent to the supposed time of the creation of the world. That time, indeed, cannot be settled to universal satisfaction; and, therefore, it may be contended by some, that the mere suppositions of European chronologists will not invalidate the assertions of the Hindoo priests and antiquaries: but it will be sufficient to say, in reply, that the Brahmans have not a shadow of authority for such pompous pretensions. Even if their state and polity were as ancient as they imagine, they have not the means of substantiating the allegation. It is admitted that the early Sanscrit writings are, in a great measure, unintelligible; and, if their contents could be fully developed, they would not deserve implicit credit. With a small portion of truth, those works would probably be found to contain a mass of fiction.

If we allow, that a considerable state or empire existed in India as early as 2000 years before the birth of Christ, we shall perhaps go beyond the truth: but let this point

be admitted, in compliance with the opinion of a learned investigator of Indian antiquities¹; and some remarks on the government, religion, arts, and manners of the people, may properly follow.

The political state involved one great empire, with many subordinate principalities². All the lands of the country were considered as belonging to the sovereign, under whose authority they were possessed by hereditary tenants, who assigned them to others for regular cultivation. Beside the rent due to the intermediate lord, a certain portion was paid to the chief prince for the support of the government; and, with the rest of the produce, the husbandmen were enabled to maintain their families, but not without the observance of a system of frugality.

The chief ruler of the empire had great power and extensive authority; but he was expected to pay an habitual regard to the established laws, and to the opinions and advice of the Brahmans. The people had no share in the government: their inclinations did not prompt them to interfere: they left the maintenance of their interests to the priestly fraternity, and trusted to the humanity and patriotism of the *Maha Rajah*. They had not the expanded minds of freemen, or the fortitude of an independent spirit. With the animal courage which they could display in the field of battle, when they were ordered to defend their country and their government, they did not unite that high sense of dignity which they might claim as rational beings.

Four classes composed the community;—the Brahmans or priests, the administrators of civil and military affairs, the agricultors and traders, and the menial or servile or-

1 Sir William Jones.

2 There were also, as Arrian informs us upon the authority of Megasthenes, many free cities; but these communities were subject in matters of high importance to the control of the chief *rajah*, or prince of the whole nation.

der³. Beside these grand distinctions, there were numerous *casts*, which, for a long time, were studiously kept free from intrusion or encroachment: but relaxations of this extreme rigor gradually crept into practice.

The quadruple division of the nation, say the Brahmans, originated in the express command of God, who, by the medium of Brahma, declared his will to the Hindoo race. The system of religion and law, thus promulgated, formed the *Veda*, or Indian Scripture; a work that is now lost, but of which the substance is preserved in the Institutes of Menu⁴. God, according to this code, existed from all eternity, and will for ever flourish in dignity and supremacy. The subdivision of his chief attributes furnished the priests with an opportunity of introducing polytheism, which, they thought, would be more advantageous to their order, than the exclusive predication of divine unity. This system was reinforced by a variety of fabulous inventions, which amused the people, and fostered their superstition.

A striking feature of the Brahmanic creed was the doctrine of the transmigration of souls. It has been doubted, whether the Indians communicated this idea to the Egyptians, or received it from them. Some have imagined, that the doctrine arose from mutual deliberation among the progenitors of both nations, before they separated in

3 Strabo and Arrian speak of seven divisions of the Indian nation;—the philosophers or priests, the husbandmen, the herdsmen and hunters, the artisans, the warriors, the inspectors of the general conduct of the people, and the counsellors, from whose number the chief civil and military officers were chosen.

4 Sir William Jones refers the promulgation of the *Veda* to a period which preceded the Christian æra by twelve centuries, and assigns the first appearance of the Institutes to the 900th year before that epoch.

Brahma is supposed, by some of the religious antiquaries of India, to have been an angel or a secondary deity; by others, to be only another name for the creative power of God himself: but, in all probability, he was a great and good prince, whom the gratitude and reverence of his subjects elevated to the fancied rank of divinity.

quest of new settlements : but this is a conjecture which never can be brought to the test of accurate decision. While the priests infused this doctrine into the minds of the people, and artfully required from their deluded disciples a multitude of ceremonies, they entertained sublime notions of the *Eternal One*, who framed the universe out of the four elements, and commissioned the human species to rule over the terraqueous globe. They supposed him to be a pure spirit, invisible and without a material or comprehensible form, ineffably great and powerful, and perfect beyond all the conceptions which finite beings can apply to so abstruse a subject. They did not pretend to investigate the refinements of spiritual existence, or to form any accurate judgement of the divine laws, or the mode of governing and regulating the world. They were satisfied with observing, both by day and by night, instances of the power, wisdom, and goodness of the Creator.

The multiplicity of ceremonies, and the extensive ramifications of superstitious formality, did not prevent the people from cultivating, with great success, a variety of ingenious and useful arts. In the labors of the loom they more particularly excelled : the most valuable as well as the ordinary metals were wrought, by their patient dexterity, into the most curious forms : architecture was practised with ability ; and the art of sculpture found men of talent for it's exercise. The Hindoo painters were less distinguished ; but some of their performances were not contemptible.

In the astronomic science they had made some proficiency before the time of Alexander: they had examined, with a curious eye, the aspects of the fixed stars and the movements of the planets. It is not improbable that they derived their primary knowlege, in this branch of study, from the Babylonians. They were good arithmeticians, and had a tincture of geometry ; and it is affirmed, but without satisfactory evidence, that the doctrines of attrac-

tion and gravitation were not unknown to this ingenious race. In metaphysics they were not unskilled; and in logic they were conversant; but, when they endeavoured to defend the gross superstitions which prevailed, their reasoning must have degenerated into sophistry.

The people were mild and unassuming in their demeanor, and courteous in their manners. They had a regard for decorum, and a sense of honor and probity. Their temperance was even rigid; and no persons, in any part of the world, could better endure long abstinence. They were attached to domestic life; and, while the wives were submissive, the husbands were kind, if not rapturously affectionate. The zeal of forlorn widows frequently displayed itself in an act which excited the horror of all strangers. They coolly placed themselves, when they were in the vigor of health, upon the funeral pile, and were consumed in those flames which destroyed the remains of their husbands; a practice which the men encouraged, because it disposed the wife to cherish that associate with whose life her own existence was closely connected. Neither the princes nor the Brahmans checked this custom by their authority or influence; and, even in the present age, it is far from being exploded; for the priests, if they do not exercise compulsion, are so unfeelingly superstitious, that they recommend it as a meritorious act of piety, from which a good wife will not shrink.

A commendable *trait* in the Indian character was a disinclination to war, which the generality of the people reprobated as an inhuman and impious practice: but, when they were menaced with the aggressive hostilities of a prince whose perverted mind considered it as a noble and glorious employment, they resolved to face the storm.

Ante Chr. 327. While Alexander was preparing for his expedition to India, he exhibited an additional instance of that ferocity of character which qualified him for the work of devastation and carnage. Being encouraged in his

pride and arrogance by the presence of a great army, and by the servility of interested courtiers and base sophists, he had ordered that divine honors should be paid to him, as the son of Jupiter. From the Persians he had long received an exterior homage bordering upon adoration; and he now wished that the Macedonians should imitate that degrading practice. Callisthenes the Olynthian, whom Aristotle (when he relinquished the task of instructing the Macedonian prince) had recommended as a philosophic companion and an able counsellor⁵, ventured to express his disapprobation of the required homage, as unworthy of Europeans and of freemen, and insulting to the immortal Gods. Alexander resented this honest frankness, which a just and magnanimous prince would have applauded; and, when Hermolaus, in revenge for an affront, conspired against the king, he affected to believe, that the philosopher, whom the young mal-content courted and esteemed, was concerned in the traitorous scheme. Hermolaus and his accomplices were stoned to death; and Callisthenes, to whom no guilt was imputed by the unprejudiced votaries of truth, did not escape the unrelenting vengeance of an imperious warrior, who had discarded all sense of justice and of moral duty, and had in a great measure divested himself even of the feelings of humanity⁶.

Such a prince did not deserve to prosper in any of his enterprises: yet, in the pursuit of power and dominion, he was generally successful. When he had assembled such an army as he deemed adequate to the discomfiture of a much more numerous host, he marched from the Bactrian capital to the mountain of Parapamisus; and, when he reached the Cophes, he summoned the chief-

5 Diogen. Laert. lib. v.

6 Laertius says, that he was exposed to the destructive fury of a lion, after being long carried about in an iron cage. Arrian quotes Ptolemy for the crucifixion of the unfortunate philosopher: but those who wished to palliate the tyrant's guilt, pretended that Callisthenes died in prison.

tains or governors of territories situated on this side of the Indus, to attend his progress. After the forcible reduction of some towns and the easy acquisition of others, he found an opportunity of defeating a considerable army. In the Assacene province, he took the strong town of Mazaga, and massacred the garrison. Near the Indus, he assaulted a fortified rock, called Aornos, which was deemed impregnable. It was remarkably high, and was accessible only in one part; but the difficulty of the attempt stimulated the courage of Alexander. After fruitless attempts to ascend, he raised a mount from a neighbouring hill to a part of the rock, and discharged a variety of missiles with such effect, that all thoughts of a longer defence were abandoned. The occupants having offered to capitulate, if honorable terms should be granted, the king was informed that they intended to retire in the night, without depending upon the result of the conferences. He suffered them to retreat to a short distance: they were then assailed by his troops; and many were put to the sword⁷.

In passing the Indus, the invaders met with no opposition. They had connected both sides by a bridge of boats, for which they found ample materials in the vicinity of the river. They were received as friends by the inhabitants of Taxila⁸, the most considerable town between the Indus and the Hydaspes. That city and the circumjacent territory were governed by a prince named Taxiles, who had readily offered his submission, and even his aid, before the Macedonians entered his country⁹.

Leaving a garrison at Taxila, and adding to his army a

⁷ Arrian mentions this instance of Macedonian barbarity: but Diodorus speaks of an unmolested retreat.

⁸ The modern Attock.

⁹ Arr. lib. iv. sect. 22.—His territories comprehended an extensive space on both sides of the Indus, and were supposed (says Plutarch) to equal Egypt in extent: but this seems to be an exaggeration. The biographer adds, that he bore the character of a wise man.

strong body of Indians, Alexander advanced to the Hydaspes, to meet a warrior who was determined to oppose him with vigor. This prince (called *Porus*¹⁰ by the Greek and Roman writers) had conducted a great army to the banks of the river, and hoped to intimidate the Europeans by the additional display of a multitude of elephants. Where-ever the Macedonians made such movements as indicated an intention of crossing the rapid stream, they found a division of the enemy ready to counter-act the attempt. Relinquishing the hope of passing by open force, they amused the Indians by repeated feints, and thus relaxed that vigilance which would have constantly guarded the banks. At a considerable distance from the camp, Alexander had observed, near a projecting rock, a small woody island, which, he thought, would facilitate the desired passage. He left Craterus at the camp, with a strong *corps*, desiring him not to cross the river, unless the elephants should be drawn off, to be employed against that division which attended the king. Boats had been prepared and concealed in a wood near the bank; and a select body, embarking at night, landed unseen, concluding that the river had been safely passed; but the spot upon which the descent was made proved to be another island. This seemed to be a serious disappointment: yet the remaining difficulty was subdued by the undaunted courage of the men, who waded through the stream to the opposite bank. The disembarkation was nearly effected, when 2000 horsemen, and 120 chariots, appeared in a menacing posture, under the command of one of the sons of Porus. Alexander rushed upon them without hesitation,

10 This name, and that of Taxiles, were rather epithets, than the proper names of the respective princes. It is uncertain who was the chief prince or emperor of Hindostan at that time. These seem to have been merely his vassals. Masoudi, however, speaks of *Phour* as the supreme king of India, tracing his descent from Brahma, the deified potentate.

and, with a party of cavalry, quickly put them to flight, killing the prince and 400 of his fellow-combatants ¹¹.

Eager to chastise the destroyers of his son, and baffle the hopes of the arrogant invaders, the Asiatic prince prepared for a general engagement. With 34,000 men, 200 elephants, and 300 chariots, or (according to another account) with only 22,000 men ¹², he awaited that attack which the confidence and spirit of his adversaries, he thought, would tempt them to risque. Alexander was highly pleased at the opportunity of a collision; and, having a superior equestrian force, although he is said to have been attended only by 6000 of his infantry, he advanced after a short pause, and threatened the Indian left wing with the bulk of his cavalry; while Cœnus, with the rest of the troops of that description, moved forward as if he intended to assault the right. A body of mounted archers, by an impetuous charge, first disordered the enemy; the king then harassed the wing in flank; and Cœnus appeared in it's rear, having wheeled round with extraordinary rapidity. In the mean time, the infantry moved slowly against the elephants, and suffered in some degree from the fury of those animals; but, by dexterous management, and particularly by getting between them, they so harassed the unwieldy quadrupeds, that great confusion ensued among the warriors who trusted to them for protection. When the wings had been defeated, the main body did not long withstand the energy of the Macedonians. Craterus and his division, having passed the river without obstruction, arrived when the Indians were giving way, and joined in that pursuit which greatly swelled the heaps of the slain ¹³.

¹¹ Arr. lib. v. sect. 9—15.—Plut. Vit. Alex.

¹² The former computation is that of Arrian, while Plutarch states the smaller number.

¹³ Arrian says, that 23,000 of the vanquished fell on this occasion;—

The Indian prince, who had continued to use his weapons, and to direct the fight, as long as any chance of success remained, was at length wounded and made prisoner; but, as his courage was admired by his conqueror, and his character esteemed, he was permitted to govern his former territories as the vassal of Alexander, and was gratified with an additional province¹⁴.

When the victory had been celebrated by sacrifices and sports, and by the incipient erection of a new town near the scene of action, the invaders proceeded toward the Acesines, seising considerable towns in their way, and receiving the submission of a prince named Abisares. They were equally fortunate in their progress to the Hydraotes. Between this river and the Hyphasis, their career was stopped by the resistance of a confederate army, posted near Sangala. A multitude of chariots, arranged in three circles, surrounded the camp. This appearance of defensibility did not prevent the Macedonians from storming the post; but, as the allies escaped into the town, a siege was requisite for their discomfiture. The place was taken by scalade, and 17,000 of its defenders were sacrificed to the vengeance of the assailants¹⁵.

Alexander then announced his intention of crossing the Hyphasis, as he was informed that the people beyond that river were more civilised, more opulent, and at the same time more resolute and skilful warriors, than any of the communities already harassed by his arms. This report filled him with all the eagerness of hope: he wished to penetrate to the Ganges, and diffuse over all India the same horrors which his restless ambition and unallayed ferocity

about two thirds of the amount attributed by him to the whole army. If this proportion be admitted, and compared with Plutarch's estimate, about 15,000 men may be supposed to have been slain. Diodorus affirms, that 1000 of Alexander's soldiers lost their lives; and this account is more probable than that of Arrian, who confines the number to 310.

14 Plut. Vit. Alex.

15 Arr. lib. v. sect. 20—24.

had spread over the fairest regions of Asia. But this indefatigable votary of war, this pertinacious destroyer of mankind, found, to his extreme disappointment, that the instruments of his victories were unwilling to give him ulterior aid in his wild and mischievous enterprises.

The murmurs of the camp having reached his ears, he called a council of the chief officers, and earnestly exhorted them to co-operate cordially with him, as their own honor and his glory were involved in the prosecution of his schemes. The danger of advancing to the Ganges, he said, would be trivial, and the advantages would be highly important. The Indian ocean would then be open to them; and, after a course of exploration and of conquest in Asia, they might circumnavigate Africa, and return in triumph to Europe. This prospect, however splendid in his eye, did not so flatter the vanity of his officers, as to secure their assent to his romantic proposition. Cœnus remonstrated against it in respectful terms, and, in the name of the remains of that army which had accompanied him from Europe, urged the expediency of return; hinting at the propriety of a personal adjustment of the affairs of Macedon and Greece, and observing, that, after the completion of such political and civil arrangements as might seem necessary, new expeditions might be undertaken with his younger subjects, who would be eager to emulate the glory of the conquerors of Darius. The speech of this officer was as pleasing to the assembly as it was disagreeable to the king, who, with a stern and indignant look, adjourned the consultation. Unwilling to give way, he again appealed to the affection and fidelity of his companions in arms. He would not, he said, control their inclinations; but he was determined to advance, whether they would follow him with honor or return with disgrace. Their reluctance being still undiminished, he confined himself to his tent for two days, brooding over the sudden check which his ambition had sustained; but his sullen-

ness no more affected them than his anger. He then had recourse to the formalities of sacrifice ; and, when the priests, influenced (as may be supposed) by the prevailing sentiments of the army, had made an unfavorable report, he summoned his most respectable friends to his tent, and desired them to inform his soldiers that he had altered his resolution, and would speedily return with them to Europe. This declaration diffused through the camp the highest joy, which was evinced by loud shouts, and warm expressions of regard for a sovereign who had listened to the voice of his people ¹⁶.

Desirous of leaving memorials of his Indian expedition, he erected twelve altars of extraordinary height and magnitude on the spot which was the boundary of his progress ¹⁷. He then re-traced his steps to the Hydaspes, and super-intended the equipment of a *flotilla*, which Ante Chr. 326. was intended to convey him and a part of his army down that river, to it's confluence with the Acesines, and thence to the Indus. Before he commenced his voyage, he lost Cœnus, his friendly counsellor, and one of his best officers ; to whose memory he paid the tribute of due respect, by giving orders for as pompous a funeral as the circumstances would allow. In the course of his navigation, in which he employed 800 vessels, while Hephæstion and other generals led their respective divisions along the banks, he enforced the submission of various communities. The most resolute of his Indian adversaries were the Malli, who could not, however, effectually withstand his superiority of discipline. When he had repeatedly triumphed over them, he gave them an opportunity of crushing him. Having driven them from one of their towns into a fortress, he eagerly called for ladders, and, snatching one from the hands of a

16 Arr. lib. v. sect. 25—29.—Diod. xvli. 94.—Just. xii. 8.—Plut.

17 His operations in India, with an exception of his voyage down the Indus, were confined to the country now called the *Panj-Ab*, from *five rivers* which contribute their supplies to that great stream.

soldier, mounted the wall. The fracture of the mechanical means of ascent prevented many from following him ; and he was left with only three attendants, exposed to the vengeance of an injured enemy. He leaped from the wall amidst the Indians, who were so confounded at his intrepidity, that they seemed not to have the power of destroying this pest of society. They merely wounded him in the breast, and suffered the soldiers, who forced their way in search of their endangered master, to carry him off. The slaughter now became dreadful ; for the Macedonians did not spare the lives even of the women and children. The javelin being carefully extracted, the king recovered, and was gratified with a deputation from the remaining tribes of the Malli, offering homage and obedience ¹⁸.

In his progress to the mouth of the Indus, he met with farther success, and perpetrated new enormities. He crucified an Indian prince, and some of his Brahman counsellors, for having dared to renounce an extorted submission ¹⁹. Having prevailed in another territory, he destroyed all the towns which had acknowledged the authority of the vanquished prince. Where-ever he met with resistance, he sacrificed thousands of victims to the God of war ; sold, as slaves, multitudes of those provincials whose lives he condescended to spare ; and deformed, by brutal devastation, the fair face of the country ²⁰.

When he reached the ocean, he was content with a slight survey of the wide expanse and the neighbouring land ; and, ordering Nearchus to prepare for an important voyage, he directed his course over land with the bulk of his army. In the march from the territory of the Oritæ, the troops suffered severely from hunger and thirst, which concurred with heat and fatigue to diminish their number in an extraordinary proportion. In the Gedrosian seat of

18 Arr. lib. vi. sect. 1—4, 9—11, 14.—Diod. xvii. 95—99.—Plut.

19 Arr. lib. vi. sect. 17.

20 Diod. lib. xvii. sect. 102.

government, some relief was obtained by the harassed adventurers; and, in Carmania, their wants were more abundantly supplied. While the king rested in this province, he attended to the demands of justice. Finding that some of his chief officers, in various parts of Persia, had plundered and oppressed the people, he ordered them to be subjected to exemplary punishment. At Pasargadæ and Persepolis, likewise, he acted the part of a stern judge, condemning to death some ambitious revolters and a tyrannical governor²¹.

The occasional communications which he re-
 ceived of the progress of Nearchus, who had ex-
 plored the Persian gulph with success, inflamed his ad-
 venturous zeal; and he revolved in his mind various
 schemes of maritime discovery and territorial acquisition. At one time, he wished to sail down the Tigris into the gulph, to survey and subdue the whole coast of Arabia, and invade Africa in the sequel. At another time, he directed his views to the Euxine sea and the Palus Mæotis; and, his ideas still wandering, he thought of a voyage to Sicily, and even of a hostile visit to Rome; for he was not unacquainted with the rising fame of the Italian republic. But these fluctuating fancies were absorbed by objects of more urgent attention.

Ante Chr.
325.

While he held his court at Susa, he took measures for the promotion of an unity of interest between the Macedonian and Persian nations. He had already given his hand to Roxana, a Bactrian captive; and he now espoused Statira or Drypetis, the daughter of Darius, presenting her sister to Hephæstion as a desirable wife, and her cousin Amastrine to Craterus. The whole number of Persian ladies of distinction, bestowed about the same time upon his officers and friends, amounted to eighty. When these marriages had been solemnised in the Persian mode, by

21 Arr. lib. vi. sect. 23—28, 30; vii. 4.—Diod. xvii. 106.

presenting the right hand at an entertainment, and by salutation, he gave a dowry to each of the brides. In the same spirit of union, he incorporated many of his Persian subjects in the Macedonian cohorts; but this and other acts of favor to those who so lately were aliens and enemies, gave great disgust to his veteran soldiers²².

Before his invasion of India, he had ordered the governors of his Persian territories to train 30,000 young provincials in the Macedonian discipline, that they might be ready to supply the places of disabled warriors, and of those who wished to retire from the service. The presentation of these *élèves* of the camp to the king at Susa, excited, in the minds of many of the soldiers, an idea of his intention of dispensing with the future service of the Europeans; and, as he soon after gave a permission of return to all who, in consequence of age, wounds, or ill health, had become unfit for vigorous exertion, it was insinuated that he had renounced all regard for the authors of his victories, and treated them with the most arrogant contempt, even before they were disqualified for action. The flame of discontent was fanned into mutiny by the irritated spirit of some of the veterans; but the sedition was soon quelled by the courage and firmness of Alexander, who, rushing amidst the throng, seised thirteen of the mutineers, and punished with death their licentiousness or their indiscretion. He reproached the rest of the troops for their ingratitude to a prince who had so highly favored and rewarded them²³, and indignantly desired them to quit his service. His feelings were so wounded on this occasion, that he secluded himself in his tent for two days; and, when he renewed his attention to military affairs, he admitted the Persians to the honor of guarding him, and gave them the command of companies and battalions.

²² Arr. lib. vii. sect. 4, 6.

²³ Beside other instances of liberality, he had recently discharged their debts, to the amount of 10,000 talents. *Diodorus*.

The Macedonians were so affected at this behaviour, that they loudly expressed their sorrow for having offended such a generous master. He graciously accepted their apologies, and testified his joy at the reconciliation by entertaining 9000 European and Asiatic warriors, with profuse and splendid hospitality²⁴.

All the joy of success and triumph, and all the pleasures of festivity, were severely checked by the loss of a friend. Hephæstion died at Ecbatana, chiefly by the effect of intemperance. The king lamented, with keen sensibility, the death of his brave and faithful associate, and ordered him to be revered as a demi-god. To allay his grief, he undertook an expedition against the Cossæi, the independent neighbours of his former adversaries, the Uxii. He defeated them in several conflicts, sacrificed thousands of their number to the *manès* of Hephæstion, and carried off a multitude of captives, whose safety their countrymen purchased by promising implicit submission to his will²⁵.

When he had removed his court to Babylon, Ante Chr. 324. he gave audience to ambassadors from the Carthaginian republic, from other African states, and from Italy, Gaul, and Spain. They congratulated him on his Asiatic triumphs, and expressed, in the names of their respective masters, hopes of his friendship and alliance. He gave them a gracious reception, but did not seem particularly pleased at their applications. The gloom with which the death of his friend had clouded his mind, detracted from the pleasure which would otherwise have attended the gratification of his vanity.

Turning his attention to public works, he resolved to rebuild the temple of Belus, which Xerxes had destroyed.

²⁴ Arr. lib. vii. sect. 8—11.

²⁵ Diod. lib. xvii. sect. 111.—Plut. Vit. Alex.—Arrian softens the harsh features of the campaign, merely stating, that his hero, accompanied by Ptolemy, expelled the Cossæi from their mountainous abodes.

The Chaldeans, suspecting his intention, and unwilling to restore to the sacred service the revenues which they had long devoted to private luxury, had pretended that it would be ominous for him to enter Babylon with his army by the western approach, and thus hoped to exclude him from it, as a morass rendered the opposite way difficult and hazardous. He imputed the advice to interested views; and, finding compliance inconvenient, disregarded the intimation. In this city he celebrated with unprecedented pomp the funeral of Hephæstion, and erected a magnificent monument out of the spoils of ravaged provinces²⁶. A more useful work was that which he undertook for preventing the inundations of the Euphrates, by a reparation of the dykes. He also gave directions for the construction of a capacious harbour below Babylon²⁷.

Amidst these and other works, he still meditated invasion and conquest. Being offended at the disrespect of the Arabians, who had not sent deputies to extol his exploits and court his favor, he ordered a fleet to be equipped, with confident hopes of the reduction of their country. Another fleet was in preparation in the Caspian, for a survey of the utmost limits of that sea or lake, and for the subjugation of the Scythian tribes upon its shores. But, in the vigor of his age, death baffled the multifarious schemes of this active and restless prince.

His death was accelerated by intemperance. Some trifling appearances and incidents, deemed ominous by the superstition of the age, had excited even his own apprehensions; and he endeavoured, by drinking freely, to dissipate all melancholy thoughts. After an entertainment, in which neither the king nor his guests paid due regard to moderation, he, instead of retiring to his chamber, accepted an invitation from Medius, a Thessalian friend, and imprudently feasted with him. Febrile sym-

ptoms soon appeared; but, for some days, they were not so violent as to prevent him from sacrificing, or from giving directions relative to his Arabian expedition. On the seventh day from the commencement of his illness, it assumed a serious aspect: on the eighth, he was speechless; and, on the eleventh, his dissolution ensued. He had not completed his thirty-third May 22.
323. year; and the strength of his constitution seemed to promise a longer life²⁸.

This prince has been frequently and loudly extolled as the greatest *hero* of antiquity; but that character requires the possession of more estimable qualities than he appears to have displayed. He was an able and masterly warrior; yet not a hero. He had, in the earlier part of his life, some engaging qualities: he was affable, courteous, generous, seemingly humane, and disposed to friendship: but his martial propensities, and his love of power, which increased with indulgence, perverted his good dispositions, and destroyed the finer feelings of his soul. His courtesy degenerated into pride and arrogance; his reputed humanity gave way to the impulse of cruelty; and his passion for war not only entailed horrible calamities upon contemporary nations, but, from the fascination of his talents and the contagious influence of his example, led to incalculable mischief in subsequent ages.

A modern critic has censured two distinguished poets²⁹ for condemning and satirising the wanton ambition of the Macedonian king. “Think (says this writer) of the scene
“in Darius’ tent; of the foundation of the city of Alexandria, and the extent of it’s commerce; of the many
“colonies he established; of his refusing to treat the Per-

²⁸ The report of his being poisoned is discredited by Arrian, Diodorus, and Plutarch, and seems to have been fabricated by the friends of Olympias, with a view of throwing an odium upon Antipater, whom, because he checked her ambition, she considered as her enemy.

²⁹ Boileau and Pope.

“sians as slaves; of the grief expressed by the Persians at his death; of the encouragement he gave to arts, both useful and elegant; and of his assistance to Aristotle his master, in making experiments and promoting science³⁰!”—But, I will ask, are these points sufficient to redeem his character from infamy? If a great delinquent, a notorious violator of the laws of God and man, should appear to have performed some good acts in the course of his life, is he the less amenable to public justice? Is an assassin entitled to mercy, because he may have occasionally been liberal or friendly? When a prince leaves, to the chance of anarchy, that country which he ought personally to protect; when he attacks a nation against which he had no grounds of complaint, and, after the success of his murderous expedition, undertakes a still more iniquitous war against the most inoffensive of all communities, and, not content with the carnage of the field, perpetrates, without hesitation or remorse, cool and deliberate massacres; he ought not to be shielded from disgrace, reprobation, and odium, by the influence of *traits* even more favorable than those which the critic (not with perfect accuracy) has accumulated³¹.

30 Warton's edition of Pope's Works, 1797.

31 Arrian says, “I am not ashamed to admire Alexander”—οὐκ αἰσχυνομαι θαυμάζειν.—This practice of admiring a successful warrior, whether his enterprises be just or iniquitous, cannot be too strongly condemned: but it is too generally prevalent to be eradicated by all the efforts of religion or philosophy.

LETTER VI.

History of the MACEDONIAN EMPIRE, to it's Quadruple Partition.

A STRATOCRACY, or military sway, is the worst of all governments. Soldiers are the slaves of conquerors, and conquerors are the greatest enemies of mankind. Such a government, in a great measure, subsisted in those countries which obeyed the will of Alexander the Great; and, as the generals who acted under him, and who resembled him in his two great features of ambition and cruelty, exercised the chief sway after his death, the same kind of polity long continued to prevail, in the most odious forms of tyranny and oppression.

The death of Alexander, with only the prospect of issue, seemed to leave the succession open to the boldest and most fortunate of his generals. Aridæus, a natural son of Philip, was an imbecile youth, whose name might serve for external royalty: but, as he had no legitimate pretensions, it was proposed by Perdiccas, that the sovereignty should not be conferred upon any one, before the result of Roxana's pregnancy should be manifested. The cavalry adopted this suggestion; but the infantry proclaimed Aridæus king. This difference of opinion threatened a sanguinary contest; which, however, was prevented by the eloquence and spirit of Perdiccas, whose persuasions and remonstrances produced a compromise. It was agreed, that, if the expected child should be a male, he should share the throne with Aridæus; and, in the mean time, Perdiccas was allowed to exercise the regency. With the concurrence of an assembly of officers, he assigned the government of Macedon to Antipater, and that of Thrace to Lysimachus: he gave Caria in charge to Cassander, Cappadocia and Paphlagonia to

Ante Chr.
323.

Eumenes, who was obliged to complete the conquest of those provinces : to Ptolemy he committed the administration of Egypt ; and, while other territories were variously distributed, some were left to the care of those generals who had governed them before the decease of Alexander¹.

The Greeks rejoiced at the death of their oppressor. Those who had been transplanted against their will into Upper Asia, to colonise towns and cultivate the country, declared that they would return to Europe ; and 23,000 men are said to have taken arms with that intention. Pitho was ordered by Perdiccas to suppress this revolt ; but it was his secret intention to conciliate the Greeks, and frame an establishment for himself. The regent, suspecting the views of that commander, gave private instructions to the inferior officers to massacre the opposers of the new government. By drawing off 3000 of the Greeks from the association, Pitho was enabled to defeat the rest, who submitted under a promise of protection. Regardless of this promise, the Macedonian soldiers executed the atrocious orders of Perdiccas, and carried off the spoils of the wretched victims². In the whole sanguinary progress of ancient history, we can scarcely meet with an instance of more flagitious and execrable barbarity.

In Greece, the flame of liberty spread from Athens among many of the communities ; but it did not burn with it's former vigor. Alexander had resolved to restore to their native towns all the exiles who had been driven out by factious leaders, except condemned criminals. This intention was particularly offensive to the Athenians and Ætolians, whose opposition to his will the powerful monarch commanded Antipater to quell. After the king's death, Leosthenes hired for the service of Athens a strong body of veterans, who had been dismissed by the

1 Just. lib. xiii. cap. 2, 3, 4.—Diod. xviii. 2, 3.

2 Diod. lib. xviii. sect. 7.

Asiatic governors ; and endeavoured to produce a general association against the Macedonian power. The cautious temper of Phocion, and the zeal of Demosthenes, were at variance with regard to this war. The former deemed it rash and hopeless, while the orator recommended it with eagerness, and assisted the Athenian envoys in promoting the accession of the Peloponnesian states to the confederacy. For this manifestation of patriotic feelings, he was recalled to Athens, and received by the citizens with joyful acclamations.

Antipater engaged the allies in Thessaly, before he could assemble a great army, and was therefore defeated by their superiority of number. He retired to Lamia³, in expectation of a reinforcement ; and Leosthenes was on the point of reducing the town, when he was mortally wounded in a sally. Leonatus, having brought an army from Asia Minor, soon gave battle to the Greeks, who were so powerfully assisted by a body of Thessalian horse, that they routed the opposing force. The fugitives, having lost their leader, were pleased at the junction of Antipater, who, being reinforced by Craterus, marched against the confederates (now reduced by the retreat of the Ætolians and others to a comparatively small number), and prevailed over them near Crannon, chiefly in consequence of their want of subordination⁴.

This defeat, although it was not attended with great loss, concurred, with two unsuccessful naval engagements near the Echinades, to discourage the allies, who proposed peace to Antipater. He insisted on separate negotiations with the different states, and compelled them to accept his terms. The Athenians were, at first, disposed to defend themselves to extremity : but their courage yielded to prudence ; and they submitted to the will of the impe-

3 Whence this was called the Lamian war.

4 Diod. lib. xviii. sect. 12, 13, 15, 17.—Just. xiii. 5.

rious enemy. They were ordered to convert their government into an aristocracy, to admit a garrison into Munychia, indemnify the Macedonians for the war, and deliver up those orators who had led them into hostilities. These had already been condemned to death, as enemies of their country. Hyperides, being discovered at Ægina, was murdered by order of Antipater; and Demosthenes, dreading the same treatment, while he was a fugitive in the fane of Neptune at Calauria, sucked poison from a pen, with which he had asked permission to write to his friends.

The praise of patriotism may justly be given to Demosthenes. He promoted with zeal the supposed interest of his country; and, if he at any time received a present from the *great king*, he merely accepted it as a recompence for his opposition to the Macedonians;—a cause which he thought the Persians were bound to support. That he was bribed to defend, or not to expose, the fraudulent injustice of Harpalus, is an assertion which was eagerly maintained by his political adversaries; but he has been acquitted of the improbable charge by the testimony of a respectable writer⁵. His oratorical merit will be noticed in the survey of Grecian arts and manners⁶.

An ancient historian⁷ applauds the humanity of Antipater, in suffering the Athenians to retain their city and their property. But this warrior, though successful, had no right to deprive them of their possessions, for endeavouring to regain their liberty. In this instance, he merely was not a ruffian; and that is only negative praise.

Of those who were excluded by the new regulations from all share in the government, the majority emigrated from Greece into the Thracian territory, with the consent

⁵ Pausanias.

⁶ The Jesuit Briet says, contemptuously, that he was “*vir potens linguâ, sed venali, et amans patriæ, quantum sua commoda pertulere.*”

⁷ Diodorus the Sicilian.

of Antipater, who procured for them, by an application to Lysimachus, a sufficiency of land. This governor was employed in extending his authority at the expence of the native princes of Thrace, with one of whom (Seuthes) he had a very sanguinary conflict, attended with doubtful success.

Perdiccas maintained his authority with a high hand ; but he could not compel every commander or provincial governor to pay implicit obedience to his will. As those who were ordered to assist Eumenes in the subjugation of the provinces assigned to him, refused compliance, the regent conducted an army into Cappadocia against Ariarathes, king of that country, whom he defeated with little difficulty. He put the vanquished prince and all his relatives to a cruel death, and then wreaked his vengeance on Laranda, a Pisidian town, which had shaken off the Macedonian yoke. The inhabitants of Isaura, a neighbouring city, hopeless of mercy from such a brutal warrior, threw their most valuable property into the fire which their phrensy had kindled, and gave up themselves to the same destructive element^s.

It could not be expected that generals, who deemed their pretensions equal to those of Perdiccas, would long submit to his sway. His ambition aspired to royalty itself ; and, to smooth his path to the throne, he sought the hand of the queen of Epirus, sister of his patron, the great Alexander. He was already the son-in-law of Antipater ; but, as his power would facilitate a divorce, his present marriage was no obstacle to his altered intentions. Jealous of his views, Antipater and Antigonus resolved to counteract them ; and, having drawn Craterus and Ptolemy into their conspiracy, they prepared to attack the regent.

Not dismayed at the approaching storm, Perdiccas resolved to turn his arms first against

Ante Chr.
321.

Ptolemy, whose departure from Egypt, either into Asia or Europe, he particularly wished to prevent. To Eumenes he left the defence of the Asiatic provinces ; and that general proved himself worthy of the charge. He attacked Neoptolemus (who had promised to join Antipater), and was not only successful in the field, but drew off the greater part of the vanquished force to his standard. He then encountered Craterus, whose army chiefly consisted of Macedonians. The disparity of number was not very great ; for the governor of Cappadocia had 25,000 men, and his adversary commanded above 22,000. Neoptolemus conducted that division which fronted the wing led by Eumenes ; and these exasperated rivals had a personal combat, in which the latter, not seriously injured by three wounds, slew his antagonist. Craterus distinguished himself by his exertions ; but, falling from his horse, he was trampled to death. The two wings being routed, the main body of the Macedonians retired ; and the regent's friend obtained the honor of victory⁹.

The expedition to Egypt proved disastrous to Perdiccas. Many of his soldiers, detesting him for his cruelty, joined Ptolemy. He lost others in a fruitless siege, and excited such discontent by ordering his troops to wade through the Nile to an island near Memphis (in which passage about 1000 were drowned, and an equal number fell into the devouring jaws of crocodiles), that a bold party rushed into his tent, and killed him without hesitation or remorse. He was a man of great courage and of some ability, but was arbitrary, violent, and inhuman.

The regency was offered by the army to Ptolemy ; but he declined the invidious office. Pithon, less scrupulous, accepted it in conjunction with Aridæus, who had been the chief conductor of the funeral of Alexander. When these associates had returned with the troops into Asia,

they were so disgusted at the interference of Eurydice, the wife of the insignificant king, that they gave up their power to Antipater. The new regent having sent Antigonus into Cappadocia, to crush the power of Eumenes, the desertion of a considerable body from the army of this officer gave the victory to his opponent. The unfortunate general fled with a small party to a fortress, where he sustained a long blockade with exemplary patience.

Antipater did not long enjoy the dignity of supreme governor. In his last illness, he refused to gratify his ambitious son, Cassander, with the regency, and conferred it upon Polysperchon, a veteran general. This was an unusual sacrifice of private feelings and parental partiality at the shrine of public duty or patriotism.

Cassander, not content with the military command which was assigned to him by his father, resolved to seize the whole power of the state, for which he thought himself better qualified than Polysperchon, or any of his rivals. He courted the aid of Ptolemy against the regent, and applied to Antigonus with the same view. On the other hand, Polysperchon invited Olympias to join him in the tutelage of Aridæus¹⁰, and of her grandson¹¹; and she accepted the overture from motives of ambition and revenge. The assistance of Eumenes was solicited by both parties. He was released from the blockade by the conciliatory wishes of Antigonus; who, being disappointed, however, by the addition made to an oath which he exacted, prepared for a renewal of hostilities.

The Greeks profited by these divisions. Polysperchon was so desirous of securing their attachment, that he restored the privileges of the different states. If he had thus favored them out of pure benevolence, he would

¹⁰ Also called Philip.

¹¹ The posthumous son of Alexander by Roxana.

have merited that praise which cannot justly be awarded to selfish policy. He ordered the banishment of the magistrates who owed their stations to Antipater's appointment; but some of them, being supported by the influence of Cassander, retained their power and authority.

At Athens, while the popular party received with joy the orders of the regent, Phocion was sensible of the danger to which he was exposed. He had offended the people by not endeavouring to procure the removal of the garrison from Munychia; and still more were they offended at his predilection for aristocracy. They loudly complained of his partiality to Nicanor, whom Cassander had sent to command the garrison; and, indeed, he appears to have entertained too favorable an opinion of that officer, whom he suffered to strengthen his post, and even to seize the Piræus¹².

The Athenians soon found an opportunity of wreaking
 Ante Chr. 318. their vengeance upon Phocion. The regent's son entered Attica, and encamped near the Piræus; and his approach encouraged the people to hold an assembly, in which the oligarchic magistrates were deposed. These fled with Phocion to the camp for protection: but the opposite party, at the same time, sent deputies, accusing that respectable citizen of treason. The envoys having met Philip and Polysperchon in Phocis, the cause was argued in form; and the result was the seizure of the unfortunate fugitive, who, being sent back to Athens for trial, was charged (in an assembly from which even the dregs of the people were not excluded) with having contributed to the subversion of the established government, and promoted the views of the enslavers of his country. He was not suffered to defend himself; all his endeavours to gain a hearing were overborne by clamor. He then exclaimed, "Condemn me, but spare my fellow-prisoners."

12 Plut. Vit. Phocionis.—Cornel. Nep. Vit. Phoc.

These were, Nicocles and three other citizens: all were condemned to death. They were compelled to take an infusion of hemlock. Phocion, being asked whether he had any valedictory advice or final instructions for his son, magnanimously answered, "You may tell him, that "I wish him to forget the treatment which I have received from my countrymen"¹³."

Phocion, in an age of relaxed morality, was distinguished by his integrity and virtue. He cultivated philosophy in his youth, and retained during his whole life the wisdom with which it inspired him. To oratory he so far attended, that he was enabled to speak with readiness, propriety, and force. He also studied the military art, not with a view of taking the lead in acts of aggressive violence, but solely for the defence of his country. In his public appearance he was stern, if not repulsive; while, in his private deportment, he was mild and courteous.

On the arrival of Cassander in Attica, a decisive engagement was expected between him and the adherents of the two kings; but Polysperchon wished to avoid the risque of defeat, and contented himself with watching, by the medium of his son, the movements of his competitor. When the people of Ægina had been drawn into the party of Cassander, and those of Salamis were on the point of being subdued, the regent checked him by sending an armament, which drove him back to the Piræus.

The impracticability of expelling the garrison, and a despair of effectual aid from Polysperchon, who lost both time and reputation in the siege of Megalopolis, induced the Athenians to treat with Cassander; but it was not without great reluctance that they adopted a resolution which tended to the revival of aristocracy. They were required to submit to a governor appointed by him, and to exclude the inferior citizens from all political concerns:

yet he condescended to allow a participation of the government to a greater number than Antipater had in that respect favored. Demetrius the Phalerean, who had been condemned in his absence as a friend of Phocion, was invested with the chief authority; and he acted with such ability and prudence, as to secure the good opinion both of Cassander and the people. He preserved order in the state; prevented the rich from oppressing the poor, and the poor from rising against the rich; increased the public revenue, and encouraged commerce and the arts.

Eumenes refused to listen to the overtures of Cassander, being more inclined to support the interest of the two kings. He was therefore appointed generalissimo of the Asiatic provinces, and gratified with extraordinary powers and high prerogatives. The Argyraspides, an unconquered *corps*, were ordered to join him: but their pride disdained the idea of receiving the commands of a low-born stranger¹⁴. He urged them to admit him as a fellow-soldier, if not as a general; and, applauding their admiration of Alexander, endeavoured to impress them with a superstitious belief (drawn from a pretended dream), that the genius of their favorite hero would direct and animate their counsels, if their officers would daily meet in a tent consecrated to his fame, offer a solemn sacrifice to his divinity, and deliberate near a throne covered with his *regalia* and arms. By this stratagem he softened their opposition; but he never could obtain their cordial support¹⁵.

Aware of the strength derived by the regent from the accession of Eumenes, Antigonus made every exertion to crush his formidable rival. He suffered a misfortune at

14 He was the son of a Thracian carrier. His graceful demeanor, and his agility in wrestling, induced Philip to take him into his service; and Alexander, finding him faithful and intelligent, employed him both in a civil and military capacity.

15 Plut. Vit. Eumen.—Diod. lib. xviii. sect. 58—61.

sea, near Byzantium, his fleet and that of Cassander being defeated with great loss by Clitus, who commanded the royal navy : but he soon after took advantage of the negligence of the victorious admiral, and destroyed or captured almost his whole fleet. He then led a considerable army against Eumenes, who avoided danger by retreat.

In the mean time, Cassander was diligently employed in weakening the power of Polysperchon and Olympias. The violence and cruelty of the queen-dowager promoted his ambitious views. Being thwarted by Eurydice, she desired the regent to crush that princess by arms; *Ante Chr.* and, the Macedonians being more disposed to ^{317.} assist the mother of Alexander than the wife of young Philip, the contest was quickly decided. The queen and her husband were seised; and, after a short confinement, the defenceless king was pierced with javelins. His wife closed his wounds, and covered his breathless frame; and, being permitted to choose her mode of death, hung herself with her zone. Not content with these gratifications of her vindictive rage, Olympias put to death one hundred of the partisans of Cassander, and excited general disgust by her atrocities. Hearing of the approach of hostile troops, she retired to Pydna, where she was besieged by the incensed Cassander. The horrors *Ante Chr.* of famine having constrained her to surrender, ^{316.} she was accused of multiplied murders in a popular assembly, and condemned to death. The soldiers who were sent to execute the sentence, impressed with the thoughts of her high birth and rank, of the fame and power of her husband, and the extraordinary celebrity of her son, had not the courage to offer violence to her person; but some relatives of those who had fallen victims to her rage, rushed upon her, and stabbed her. She met her fate with coolness and dignity, neither shrinking from the weapons of death, nor imploring mercy¹⁶.

Profiting by the odium which Olympias had entailed upon herself, and by the regent's want of vigor, Cassander advanced with bold steps to the supreme power. He extended his interest in Macedon by policy and by terror; prevailed upon the people of Epirus to banish their king Æacides, for having levied an army in the cause of Olympias and the young king; and made considerable progress in the reduction of Greece.

In Asia, the rivalry of Antigonus and Eumenes still divided the provincial communities. The Tigris proved only a weak barrier between the armies. Another river parted them; and, when 7000 men had passed it, Eumenes attacked them, drove many into the rapid stream, and captured about 4000. A contest afterward arose for the prior occupancy of a fertile district. Each, in some points, duped the other general. In Persia, a battle ensued, in which above 7700 men were killed or wounded on the part of Antigonus, and only a small number suffered in the army of Eumenes ¹⁷.

During the winter, these ambitious rivals risked another conflict. Antigonus marched against his enemies when they were dispersed over the country in quarters too remote for a speedy rendezvous: but Eumenes was not easily deceived; and he assembled his troops in time for action. He knew that some of the governors and generals who served under him were jealous of his fame, and envious of his superiority; and he was informed that designs were even formed against his life. These intimations of danger perplexed him, and he doubted whether he should retire or proceed: but he at length resolved to engage. He had 11,000 men beyond the number mustered by his antagonist; and the Argyraspides, who formed a tower of strength, seemed eager for the conflict, and promised to make every exertion. After a collision between

17 Diord. lib. xix. sect. 18, 26, 30

the elephants, the cavalry entered into action. Peucestes, either from cowardice or treachery, made an early retreat. Eumenes fought with great courage, but could not prevent the defeat of his left wing. The Argyraspides, assisted by other foot-soldiers, soon gained a manifest advantage, slaying 5000 of the enemy, and routing the rest of the infantry ; and Eumenes, with the right wing, was preparing to improve this success, when the refusal of the victorious body to co-operate with him ruined his hopes. Antigonus had taken an opportunity, when clouds of dust obscured the view, of seizing the baggage, with the wives and offspring of the soldiers ; and this loss so affected them, that they vehemently reproached and reviled Eumenes for their misfortune and his supposed misconduct. The Argyraspides, in particular, were so incensed at his having drawn them into the war, at their advanced age, that they offered to deliver him up to Antigonus, if the latter would restore their families. To this proposal, a ready assent was given. Eumenes was suddenly disarmed, and conducted to the tent of his powerful adversary, who, having kept him for some time in confinement, gave orders for his death. His chief betrayer, Antigones, was put into a chest, and burned alive ; and some others who had pursued him with malignant enmity, were also put to death, not so much out of regard to the memory of a former friend, as because Antigonus did not expect fidelity of service from men of such characters¹⁸.

The greater part of the army of Eumenes now joined his domineering enemy, who was thus impelled to more decisive measures. He changed the Asiatic go- Ante Chr. 315.
vernors at his pleasure, enacted laws with usurped
authority, and ruled with despotic sway. Seleucus, go-
vernors of Babylon, had lately assisted him ; but he did not

18 Diocl. lib. xix. sect. 40—44.—Plut. Vit. Eumen.—Just. lib. xiv.

wish to be a slave to his caprice, or the victim of his ingratitude and cruelty, and therefore joined Ptolemy and Cassander in a league which they had formed against his dangerous and insatiable ambition.

As Antigonus aimed at the acquisition of every part of Alexander's dominions in Asia, he made preparations for the conquest of Phœnicia and Syria, which Ptolemy had reduced under his yoke. When he had arrived with his army near Tyre, he invited some of the principal Phœnicians to his camp, and requested them to superintend the construction of a powerful navy. He found Tyre so well fortified and defended, that the siege was protracted to an extraordinary length. He had seized the treasures of Media and Persia, and obtained great supplies in other provinces, so that he abounded in the sinews of war; but the rapidity of his career did not keep pace with his wishes. His three adversaries, to whom Lysimachus had promised adherence, demanded a division of the spoils among them, and, on his refusal, declared war against him.

To check the progress of Cassander, he employed trusty emissaries, who levied troops in the Peloponnesus, and assured the Greeks of his intention of restoring their liberties. He inveighed against the assassin of Olympias, who was also (he said) the disloyal oppressor of Roxana and her son; and pronounced him a public enemy, if he should persist in his usurpation. From Alexander, the son of Polysperchon, he for a time derived useful aid; but this commander was drawn over to the interest of Cassander by a grant of the Peloponnesian government, which he did not long retain; for he was murdered by a Sicyonian, Ante Chr. 314. who pretended to be his friend. His wife, Cratesipolis, undertook the administration; conciliated the attachment of the soldiery by her politic attention to their interests; and, having defeated a body of Sicyonians, emulated the cruelty of a male conqueror, by

crucifying thirty prisoners, whose only crime was patriotic zeal ¹⁹.

As the Ætolians were disinclined to the cause of the confederates, Cassander harassed them with hostilities. He then marched against Glaucias, the Illyrian prince, whom he compelled to promise, that he would not molest the friends or allies of the Macedonian ruler. Adverting to the affairs of Asia, as if he had not sufficient employment in Europe, he sent an army into Caria, where one of his officers, placed in ambuscade with 10,000 men, suffered himself to be surprised and captured with the major part of that detachment.

The Ætolians being assisted by the king of Epirus, who had returned from exile, Cassander ^{Ante Chr. 313.} sent troops against that prince, who lost the victory and his life. Discouraged by the ill success of their ally, and by their own misfortunes in the field, a great number of the Ætolians retired from their towns, and sheltered themselves in woody and mountainous recesses.

The active spirit of Antigonus rendered him a formidable enemy to each of the four confederates. He instigated Seuthes, the Thracian king, to attack Lysimachus, and at the same time dispatched troops from Asia to harass him; with less effect, however, than he expected. He sent an armament to invade the Peloponnesus; and most of it's towns were wrested from the power of Cassander. By his efforts, Seleucus was checked in his progress, and Ptolemy was dispossessed of Phoenicia and Syria.

Cassander's attempts in Asia were so unsuccessful, that he was glad to conclude a treaty with Antigonus; but he violated an agreement which obstructed the views of his ambition, and endeavoured to retrieve his affairs in Greece. Polemon was sent with 5500 men and 150 ships, beside a

Ante Chr. Rhodian squadron, to perform the promise of
312. Antigonus with regard to the liberty of Greece.

The Athenians, eager to profit by these favorable intentions, requested permission to live under the laws of Solon ; and their wish was ostensibly granted. From Thebes, which had been rebuilt by Cassander, his garrison was expelled. The Phocian territories, and other parts of Greece, were withdrawn from his yoke ; but his authority yet subsisted in Macedonia.

The island of Cyprus was exposed, by the fierce contentions of the aspiring generals, to all the horrors of war. Ptolemy strenuously aimed at it's subjugation, and accomplished his object, securing to himself the revenues of it's injured princes. He then, at the request of Seleucus, passed into Syria, where Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, had commenced his military career. Near Gaza, the young warrior drew out his army in array of battle, regardless of the dissuasive suggestions of his friends ; and, impelled by the fervor of courage, he rashly attacked two veteran generals, whose force out-numbered his own. He was defeated, yet not without difficulty. About 5000 of his men fell, and 8000 were captured. Ptolemy now recovered, in a great measure, the provinces which he had lately lost ; but, when Cilles, one of his chief officers, had
Ante Chr. been surprised by Demetrius, and taken with al-
311. most the whole of his force, the governor of Egypt was again constrained to relinquish those possessions which he had originally no right to enjoy.

Ptolemy thus lost the effect of his victory ; but Seleucus was more fortunate. With a small force, which he augmented in his march, he hastened toward Babylon, where he was extremely popular, and resumed the station of governor. By defeating Nicanor, he subjected Media to his authority : Susiana and other parts of Persia submitted to him ; and he ruled with sovereign power.

After farther hostilities between Antigonus and the confederates, a pacification was outwardly, not cordially, concluded. It was stipulated, that, during the king's minority, Cassander should have the chief sway in Macedonia, Thessaly, and Greece, but should suffer the Greeks to enjoy their own laws ; that Thrace should continue to be governed by Lysimachus ; that Egypt, and a part of Libya, should be subject to Ptolemy ; and that Antigonus should rule over the Asiatic provinces. As young Alexander had reached the age of twelve years, Cassander dreaded his rivalry, and ordered the assassination both of him and his mother. The other contracting parties did not punish him for his flagitious inhumanity, but seemed to be pleased at the removal of an obstacle to their own views of royalty. A natural son of Alexander the Great, named Hercules, yet survived ; and Polysperchon brought him forward, as a candidate for the vacant throne : but, by the advice of the infamous Cassander, he sacrificed this youth to his supposed interest. The queen of Epirus, whose pretensions rendered her obnoxious to the blood-thirsty rivals, afterward fell a victim to the political jealousy of Antigonus²⁰.

The treaty was not productive of a long respite from war. Ptolemy still dreaded the ambition of Antigonus, and, thinking that this general would infringe the compact, dishonorably became it's first violator. He sent Ante Chr. 310. an army into Cilicia, with little effect ; but in Lycia he was more successful. Pretending to be anxious for the restoration of Grecian liberty, he afterward invaded the Peloponnesus, and seised Corinth and Sicyon. Not finding the people perfectly obedient to his will, Ante Chr. 308. or ready to supply him with corn and money, he was permitted by Cassander to retain the towns which he had taken, on condition of leaving others unmolested.

The Phalerean was now deprived of that authority which he had long exercised over the Athenian state. Antigonus sent his son Demetrius (who was afterward Ante Chr. 307. called *Poliorcetes*, or the besieger of towns) to expel Cassander's garrison, and gratify the people with that government which they preferred : but, from their knowledge of the father's character, they had no reason to suppose that the indulgence would be permanent. The Piræus being taken by a *coup-de-main*, the citizens offered their submission ; and the Phalerean, resigning his power, retired from Attica. Munychia sustained a siege for two days ; and, being then stormed, it was demolished by Poliorcetes, who, having proclaimed the restoration of popular sway, was complimented with a statue of gold, hailed as a God, and honored with an altar.

Postponing the general settlement of Greece, Demetrius sailed to Cyprus with views of conquest. For the more speedy reduction of the towns of that island, he invented the *helepolis*, a large square machine of timber, strengthened with iron, with nine floors, moveable upon castors ; full of men, of engines, and weapons ; and apparently better calculated for the attack of a fortress than any former contrivance. While he was besieging Salamis, a fleet came from Egypt, under the personal command of Ptolemy, who hoped, with the aid of the governor, to overwhelm the invaders : but he was miserably disappointed in his expectation. Demetrius precluded the egress of the hostile ships which were in the harbour, and ably directed the operations of his fleet. Ptolemy was victorious over that division which he particularly opposed ; while his adversary, who was uncommonly bold and active, triumphed over the wing that resisted him. The governor of the city forced his way out of the port ; but he could not prevent the success of Demetrius, who captured forty of the largest vessels, and destroyed or disabled a greater number. Salamis, and all its ships and troops,

were instantly surrendered; and the whole island became subject to Antigonus ²¹.

Athenian flattery and servility had already bestowed the regal title on Demetrius and his father; but they did not assume that dignity before the defeat of Ptolemy. Antigonus then placed a crown upon his own head, and desired his son to style himself a king. Ptolemy followed the example; Seleucus and Lysimachus also claimed the exalted title; and the imposing majesty of the name served to render the people more submissive.

The facility with which Cyprus was reduced, encouraged Antigonus to aim at the conquest of Egypt. He ought to have considered that the power of Ptolemy was firmly established in that kingdom, by the ability and prudence with which he governed: but he trusted to his great resources, and led an army toward the Nile, while ^{Ante Chr. 306.} his son conducted a large fleet. The king of Egypt took such well-concerted measures to baffle the bold attempt, that it scarcely deserved the name of an invasion. His own army even received great accessions from the discontent and dejection of the troops of Antigonus, who retreated into Asia with indignant mortification.

An attack upon Rhodes was the next scheme ^{Ante Chr. 305.} of Antigonus. The islanders had offended him by not joining him against Ptolemy; and he wished to obtain full possession of their maritime force. He therefore sent his son with 200 ships, and a great army, to besiege their capital. They manifested great skill and valor in repelling the attacks of Demetrius, destroying his machines, and harassing his men with volleys of missiles; and, when a general assault was ordered, they turned it to the detriment of the besiegers, who were constrained to retire to a considerable distance. He endeavoured to fire the vessels in the harbour; but the alertness of the Rhodians pre-

²¹ Diod. lib. xx. sect. 48—54.—Plut. Vit. Demetrii.

vented or extinguished the conflagration; and they destroyed some floating batteries upon which Poliorcetes greatly depended for the attack of the maritime fortifications. He employed the *helepolis* on the land-side, so as to make a breach, which might have served to admit his troops, if the besieged had not blocked it up with a barricade formed of their own persons. They raised strong entrenchments behind it before the next assault was risked; but a select body forced this post, and entered the city at night. The garrison, with the aid of Macedonian troops sent by Ptolemy, slew or captured the intruders; and the besiegers found that they had still much to perform²².

Finding that the Rhodians were assisted, not only by the sovereign of Egypt, but also by Cassander and the king of Thrace, and that they were animated by all the zeal of patriotism, Antigonus resigned the hope of becoming absolute master of the island, and resolved to content himself with the friendship of the inhabitants, who engaged to be his allies against every enemy except Ptolemy. Peace being thus concluded with the Rhodian state, Demetrius sailed with his army to Bœotia, and, by fair promises, drew the greater part of the people into his interest. With the Ætolians also he formed an alliance; and, turning his attention to southern Greece, he reduced Sicyon and Corinth; took Ægium by storm, and crucified the commandant for having dared to utter reproaches against him; and met with great success in other parts of the Peloponnesus. The Lacedæmonians, however, despised the liberty which he offered, and declined subserviency either to him or to Cassander. Being at this time requested by the Tarentines to support them against the Lucanians, they permitted Cleonymus to levy an army for that purpose. He sailed to Italy, and was at

Ante Chr.

304.

Ante Chr.

303.

first successful; but was afterward constrained, by a reverse of fortune, to quit the coast.

Cassander, baffled by Demetrius in an attempt upon Athens, alarmed at the ruin of his interest in Greece, and dreading the loss of Macedon, proposed a new Ante Chr. 302. confederacy against Antigonus. The Thracian king readily agreed to the proposal; and, when Ptolemy and Seleucus had promised to render the league more operative than the former, by close and friendly concert, a violent storm of war menaced the restless tyrant. Cassander marched against Demetrius; while Lysimachus transported an army into Asia Minor, and dispossessed the enemy of Phrygia and other provinces. Antigonus hastened from Syria to meet the invader, who eluded all endeavours to bring him to action. Demetrius found Cassander equally unwilling to risque an engagement, and therefore passed over to Ephesus, which, with other towns, he easily re-captured. The Macedonian sovereign took this opportunity of recovering some of the Grecian towns; but an expedition which he ordered was extremely unfortunate. Plistarchus, being sent with 12,500 men to join Lysimachus, lost the greater part of his army by the chance of war and the perils of the sea²³.

This great contest was decided on the plains Ante Chr. 301. of Ipsus, in the Phrygian territory. The army of Antigonus nearly amounted to 80,000 men; and that of his adversaries consisted of 74,500, beside 120 scythed chariots. Demetrius was so eager to display his courage, that he scarcely waited for the signal of battle. Rushing forward with his cavalry, he threw the opposite ranks into confusion, and indulged himself in such an inconsiderate pursuit, that, when he returned to co-operate with the infantry, he was precluded from action by a great body of elephants. Seleucus so harassed the unsupported foot

²³ Diod. lib. xx. sect. 107—113.

with desultory attacks, that the greater part, dreading a ruinous charge, consented to be incorporated with his forces. Antigonus still continued, with the remains of his army, to exert that valor which even his advanced age had not diminished; but he could not withstand the vigor of the enemy, or preserve his life amidst multiplied assaults²⁴. His son retired from the field, accompanied by his brother-in-law Pyrrhus, the Epirot prince, of whom I shall speak more particularly hereafter.

The victory, as might have been expected, was followed by a partition of territory. A part of Asia Minor, near the Bosphorus and the Euxine, was assigned to Lysimachus, beside Caria and other provinces: Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine, were allotted to Ptolemy: Seleucus added the chief portions of Asiatic dominion to his former possessions; and Cassander was confirmed in the Macedonian and Grecian sovereignty. It is supposed by divines, that the prophet Daniel refers to these princes, the four successors of Alexander, when he speaks of the four horns, springing from the great horn of the he-goat.

LETTER VII.

History of MACEDON and GREECE, to the Ruin or Expulsion of the Gallic Invaders.

WHEN sudden accumulations of territory have been obtained by the enterprising but misapplied courage of a warlike prince, who leaves no son or other relative capable of acting with determined spirit or vigor, it rarely happens, that the fabric of power long remains entire. The generals who served under such a monarch may be supposed to have imbibed, in his school, a tincture of am-

²⁴ Plut. Vit. Demetrii.—App. de Bellis Syriacis.

bition, by which they will be stimulated to the attainment of independent power. Hence disunion will arise, and territorial division will ensue. The ambition of Demetrius would not suffer him to acquiesce in ^{Ante Chr. 301.} the late territorial settlement. To be excluded from power in Greece was particularly offensive to his feelings. He had sailed to Attica after his defeat ; but the Athenians treated an unsuccessful fugitive with contempt, and refused to re-admit him into their city. They sent to him, however, some galleys which he claimed as his property, and also his wife Deidamia. He then cruised like a mere adventurer, and made a predatory descent on the Thracian coast.

While he thus roved about the seas, he was gratified with overtures from Seleucus, who expressed a ^{Ante Chr. 300.} wish to become his son-in-law, by espousing the beautiful Stratonice. He hastened into Syria ; and the marriage was solemnised at Antioch, which, notwithstanding it's great distance from his Persian territories, Seleucus had chosen for the capital of his kingdom. Soon after this alliance had been adjusted, Demetrius found an opportunity of seising the Cilician province, which had been lately given to the brother of Cassander. He also obtained a grant of Cyprus, and of the cities of Tyre and Sidon, on his marriage (after the death of Deidamia) with a daughter of the Egyptian king. Thus fortune once more smiled upon him ; and he was encouraged to attempt the recovery of Athens.

In concert with Cassander, Lachares had usurped the chief power at Athens ; and he resolved to defend the city with the utmost vigor. Demetrius, in his voyage to Attica, lost a part of his fleet in a storm, and was obliged to postpone the intended siege. In the mean time, Cassander died, who was neither a good nor a great ^{Ante Chr. 298.} king. He was succeeded by his son Philip, whose decease, after a very short reign, occasioned a contest

between his brothers, Antipater and Alexander. The former of these princes did not scruple to aim at the life of his mother Thessalonice, because she favored his younger brother. The unfortunate princess in vain implored mercy, holding out to the infuriate monster the breast by which he had been nourished in his infancy : he brutally stabbed her to the heart¹.

The reduction of Athens was a work of time ; but the perseverance of Demetrius enforced a surrender, when
 Ante Chr. 296. famine had diminished the number of it's inhabitants. Having assembled the people in the theatre, he mildly reprov'd them for their ill-treatment of one whom they had formerly professed to revere², and appointed such magistrates as were not obnoxious to the community. He afterward invaded the Lacedæmonian territories, defeated the troops of Archidamus, and had a fair prospect of taking the capital, when he was called away by an alarming intimation of the hostile progress of Seleucus, who, being jealous of his rising power, had seised his Cilician towns, and had encouraged Ptolemy to invade Cyprus. He was, at the same time, requested to support Alexander against the tyranny of Antipater : but when, neglecting his affairs in Asia, he had entered the Macedonian kingdom, he found that Pyrrhus had anticipated his intentions, and his aid was politely declined.

Pyrrhus was the son of Æacides, king of Epirus ; after whose death he was protected and educated by Glaucias, the Illyrian prince, who inflexibly withstood all the attempts of Cassander to gain possession of the person of his *élève*. Alcetas had succeeded his brother Æacides ; and, after he had concluded peace with Cassander, by whom he had been vanquished, he lost his life by the indignation of

1 Plut. Vit. Demetrii.—Just. lib. xvi. cap. 1.

2 An expression in his speech being censured by one of his hearers, as inconsistent with Attic purity, he thanked the critic for his friendly correction, and added a considerable grant of corn to that which he had already promised.

some of his subjects, who would not tamely submit to his haughty and domineering spirit³. Pyrrhus was then placed on the throne, about the age of twelve years, either by the voluntary zeal of the people, or by the friendly aid of Glaucias; and he ruled in peace, in concert with prudent and able ministers, until he reached the age of seventeen. He then lost the sovereignty by a journey into Illyria, where he married the daughter of his royal friend. By the protection of Demetrius, he was saved from utter ruin; and, being an hostage for that prince at the court of Egypt, he ingratiated himself with Ptolemy, who gave his step-daughter in marriage to the promising youth, and assisted him in the recovery of his paternal crown, which had in the mean time been enjoyed by his great-uncle, Neoptolemus. To prevent the continuance of intestine broils, he consented to share the throne with his relative, with whom, however, he did not cordially agree. Either believing or pretending that Neoptolemus aimed at his life, he assassinated that prince, and again became sole king⁴. Being invited into Macedon by Alexander, he was so successful in a campaign against Antipater, that the terrified prince fled to the court of his father-in-law Lysimachus, who advised him to aim at a reconciliation with his brother, as the pretended friends of that prince might otherwise seize the whole kingdom. Demetrius, who hoped to ac-
Ante Chr.
294.
quire the contested sovereignty, murdered Alex-
ander, and vindicated the treacherous act by accusing him (probably without foundation) of intentions equally violent. He reminded the Macedonians of the outrageous tyranny of Cassander, who had put to death the two sons of Alexander the Great; and hinted that this hero, if his *manès* had any perception of human affairs, would prefer a king, who was the son of one of his ablest generals, to the offspring of so odious an assassin. With little difficulty, he prevailed

3 Pausan. lib. i. cap. 11.

4 Plut. Vit. Pyrrhi.

upon the people to acknowledge him as their sovereign. Lysimachus, being involved in a war with the Getæ, resigned to him that part of Macedon which he held for Antipater, who was soon after assassinated, either by his father-in-law⁵, or (more probably) by the new monarch⁶.

This accession of power did not content the aspiring mind of Demetrius. He wished to gain possession of Thrace, and also to obtain the Asiatic provinces which his father had governed. When Lysimachus had been defeated by the Getic king, and (according to a prevalent report) made prisoner, the king of Macedon hastened to the Thracian frontier; but soon returned from a hopeless expedition. The Bœotians having erected the standard of independence, he invested and reduced Thebes, which, again revolting, underwent another siege. When he had taken the city by assault, he threatened the instigators of the revolt with the rigors of vengeance; but he was praised for clemency, when he only ordered the sacrifice of ten of the mal-contents. During this siege, Pyrrhus had invaded Thessaly, but retired from the province on the approach of Demetrius, who then entered into a war with the Ætolians, that he might bring them completely under his yoke. They were unable to cope with his army; yet they would not fully submit to him. He left Pantauchus to subdue their country, and transferred his attention to Epirus, which he furiously ravaged. Pyrrhus, not meeting him, as he expected, attacked Pantauchus, slew a considerable number of his men, and captured 5000⁷.

After a conflict with the king of Thrace near Amphipolis, Demetrius, who might have triumphed over his antagonist, if the latter had not been assisted by Pyrrhus, was confined at Pella by a serious indisposition. The Epirot prince, rejoicing at the intelligence, rushed into Macedon,

⁵ Just. lib. xvi. cap. 2.

⁶ Excerpt. e Diod. lib. xxi.

⁷ Plut. Vit. Demetrii et Pyrrhi.—Excerpt. e Diod.

but was driven out of the country with loss. Demetrius, who was preparing for his Asiatic expedition, consented to a peace with Pyrrhus, and superintended the equipment of 500 ships of war, many of which were of unprecedented magnitude, yet not too unwieldy for action.

The three princes who were in possession of those provinces which the king of Macedon wished to seize, made great preparations for their defence; and the warlike ruler of Epirus was ready to assist them, by harassing Demetrius in the heart of his kingdom. While Ptolemy undertook an expedition to Greece, Lysimachus invaded Macedon, and endeavoured to inflame the discontent of the people, who were offended at the air of arrogance and *hauteur* which their impolitic sovereign had assumed, shocked at his habitual debauchery, and disgusted at his extravagant preparations for foreign conquest. Seleucus waited until the storm should burst upon Asia; but the vigor of his confederates, and the disaffection of the Macedonians, precluded the necessity of his exertions. When Pyrrhus had reduced Beroëa, where the families of many of the soldiers of Demetrius were resident, mutinous clamors arose in the army; and, as it was known that the royal invader aspired to the Macedonian crown, small parties, and at length considerable bodies, passed over to the camp of the enemy. Some of the officers advised Demetrius to relinquish the contest, and resign his diadem; and, being sensible of his danger, he retired in disguise. Pyrrhus, eagerly advancing, was proclaimed king by the troops; but, in compliance with the demands of Lysimachus, who alleged that he had promoted the ruin of the fugitive prince, he yielded to his ally the north-eastern division of the realm. Not taking the most proper measures for securing his new acquisition, he did not long continue to enjoy it⁸.

Retiring into Greece, Demetrius drew a circle of friends about him, and did not abandon all hopes of the Ante Chr. 287. retrieval of his fortunes. Some of the states apparently remained faithful to him; but the Athenians consigned their republic to the protection of Pyrrhus. Their late master, incensed at their desertion of his interest, invested their capital. They deputed Crates to his camp, to soften his indignation; and, either by the persuasions of that philosopher, or by the consideration of his want of a sufficient force, he was induced to decline a prosecution of the siege.

He then resolved to try his fortune in Asia. With about 11,000 men, he assaulted and reduced some of the Lydian towns; and, being reinforced by the defection of troops from the service of Lysimachus, he met with farther success. But Agathocles, son of that monarch, harassed him so effectually by skirmishes, and by the interception of provisions, that he lost the greater part of his force. With the rest he marched into Cilicia; and, as he could not prevent his famished men from plundering the country, he apologised to his son-in-law in terms calculated to excite compassion for his misfortunes. Seleucus permitted him to supply his wants, at the same time obstructing his entrance into Syria. Demetrius endeavoured to force his Ante Chr. 286. way, boldly crossed mount Amanus, and attacked the king, one of whose wings he routed: but, being deserted by his troops, he retreated toward Cilicia. He was soon taken by the enemy, and confined; yet was treated with respect and attention. His son Antigonus made every effort, without actual violence, to procure his liberation; but Seleucus as steadily resisted all solicitations of that kind, as he withstood the application of Lysimachus, who offered a large sum for the death of the captive⁹.

9 Plut. Vit. Demet.—Demetrius died after three years of captivity, his dissolution being accelerated by anxiety and by intemperance.

A contest for the undivided kingdom of Macedon now occurred between Lysimachus and Pyrrhus. The former employed artful emissaries to propagate discontent in the provinces which were governed by his rival ; and he met with such success, that Pyrrhus was glad to escape from the country. The remaining years of the reign of Lysimachus were chiefly passed in the exercise of cruelty. One instance was of the most unnatural complexion. Arsinoë, his Egyptian wife, hated her half-sister Lysandra, who had been married to Agathocles ; and, suspecting that this prince, on his eventual accession to the throne, would not be her friend, she endeavoured to poison him ; and, on the failure of that attempt, accused him of conspiring against his father's life. The charge was malignant and unfounded : yet the tyrant, influenced by the persuasions of a flagitious woman, and fascinated by her arts, gave orders for the death of his son, whose accomplishments and merit had rendered him highly popular. Some of the Macedonian nobles, who lamented the prince's fate, were put to death as mal-contents ; and many fled from the country, to avoid the fury of the despot. Lysandra repaired to the court of Seleucus, with a train of distinguished persons, who urged that monarch to turn his arms against their sanguinary oppressor. Their advice coincided with the king's inclinations ; and, a great army being put in motion, Lysimachus was quickly dispossessed of Lydia, and threatened with an invasion of his European dominions¹⁰.

The two kings met in Phrygia ; for Lysima- Ante Chr.
283.
chus wished to prevent the storm from bursting
either upon Thrace or Macedon. This prince was van-
quished and slain ; and Seleucus, acquiring by his victory
the hereditary diadem of his great master Alexander, re-
signed to his son Antiochus the government of his Asiatic

10 Pausan. lib. i.—Memnonis Hist. in Photii Bibliothecâ.

territories. He gloried in being the only survivor of the generals who had fought under the banners of that victorious prince¹¹.

His friend and ally, Ptolemy, had died before this battle occurred, with a reputation less ambiguous, and a character less sullied, than that of any of his royal contemporaries, except Seleucus. He had appointed Philadelphus to succeed him, in preference to his eldest son Ceraunus, who, thus disappointed, retired into Macedon, and accompanied his sister Lysandra to the Syrian court. This ambitious emigrant, regardless of his obligations to
 Ante Chr. 282. Seleucus, assassinated the venerable prince, and obtained the crown of Macedon by the aid of the inconstant troops, and of those nobles who had not renounced their attachment to Lysimachus¹².

The son of Demetrius, conceiving that he had a better claim to the throne than Ptolemy Ceraunus, equipped a fleet for the invasion of Macedon: but, being defeated by the navy of the new king, which included some ships of extraordinary size and novel construction from Heraclea¹³; he returned to Greece, where, although he had little authority, he found protection and security. In the mean time, Ceraunus took measures for establishing himself in that sovereignty which he had so suddenly acquired: but his government was not that of a wise, just, or good prince. Terror was his chief instrument of action. He murdered two sons of Lysimachus, and banished their mother Arsinoë, soon after he had compelled her to become his wife. Her fate was unlamented; and as little regret attended his death, which arose from an unexpected invasion¹⁴.

11 He called himself the conqueror of conquerors, and is known in history by the epithet of *Nicator*.

12 Memnonis Hist.—App. de Bellis Syriacis.

13 A city near the Euxine, which, with it's environs, had long formed a separate state.

14 Justin speaks of a war which arose in Greece at this time, under the auspices of the Spartans, from a wish to recover the advantages of indepen-

A very numerous army of Gauls, desirous of new settlements, directed their course, in three divisions, toward Pannonia, Thrace, and Macedon. Several princes purchased with considerable sums the forbearance and retreat of these adventurers: but Ceraunus trusted to arms for their expulsion. Considering himself as equal to Alexander the Great, he expected a glorious triumph, and led a comparatively small force against the barbarians, by whom he was defeated and captured. He was not suffered to linger in confinement, being instantly decapitated. The ruin of his army so discouraged the people, that the barbarians expected to become masters of the country. A general consternation prevailed: every one dreaded the worst consequences of defeat. Meleager, brother of the late king, was placed on the throne; but he was soon deposed, as being unworthy of the exalted station; and Antipater, nephew of Cassander, was appointed to succeed him: but the government was still unsettled. At this crisis, an intrepid patriot offered himself to public notice, and endeavoured to rouse the desponding Macedonians. His name was Sosthenes; and, though he was not of exalted rank, he was preferred by his countrymen to all the nobles who aimed at the crown; but he modestly declined the royal title, and would only be treated as a general. Having in a great measure dissipated the panic, he assembled a small army, and harassed the barbarians, first in skirmishes, and afterward in a more regular conflict, which terminated in their retreat from the country¹⁵.

Another division of the formidable body of Gallic adventurers, under chieftains known by the names of Bren-

dence. The troops of some confederate states attacked the Ætolians, who were friendly to the interest of Antigonos; but the assailants were routed with great loss. The war then languished, because it was suspected that the rulers of Sparta aimed at the supremacy of Greece.

15 Pausan. lib. x. cap. 19.—Just. xxiv. 4, 5.

nus and Acichorius, marched from Pannonia into Macedon, defeated the gallant Sosthenes, and prosecuted a course of depredation, while the people confined themselves within the walls of their towns. Thessaly was the next object of their hostile rapacity ; and their approach filled Greece with alarm. An exertion of the former spirit of the country was imperiously required ; for the number of the invaders exceeded 120,000, beside cavalry, and a ferocious courage marked their character¹⁶.

Ante Chr. 279. The Athenians took the lead in the conduct of defensive operations. By the general consent of the Grecian communities, the chief authority was conferred upon their republic, in remembrance of it's ancient dignity ; and Callippus was commissioned to superintend the important concerns of the confederacy. To the troops levied in Greece, Antigonus (who, on the death of Sosthenes, had been chosen king of Macedon) made some additions ; and a reinforcement was sent from Asia by Antiochus. It was resolved, that the greater part of the united force should be stationed at Thermopylæ, and that a detachment should be sent to obstruct the passage of the Sperchius. The latter service not being effectually performed, the Gauls advanced to the southward, and endeavoured to force their way through the mountainous barrier. Assisted by a *flotilla* at the mouth of the river, which harassed the foe with volleys of missiles, the Grecian army defended the pass with such spirit, that the Gallic general, after a great loss of men, gave orders for a cessation of conflict. In retiring, many of his followers were

¹⁶ Just. lib. xxiv. cap. 6.—Pausan. i. 4. x. 19.—We are informed by Livy, that 20,000 men quitted the standard of Brennus, in consequence of animosity and discord ; that Lutarius, with one division, passed from Thrace into Asia, in vessels taken from the Macedonians in the Propontis ; that Leonorius transported the rest by the aid of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia ; and that, while one body, under the name of the Trocmi, colonised the country near the Hellespont, the Tolistoboi seised Æolis and Ionia, and the Tectosagi established themselves in the inland parts of Asia Minor.

trampled to death by their friends, and not a few perished in the morass. After another engagement, in which the barbarians were also repelled, Brennus ordered two of his best officers to march with a great force to the westward, and invade Ætolia, that the troops sent by the rulers of that state might be recalled from the confederate army. Hearing of the devastations and outrages committed by this detachment, the Ætolians hastened from the pass to take vengeance upon the intruders; and, being joined at home by an indignant multitude, of both sexes, slew many thousands before the rest could rejoin Brennus¹⁷.

Having procured, from some Thessalians, exact information of the *route* by which the Persians had traversed mount Cæta, the barbarian chieftain resolved to assault the Greeks in the rear; but the latter, aware of their danger, opportunely retreated, and were saved chiefly by maritime conveyance. With about 50,000 men, he now advanced toward Delphi, for the purpose of seizing all the treasures of the temple; saying, that the Gods had no occasion for wealth, except to supply the wants of mankind. The Phocians, while they hoped that the sacred dignity of the spot would secure it from violence, did not neglect the means of defence; and the ministers of the oracle practised various expedients, to profit by the influence of superstitious terror. They gave directions for blowing trumpets, and making other kinds of noise, which the cavities and windings of the mountain¹⁸ might reverberate, so as to fill ignorant strangers with awe. They ordered the rocky mass to be loosened, so that considerable fragments might be hurled upon the ascending foe, who, while the earth seemed to quake, might be induced to imagine that the Gods were preparing to overwhelm them. Only 4000 men, it is said, were in arms upon the mountain; but this small force acted with the most manly spirit. They did

17 Pausan. lib. x. cap. 20—22.

18 This was mount Parnassus.

not require the exhortations of the priests to rouse them : yet these thought it their duty to stimulate the warriors, by assuring them of the favor and protection of Apollo, who, they said, had actually appeared in the temple, accompanied by two armed virgins, known to be the goddesses Diana and Minerva. A great number of the Gauls were driven down the declivity, crushed by pieces of rock, or pierced by arrows or javelins, not without the slaughter of many Greeks, of whom Aleximachus was the most distinguished. In the ensuing night, a great fall of snow and hail so chilled the air, that many of the wounded died before the morning. On the renewal of conflict, a body of Phocians attacked the Gauls in the rear, while the rest of the Greeks defended with undaunted courage all the avenues to the sacred edifice. Brennus being disabled by wounds, and the exertions of the Greeks becoming (if possible) more vigorous, the invaders retreated in consternation ; and, when darkness again came on, many fell by the hands of their comrades, in the confusion of their flight¹⁹.

The hostile chief, either dreading the rage of his countrymen, for having involved them in such misfortunes, or ashamed of his ill success and mortified at his disgrace, resolved not to survive it. He called a council of his officers, and requested that they would kill him with all the sick and wounded, elect Acichorius for their king, and retire from Greece with all possible expedition : but, thinking perhaps that they might not be willing to comply with his directions concerning himself, he elevated his spirits with wine, and put an end to his life with his own sword²⁰.

The remains of that army which had attacked the temple, hastened to the camp of Acichorius. Many perished,

19 Pausan. lib. x. cap. 23.—Just. lib. xxiv. cap. 6, 7, 8.

20 Excerpt. e Diod. lib. xxii. sect. 13.—This historian says, that the new king, equally savage with Brennus, murdered the wounded and all their drooping companions, to the number of 20,000.

during the march, of famine and fatigue; and a great number fell by Grecian hostility. The rest retired into Thrace and other parts of Europe, or into Asia Minor²¹. A new irruption was made into Macedon, by 18,000 of these barbarians, who, after the fruitless demand of a large sum of money as the price of their ^{Ante Chr. 278.} forbearance, marched to attack Antigonus. This prince having left his camp, and concealed his army in a neighbouring wood, the enemy plundered the camp, and then marched to the sea-side, to add to their booty the spoils of many vessels. Those who were thus employed, were fiercely assaulted by the seamen; and the rest, being exposed to the hostilities of the soldiers, suffered a sanguinary defeat. This success over a warlike foe increased that reputation which Antigonus had acquired by baffling the competition of the son of Seleucus for the Macedonian diadem.

LETTER VIII.

History of MACEDON and the GRECIAN States, to the public Appearance of ARATUS, the celebrated Sicyonian.

THE Greeks had lost that energy of character which they displayed in the time of Aristides and of Themistocles; and their proud pre-eminence of dignity had yielded to humiliation: yet they had some remains of spirit, and refused to drink very deeply from the cup of slavery.

Athens, and the greater part of Greece, were ^{Ante Chr. 278.} indeed, in a great measure, subservient to the will of Antigonus, but not so completely as he wished. The

²¹ Just. lib. xxxii. cap. 3.—Polyb. lib. iv.—Strab. lib. iv.—The assertion of Pausanias and Diodorus, that not one of the Gauls escaped, are not strictly true.

Spartans were not disposed to submit to him; nor did the Achæians acknowledge his supremacy. This state had, some years before¹, revived, on a minor scale, that confederacy of towns and small communities which had formerly succeeded the abolition of royalty in the northern part of the Peloponnesus, but which, after having acquired fame by it's wisdom and moderation, yielded to the tyranny of Alexander's successors. Ægium was the seat of the assembly. Only five towns, at the revival, formed the association; but it was gradually enlarged and strengthened.

A knowlege of the ambition of Pyrrhus, and a recollection of his temporary enjoyment of the throne of Macedon, gave Antigonus some apprehension of a renewal of the pretensions of that prince. On the invitation of the Tarentines, Pyrrhus had already undertaken an expedition into Italy, where, in several engagements, he put Roman skill and courage to the proof. Of his adventures and conduct in that perilous warfare, I will give you a sketch, when I treat of that period of the Roman history. At the close of his Italian campaigns, he sailed to Sicily, which was in danger of being entirely subdued by the Carthaginians. He had some connexion with the island, in consequence of his marriage with the daughter of Agathocles; and a numerous party promised to assist him with vigor in the acquisition of the sovereignty. The magnitude of his armament so encouraged his partisans, that, as soon as he appeared near Tauromenium, the town was surrendered to him; and, when he landed at Catana, he was received with equal favor. His approach relieved Syracuse from a close siege; and he was put in possession of the city, and of it's whole navy. Leontium and other towns were also given up to him. Advancing to Agrigentum, ne was informed that the inhabitants had expelled

¹ In the year 262.

the Punic garrison, and were ready to submit to his authority. He took Eryx and Panormus by storm, and dislodged the Carthaginians from every town and fortress which they occupied at the time of his descent, except Lilybæum. They were particularly desirous of keeping this strong town, and were willing to give a large sum for it's retention; but the king rejected the offer, and besieged the place for two months. He then raised the siege, and resolved to carry his arms into Africa².

By acting as the tyrant of Sicily, Pyrrhus soon lost his influence and authority. Being in want of seamen and marines, he demanded a certain number from the different towns, and punished with rigor the neglect of his requisitions. He revoked the grants of his father-in-law, with a view of rewarding his own friends; promoted his soldiers to the highest civil offices; encouraged the insolence and rapacity of his courtiers; and, in the decision of causes, paid little regard to justice. He even put to death Thœnon, the Syracusan chief, whose interest had been eminently conducive to the facilitation of his success. Thus did this inconsiderate prince render his government so odious, that his life was no longer safe. Conspiracies and revolts threatened him; and he was glad to escape into Italy, on receiving a new invitation from the people of Tarentum. [In his passage, he was attacked by a Carthaginian squadron, and lost sixty of his ships. He again ventured to contend with the Romans; but they severely chastised him for his presumption; and he returned in disgrace to his neglected kingdom³.

Although his want of steadiness and of patience, and his wanton indulgence of despotic propensities, disqualified

² Excerpt. e Diod. lib. xxii. sect. 11, 14.

³ Plut. Vit. Pyrrhi.—Excerpt. e Dionys. Halicarn.

him for the retention of his acquired dominions, he resolved to make another attempt for the conquest of the Macedonian realm. He had requested Antigonus to send him money and troops; and, on his refusal, marched Ante Chr. 274. against him with his own army and a body of Gauls. Being joined by 2000 deserters, he attacked the Macedonians and Gauls (for Antigonus had also a *corps* of those mercenaries), and not only obtained the victory, but even drew the surviving infantry to his standard. The vanquished prince fled; and the greater part of Macedon submitted to Pyrrhus⁴.

Antigonus, although he was inferior to his antagonist in military skill, was almost equally fond of power; and, thinking that a crown was too valuable to be resigned without a farther struggle, he enlisted all the men whom he found willing to serve him, and attacked Ptolemy, to Ante Chr. 273. whom his father Pyrrhus had given the temporary command of the army: but he met with a total defeat, and was reduced to such a state of danger and distress, that he was glad to find an asylum in the most dismal retreats, and to subsist on the most unpleasing fare.

While Pyrrhus was master of Macedon, another opportunity was offered for the exercise of his restless ambition. Areus, the son of Acrotatus, had been acknowledged as king of Sparta, his father being elder brother to Cleonymus, who yet claimed the crown. The latter, resenting the preference given to his nephew, and being also incensed at the familiarity between his young wife Chelidonis and the son of the reigning prince, solicited aid from Pyrrhus, after a long interval of acquiescence, for the gratification both of his ambition and revenge. The Epirot king readily promised his interference, and appeared in the Ante Chr. 272. Lacedæmonian territories at the head of 27,000 men. It was suspected, that he thought more of

⁴ Pausan. lib. i. cap. 13.—Just. xxv. 3.—Plut. Vit. Pyrrhi.

his own interest, in this expedition, than of the pretensions of Cleonymus. The absence of Areus, who was employed with his best troops in the service of a Cretan ally, gave the invaders a prospect of success: but the postponement of an attack upon Sparta, from the evening until the next morning, gave the inhabitants time to prepare for a vigorous defence. The women took the lead in the task of hasty fortification, in which they were assisted by the old men, while the young warriors were desired to take rest. Ptolemy endeavoured to force his way at a part which was guarded by waggons, half-sunk in the earth; and the Gauls who accompanied him were on the point of removing the obstruction, when the son of the Spartan king, having sallied from a different part of the works, attacked the enemy in the rear, and drove many into the trench, where they were speedily overwhelmed. Pyrrhus could not, on that day, effect a passage into the city; but, when morning re-appeared, he renewed his efforts with the utmost vigor, and broke through the entrenchments. The Spartan women shrieked with horror at the sight, expecting the whole army to follow the king and his equestrian attendants. Suddenly an arrow pierced his horse, and he was thrown from the back of the terrified animal. Rescued from danger by a seasonable retreat, he was not discouraged (even after the return of Areus and the arrival of troops sent by Antigonus) from making a new attempt to gain possession of the city. Being again baffled, he decamped with his army, and marched toward Argos, in the hope of profiting by the political dissensions of the inhabitants.

The Macedonians, while their arbitrary conqueror was absent, had gratified Antigonus by a surrender of many of their towns to his authority; and he was encouraged by this return of prosperity to lead an army into the Peloponnesus, that he might obstruct the return of the Epirots. On his arrival at Argos, he favored one party against that

faction which hoped to prevail by the aid of Pyrrhus. In their way to that city, the enemies of the Spartan king were harassed by the resentment of the natives, and repeatedly attacked. Ptolemy, who was ordered to support the rear-guard, was hurried along by the impetuosity of his courage, and slain by a Cretan. His father, intent upon revenge, led the Molossian cavalry against the pursuers of that division which his lamented son had conducted, and made furious havock. Having reached Argos, he challenged his competitor to a personal combat; which the prudence of Antigonus declined. The two princes were requested by the citizens to retire to some distance; and both promised compliance; but Pyrrhus, who thought lightly of honor when it militated against policy, resolved to enter the city at night. A gate being opened by a traitor, his Gallic mercenaries were introduced; and his elephants were also sent forward. As the noise of admission roused the people, Antigonus was desired to defend his partisans. He immediately sent his son Alcioneus with a detachment: nearly at the same time, Areus arrived with succours; and the streets became scenes of conflict and carnage. Pyrrhus, soon after day-break, endeavoured to retreat; but his son Helenus, misunderstanding his orders, entered with a reinforcement, and blocked up the gate-way. Rushing amidst the hostile throng, the king fought with his usual courage, and, being wounded by an Argive, eagerly advanced to chastise him. The mother of the citizen who had assaulted him, viewing the operations from the roof of a house, seised a tile, and threw it with such force and efficacy, that Pyrrhus was stunned and dismounted. A soldier, pleased with the opportunity, approached the fallen prince, and severed his head from his body⁵.

Antigonus, on this occasion, evinced the feelings of a

⁵ Plut. Vit. Pyrrhi.—Just. lib. xxv. cap. 4, 5.

man, and seemed to forget the important advantage, which, as a king, he might derive from the catastrophe. When the head of Pyrrhus was presented to him, he reprimanded Alcyoneus for rejoicing at the fall of so great a prince, hinting that it was illiberal not to feel compassion for the misfortunes of others. He consigned the body to the funeral flames, with all the forms of honorable obsequies ; and enclosed the ashes in a golden urn, which he sent to Alexander, the new king of Epirus, whose brother Helenus he at the same time released from captivity ⁶.

Pyrrhus was considered, by some of the ancients, as the greatest military commander of his own time, and, by others, as superior to all who had appeared in preceding ages. He did not rival Alexander the Great, said his panegyrists, in the splendor of his exploits, or in the success of his arms, but he excelled him in tactics, and in artful *manœuvres* and stratagems. He was also an able statesman, and, if his virtue and integrity had been equal to his good sense, he would have been justly ranked among the best and greatest princes.

The troops of the deceased prince transferred their service to Antigonus, who now returned into Macedon, and fixed himself firmly on the throne. He exercised his power, in general, with moderation, and put an end to those disorders which the instability of the government had occasioned. But his love of power induced him to aim at the absolute supremacy of Greece. Notwithstanding his great influence in that country, he found his object impracticable. The Athenians had neglected him in his adversity, and refused, after his re-establishment, to renew their submissions ; and their example influenced the conduct of other states.

Dissensions and contests disturbed the tranquillity of the Peloponnesus. Elis was oppressed by Aristotimus, whom Antigonus had assisted in his usur-

Ante Chr.
270.

pation. He put to death many of the citizens, and banished others. The *Ætolians*, whose habits of violence and depredation sometimes prompted them to invade the *Peloponnesian* territories, interfered in the disputes of the *Eleans*, and granted protection to the exiles, whose wives and children they desired the tyrant to put into their power. He pretended to accede to the request: but, when the matrons were on the point of departure, they were remanded to prison; many of the infants were murdered, and the young women abandoned to violation⁷. *Hellanicus*, shocked at this outrageous cruelty, proposed to some bold citizens the deliverance of the state from oppression. Even *Cylon*, who enjoyed the confidence of *Aristotimus*, joined in the conspiracy, and stabbed the tyrant, while he was imploring, at the altar of *Jupiter*, that mercy to which he had no claim⁸. He had domineered for five months. Some other states were less fortunate than *Elis*, being oppressed by usurpers for a much longer period.

The attempts of *Antigonus* to establish his sway in Greece produced an association of the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* against him; and *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, king of *Egypt*, hoping to acquire influence and power in Greece, entered into the new confederacy. The *Macedonian* monarch was preparing to march against the *Spartans*, when *Gallic* hostilities demanded his more im-

mediate attention. The barbarians, being assured by
 Ante Chr. 268. their soothsayers, that their sacrifices portended ill success, and finding that *Antigonus* had nearly surrounded them with a great army, were inflamed with the utmost rage; and, either imagining that the death of those whom they loved would appease their offended gods, or despairing of success, and dreading vengeance for their devastations, they murdered their wives and children be-

⁷ Just. lib. xxvi. cap. 1.

⁸ Pausan. lib. v. cap. 5.

fore the battle raged. Fighting in wild disorder, they were coolly slaughtered by the king's disciplined army. The gods and men (says an ancient historian) conspired to destroy such flagitious assassins⁹.

Antigonus now advanced into Attica, and invested the capital. The Athenians were furnished with naval aid by Ptolemy, and with a land-force by Areus; and, during the siege, the king of Epirus gratified his revenge, while he endeavoured to promote the views of the confederate states, by an invasion of Macedon. Athens made a long defence; but the perseverance of the Macedonians enforced a surrender¹⁰. Antigonus then returned Ante Chr. 267. to his kingdom; which, however, he lost by the sudden desertion of the greater part of his army to the Epirot prince. It has been supposed, that his troops, and the people in general, were weary of a king, "whose restless ambition allowed them no respite¹¹;" but all his hostilities were defensive, except the attempts upon Greece; and the Macedonians, long accustomed to interfere in the affairs of Greece, were not likely to resent his endeavours for bringing the Greeks under his control.

The enterprising courage of Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, at length roused the Macedonians to a sense of their duty. While the dethroned prince was in Greece, the adventurous youth levied an army, and drove the intruder from Macedon. Pursuing him into Epirus, Demetrius even seized the greater part of that kingdom; but Alexander recovered it by the assistance of the Acarnanians¹².

9 Just. lib. xxvi. cap. 2.

10 Pausan. lib. iii. cap. 6.

11 History of Greece, by John Gast, D. D.

12 Justin, upon whose authority these changes are mentioned, has not given the least hint of the time that elapsed during the occupancy of Macedon by the Epirots. He has summed up, in *three* short sentences, *four* revolutions,—the conquest of Macedon, it's recovery, the seizure of Epirus, and the restoration of the son of Pyrrhus. The modern compiler, Rollin, has carelessly omitted these events.

For many years from this period, we have little information respecting the affairs of Macedon and Greece. We have particular reason, therefore, to regret the loss of the latter portion of the useful and interesting work of Diodorus, whose great attention to the affairs of Greece would have preserved, uninterrupted, the thread of history. Justin's meagre compendium, and Plutarch's desultory lives, are insufficient substitutes.

The life of Antigonus was extended to an unusual length; and, after his recovery of Macedon, he passed his time in a series of tranquillity. His attempt upon Corinth can scarcely be said to have disturbed the peace which his subjects enjoyed. Wishing for the mastery of that city, in which an ambitious citizen named Alexander had
Ante Chr. 253. the chief sway, he took an artful step for the accomplishment of his purpose. That he tutored a vile agent to administer poison to the Corinthian ruler, is an assertion drawn from mere report, which cannot easily be reconciled to his general character: but credit may be given to the account which states, that he sent his son to act the part of a lover toward Nicæa, the aged widow and successor of Alexander, and thus procure the prize at which he aimed. The lady consented to give her hand to Demetrius; but she declared that she would keep the citadel in her own power. Antigonus, however, being a visitant at her court, so effectually deluded her by a seeming acquiescence in her demand, that, when she was on her way to the theatre, he surprised the garrison, and became master of the fortress, which he retained until the exertions of Aratus gave force and dignity to the Achaian league.

LETTER IX.

History of MACEDON and GREECE, to the Ruin of Cleomenes.

THE Achaïans, taking advantage of the disorders in which Macedon was for some years involved, had revived (as I before hinted) the fœderal association, partly for the acquisition of greater strength to resist the Ætolians, but principally with views of independence. For twenty-five years after the revival, they had two prætors, who were presidents of the assembly, and governors of the state ; but, to prevent jealousy or variance, they thenceforward confined the appointment to one. The people of Sicyon, having long been harassed by tyrants, who were protected by the Macedonian government, wished to shake off the yoke, and accede to the Achaïan confederacy : but no opportunity seemed to offer itself before Aratus took measures for that purpose.

He was the son of a respectable citizen, and, after the assassination of his father by one of the tyrants, lived in exile at Argos. His talents, and his zeal for liberty, attracted the notice of other Sicyonian refugees, who looked up to him as the future champion of their state. He did not disappoint their expectations. With a small party, he entered Sicyon by scalade before day-break, and, rushing into the palace of Nicocles, seised the guard, while the affrighted tyrant escaped by a subterranean pass-
 age. The populace flocked to the theatre, and; Ante Chr. 253.
 as soon as they found that Aratus had erected the standard of liberty, they eagerly joined him in the glorious cause.

To secure this bloodless triumph, he requested of the Achaïans the favor of incorporation, which was readily granted. He found some difficulty in procuring indemnification to the exiles ; most of whom had been so long

absent, that their estates, by various transfers, seemed to be legally vested in other hands. By the sale of valuable pictures, he obtained a large sum of money from Ptolemy Philadelphus, to whose kingdom he undertook a voyage for that sole purpose. He then acted as arbitrator of all disputes between the exiles and the possessors of their lands, and made such a distribution of the Egyptian supplies, as satisfied both parties. Public honors were decreed to him by the liberated community: the fame of his policy was diffused over Greece: and, when the Achaians wished to engage in military enterprises, he was selected for the command of their army, although he was less qualified for this station than for that of a civil governor.

It was his particular wish to assist the Bœotians against the Ætolians; but, before he reached Chæronea, the former had been defeated near that city with great loss. In the seisure of the citadel of Corinth, he was more diligent and alert. The Macedonians had possessed
 Ante Chr. 245. that fortress for eight years, when Aratus made an attempt to dispossess the intruders. He scaled the walls of the city, and was not discovered before he had introduced one hundred men, who, in ascending the rock toward the citadel, were menaced with an attack in the rear, but were rescued from danger by the courage of another party of Achaians. The troops in the town were attacked and routed; and the garrison did not make a long resistance¹.

This exploit gave reputation and strength to the Achaian confederacy, which was speedily joined by the Megarians, and by some of the Argive cities. Aratus then endeavoured to rescue Argos from tyranny; but, for some time, his attempts only exposed him to the rancorous hatred of the tyrant Aristippus, who employed emissaries to watch an opportunity of taking away his life. He at length met the Argives in the field; and one of his di-

1 Plut. Vit. Arati.—Pausan. lib. ii.

visions routed the opposing body, while a doubt of the event induced him to retreat with the other part of his army. At Cleone, he was more determined; and, being victorious, he pursued the enemy even to the gates of Mycenæ. Aristippus was slain in his retreat; but, although a great number of the Argives fell, their capital escaped reduction; and the Achæians could not prevent another tyrant from usurping the government.

In a campaign against the Ætolians, Aratus displayed more than his usual courage. He attacked them Ante Chr. 243. after they had forced their way into Pallene, defeated them, and humbled them into peace. He afterward entered Attica, and repeatedly attempted, without success, to take the Piræus, and extinguish the Macedonian sway over the Athenians.

About this time died Antigonus, who had made preparations to act with vigor against the Achæian commander. His successor was Demetrius, who extended that plan, which his father had partially pursued, of encouraging the Grecian tyrants, on condition of that general submission which would not exclude or annihilate their particular authority over the people. This prince resolved to chastise the Ætolians, for their invasion of that part of Acarnania which Alexander the Epirot had acquired with the consent of the people. Having espoused the daughter of that monarch, he levied troops against the invaders; who, on the other hand, procured succour from the Achæians, and repelled the king and his allies.

For many years, the Lacedæmonians were in apparent amity with the Achæian leader. After the death of their king Areus, who was slain near Corinth in a conflict with Antigonus, his son Acrotatus² reigned for a short time;

² Plutarch says, that this prince fell in battle near Megalopolis; but the assertion is not true with regard to him. The king who thus lost his life was Acrotatus, the father of Areus I. *Pausanias*.

and another Areus, who succeeded, died in his minority. Leonidas, grandson of Cleomenes, then became king at an advanced age. Having long resided at the Syrian court, he had contracted habits of luxury and pride. The latter quality gave greater disgust than his neglect of Spartan temperance and frugality.

A prince who reigned at the same time was Agis (the son of Eudamidas); whose character partook of the hardy stamp of Spartan antiquity. He lamented the decline of that spirit which Lycurgus had propagated, and observed with uneasiness the progress of luxury, which, since the success of Lysander over the Athenians, had gradually encroached on the ancient system. The frugal public repasts had fallen into disuse: equality of landed property had been superseded by a law which allowed the alienation of estates: morals were less strict, and manners less decorous; pleasure and dissipation sapped the foundations of virtue.

With a boldness which defied danger, Agis resolved to act as a reformer. His plan was an innovation, with reference to the existing state of affairs; while it was merely a re-enactment of some of the institutions of Lycurgus. When he mentioned it to many of the young men, they seemed to approve it; but the old citizens wished for a continuance of that relaxation and those indulgences which they then enjoyed. His mother Agesistrata, one of the most opulent individuals in the city, at first objected to his scheme; but she was soon induced to acquiesce in it. Of the hundred families which had engrossed the landed property of Laconia, few (it may be supposed) were friendly to the king's views; and the ladies in general ranged themselves in the opposing party. They requested Leonidas to support the cause of the rich, and counter-act the impolitic scheme. He fully concurred with them, and caballed against Agis, whom he represented as

aiming, by the favor of the poor, at the acquisition of exorbitant power³.

The proposals of Agis embraced the following points. The lands, to a certain extent, were to be divided into 4500 equal parts, and the rest into 15,000 portions: the former were to be distributed among the descendants of the original Spartans, the latter among all (of the less genuine race) who were capable of serving in the army. These possessors of land were to be divided into companies, to meet at public tables, and to observe the ancient customs and discipline. It was also required, that all debts should be remitted and annulled. When Lysander, one of the friends of Agis, had recommended these arrangements in a general assembly, the young king, in a concise speech, expressed his earnest wish for the adoption of such a reform; and, to evince his own disinterestedness, offered all his property, both real and personal, to the nation. The people applauded his conduct, and exclaimed, that, for three hundred years, Sparta had not seen so excellent a king. Leonidas warmly opposed the abolition of existing debts, and the idea of recruiting the class of true Spartans by spurious supplies; and the senate, whose prerogative it was to determine whether any question should be decided by the more numerous assembly, exploded the propositions by a majority of one.

So incensed was Lysander at the conduct of Leonidas, that he resolved, while he remained in office (for he was one of the Ephori), to deprive the aged king of his dignity. He accused him of having been long resident in a foreign country, in violation of a general law, and of having taken an alien for a wife, in repugnance to a statute which particularly concerned the posterity of Hercules. Not appearing when summoned, Leonidas was deposed; and Cleombrotus, to whom he had given his daughter

Chelonis in marriage, was proclaimed king. The succeeding Ephori, who were disposed to favor Leonidas, accused Lysander of endeavouring to embroil the state; and he, in revenge, advised Agis and the new king to punish those arbitrary magistrates, who, he said, had no right to oppose the conjunct will of the two princes, being only authorised to interfere in case of any difference or dispute between them. The kings now exerted their authority in the deposition of the obnoxious Ephori, and in the release of all prisoners; but they would not suffer Agesilaus, whom his nephew Agis had appointed to the magistracy, to take away the life of Leonidas.

In the prosecution of his scheme, Agis was betrayed by his crafty uncle; who proposed, that the debts should be first remitted, as the attempt to carry the whole plan at once into effect might excite commotions. Listening to this suggestion, and credulously expecting that Agesilaus would, as he promised, enforce the agrarian distribution, the king ordered all bonds and bills to be publicly committed to the flames. He then gave directions for a partition of the lands; but his uncle, without actually resisting that measure, had sufficient influence to procure its postponement, until Agis was called into the field by the expediency of complying with the request of the Achaïans, who wished for assistance against the Ætolians. This was the expedition in which Aratus was so successful as to intimidate the invaders of the Peloponnesus into a desire of peace. The king, after his return to Sparta, found that his adversaries had greatly strengthened their faction, and that he had lost his popularity by the delay of distributing the lands. The aristocratic party now became so powerful, that Leonidas was recalled from exile, and immediately resumed his authority. Deserted by the people, Agis fled to one temple, and Cleombrotus to another. The restored king went with a guard to the sanctuary in which his son-in-law had

taken refuge, and found him with his amiable wife and two children. This lady had left her husband out of respect to her deposed father, during whose exile she wore the dress of a mourner, as if she had lost him by death. She addressed him in pathetic terms: "It was not for the misery of my husband that I assumed this melancholy habit, but for the misfortunes of my honored parent. Shall I continue a mourner, now that you are reinstated in power, or put on gay and splendid apparel, when he who received your virgin daughter at the altar, is menaced with death? If the supplications of his wife, and the tears of his children, cannot excite your compassion, he will suffer more severely for his inconsiderate conduct, than even you in your resentment would wish; for his wife, the dearest object of his regard, will sacrifice herself, rather than survive the execution of the fatal mandate upon his person. How can I endure the looks of the high-minded ladies of Sparta, when they find that I was not only unsuccessful in my intercession for my father, but also in my entreaties for the life of my husband?—that I was first a despised wife, and afterward a neglected daughter?"—With tearful eyes, she anxiously looked at her stern father, and tenderly touched with her cheek the face of the silent Cleombrotus, in all the agony of sorrow. The hard heart of Leonidas was softened by this appeal to his feelings. He spared the life of his son-in-law, ordering him to banish himself from the Spartan territories. This indulgence, he hoped, would so gratify Chelonis, that she would gladly remain with a father who loved her: but no persuasions could induce her to quit her husband. With such a wife, Cleombrotus might have been happy, even in a state of exile, if he could have banished from his mind all ambitious thoughts.

Soon was the fate of Agis decided. Leonidas endeavoured, by the promise of a restitution of power, to draw

him from his sanctuary. He justly suspected the tyrant's views, and despised his arts. Yet he occasionally left the temple, that he might have the benefit of a neighbouring bath, under the protection of three supposed friends, one of whom held a place among the Ephori. These companions were influenced by Leonidas to betray him into the hands of his enemies. They suddenly arrested him as he was returning to the sanctuary, and dragged him to a place of confinement. His vindictive adversary hastened with troops to the spot; and the Ephori, with several members of the senate, proceeded to take cognisance of the guilt imputed to the imprisoned king. He was accused of having attempted dangerous innovations in the state; and, when he had declared, in answer to an interrogatory from one of his imperious judges, that he did not repent of his conduct, but gloried in his endeavours for the re-establishment of that system which had proved so honorable and beneficial to Sparta, he was condemned to death by his merciless enemies. Shocked at the sentence, and overawed by the dignified firmness of Agis, the officers of the government, and the armed mercenaries, were unwilling to obey the order for leading him to the place of execution. One of his treacherous companions, a man of great personal strength, dragged him to the fatal spot, while his mother and grandmother were stimulating the people to insist upon the convocation of a general assembly, that the king might be heard in his own defence, and not be deprived of his undoubted right to a fair and regular trial. He coolly suffered himself to be strangled; and his unfortunate relatives, unprotected by their sex or their innocence, were subjected to the same fate⁴.

The Spartans acquiesced in these execrable barbarities. When the people found that Agis had not the least intention of deluding or disappointing them, they were grieved

4 Plut. Vit. Agidis.

at his death ; and even their dread of offending the tyrant did not prevent them from manifesting their regret. The injured prince was mild in his disposition, modest, benevolent, and virtuous : but his zeal for the revival of an objectionable system, and his attempts to enforce it without the regular sanction of national consent, may be justly blamed.

This prince left a widow, whose opulence, rather than her great beauty and exemplary virtue, induced Leonidas to insist upon her marriage with his son Cleomenes. She soon entertained a high regard for her new husband, and taught him to admire the virtues of her murdered lord. When he had succeeded his father, he found the Ephori disposed to hold him in bondage ; but he Ante Chr. 239. resolved to shake off their yoke, and revive the schemes of Agis. With a view of increasing his importance, and facilitating his views, he listened to the suggestions of the turbulent Ætolians, who, jealous of the growing power and influence of Aratus, recommended a confederacy against the Achæians. But, for some years after his accession, he seems to have remained quiet, brooding over his future schemes. Even his enterprising spirit was obliged to wait for the favorable moment of action. The fate of Agis taught him to be cautious and circumspect.

In the mean time, the Macedonians forbore to disturb the tranquillity of Greece. Their king, Demetrius, died Ante Chr. 233. after a reign of ten years, leaving a son too young to govern with dignity or effect. Antigonus, cousin of the deceased prince, was requested by the nobles to marry the queen-dowager, and act as guardian of the minor ; but, when they found that he conducted himself with wisdom and moderation, they desired him to reign in his own name⁵. Taking advantage of the inattention of the new king to the affairs of Greece, Aratus renewed his endeavours for the

⁵ Plut. Vit. Pauli Æmilii.

rescue of Athens from the Macedonian yoke. He gained ^{Ante Chr.} his point by corruption, not by force. The gar- ^{232.} risons of Munychia and the Piræus were withdrawn by the commandant, to whom he sent 150 talents; and the republic became a member of the Achaian confederacy, which was soon after strengthened by the accession of the Argive state, and of the greater part of Arcadia ⁶.

The conduct of Aratus furnished Cleomenes with a pretence for war. He endeavoured, by persuasions and menaces, to draw off some of the Arcadian towns from their subjection to Sparta. This was an affront which, the king said, ought to be resented; and he prevailed upon the Ephori to send 5000 men against the Achaians and Argives: but he could not tempt Aratus, who had a much more numerous force, to try the fortune of a battle. In a subsequent campaign, he brought him to action, and ob- ^{Ante Chr.} tained the victory. Aratus, re-assembling the ^{227.} fugitives, surprised Mantinea, and detached it from the Spartan alliance; a loss which so discouraged the Ephori, that they recalled the king. With a view of strengthening himself against those magistrates, Cleomenes invited Archidamus, the exiled brother of Agis, to accept the conjunct royalty; but the aristocratic leaders, suspecting his intentions, and dreading the resentment of the returning prince, gave secret orders for his death ⁷.

Having bribed the Ephori to put a considerable army under his command, the king invaded the Megalopolitan territory, and was met by Aratus, who, when a part of his force had routed one wing of the Lacedæmonians, ordered a retreat, because the enemy out-numbered his troops.

⁶ Pausan. lib. ii.—Plut. Vit. Arati.

⁷ Polybius attributes this murder to Cleomenes; and Plutarch seems to think that the king had some concern in it, but that, instead of voluntarily staining himself with the blood of an innocent prince, he was over-persuaded by importunity to agree to the assassination.

Lysidas, who had generously incorporated that state with the Achaian confederacy, when he had the power of retaining an arbitrary authority over it, exclaimed against the pusillanimity of Aratus, and rushed forward with the cavalry: but, being drawn into an unfavorable situation, he was slain; and Cleomenes, advancing with alacrity, defeated the Achaians, of whom a great number fell. The council of the confederacy severely blamed the surviving general for his unwarlike behaviour, and seemed disposed to withdraw all confidence from him⁸.

The elation with which this victory inspired Cleomenes, prompted him to the enforcement of his schemes of ambition and reform. After harassing the Lacedæmonian troops with desultory enterprises, he permitted them to remain in Arcadia for the purpose of garrisoning the towns which he had reduced, and returned with his mercenary battalions to Sparta, where he attacked the Ephori with treacherous violence. Having sent Euryclidas to amuse the magistrates, who were preparing for their evening repast, he ordered four other friends to follow, and murder them. One of the five (Agesilaus) escaped with some wounds; the rest were killed, with ten persons who endeavoured to defend them. On the following day, eighty citizens were banished, as partisans of the obnoxious magistrates.

In an assembly of the people, Cleomenes vindicated these outrages by alleging, that the Ephori, who were at first appointed to assist the kings in judicial proceedings and administrative acts, had gradually usurped absolute power; that many of them had committed various enormities; and that the late magistrates, in particular, were intent upon tyranny, and hostile to that reform which was necessary for the welfare of the state.

The next step was a division of land, which was accomplished without disturbance or clamor. In the edu-

⁸ Plut. Vit. Cleom. et Arati.—Pausan.

cation of boys, the old system was restored; and great care was taken that they should be hardy, active, courageous, sincere, temperate, and frugal. The arts of refinement were discountenanced, while the useful arts received every encouragement. Military discipline was improved; and 4000 men, being speedily enlisted, were instructed by the king, and better armed than the former troops. To add weight to the new government, Cleomenes introduced his brother Euclidas, as a convenient tool, to a participation of the royalty; and, for the promotion of his farther schemes, he constituted a dependent senate⁹

On a renewal of the war, Mantinea was recovered by
 Ante Chr. the Lacedæmonians, who soon after invaded
 225. Achaia, and routed a well-posted army near
 Dyme. Aratus was now requested to resume the direction of the confederacy; but he declined the honor in disgust. The discouraged Achæians then sued to Cleomenes for peace; and, finding that he wished to be declared head of their league, they seemed disposed to admit him to that dignity. Hearing of this proposal, which threatened them with a loss of their independence, Aratus remonstrated against it, and advised that the ambitious king should not be suffered to bring above 300 men to the place of conference¹⁰. An intimation of this wish to the victorious prince inflamed him with rage. He instantly broke off the negotiation, and acted with resentful vigor against the Achæians.

Ante Chr. The success of the Spartans alarmed Aratus,
 224. who, finding that many of the citizens of Sicyon and Corinth were inclined to desert the league, put some of them to death without even the formality of a trial, by

9 He is accused by Pausanias of having, in concert with the Ephori, poisoned Eurydamidas, a prince of the family of Agis, to make way for his own brother: but this story seems to be a mere variation of that of Archidamus.

10 Plut. Vit. Arati.—The same author says, in the life of Cleomenes, that the king was desired to come alone to Argos, 300 hostages being offered for his safety.

virtue of a commission from the Achaian council. He so offended the Corinthians by this severity, that they would have delivered him up to his rival, if he had not hastily retired from their city. The Argive state having revolted to the Spartans, and other communities being suspected of a want of attachment to the Achaians, Aratus resolved to make overtures for an alliance with the king of Macedonia¹¹.

For thus counter-acting the great object of his public life, the Achaian chief has been severely censured by Plutarch, and also by several modern authors¹². But the point is not so clear as to render his folly or his guilt indisputable. He was, in general, a prudent and reflecting man. If he could have united the states of Greece without Macedonian aid, he would probably have persisted in his original plan. But he dreaded the tyranny of the Spartans more than that of the Macedonians; and the leaders of other states felt the same apprehensions. He knew that the boasted reform of Cleomenes had not made the Spartans less arbitrary or unfeeling; and he was of opinion that an ostensible league, under their auspices, would be less secure or permanent than that which he now solicited. It may also be supposed (but I offer the hint as a mere supposition), that he had an eye to the eventual hostilities of the Romans, whose conquest of Italy, and whose exploits against the Carthaginians, as well as

11 Polyb. lib. ii.—Pausan.—Plut.

12 M. Rollin, Dr. Gast, &c.—The French writer merely echoes Plutarch; while the archdeacon, speaking of the proposed conference, gently blames the pride of Cleomenes, and sharply censures the “far more criminal pride and duplicity of Aratus;”—adding, “To that fatal pride Greece owed her destruction.” She would, in all probability, have been as soon ruined by the power of Rome, if Cleomenes, according to the wish of this historian, had been placed at the head of the Achaian league, and the Macedonians had remained uninvited and unnoticed. It must be admitted, however, that a compliance with the request of that prince would have been productive of immediate advantage, by restoring peace to the Peloponnesus, and preventing that dreadful havoc which attended the battle of Selasia.

against Pyrrhus, had extended their fame over the south of Europe, and into Africa and Asia. He perhaps apprehended, that the ambition and enterprising valor of the Italian warriors might soon be exercised in Greece; and it would then, he concluded, be the interest of Macedon to give vigorous aid and friendly protection to the confederate states.

From this apology for Aratus, I proceed with the current of history. Antigonus was highly pleased at the application which he received, first from the Megalopolitans, and afterward from the Achaïans. They promised to surrender to him the citadel of Corinth, contribute to the support of his army, and not admit any city or state into their league without his consent. Satisfied with these stipulations, he advanced with such a force as, he thought, would intimidate even Cleomenes into submission. Presenting himself on the northern side of the isthmus with 20,400 men, he was met by Aratus and his principal friends; and their first object was the dislodgement of the Spartan king from a strong post which he had taken near Corinth. After some skirmishes, an opportunity of drawing him off was offered by a change of sentiment among the Argives, who, being disappointed in the hope of a promised remission of debts, revolted from the Spartans. The garrison being scarcely able to defend the citadel against the insurgents, the king, apprehending that his retreat might be intercepted, quitted his station at the isthmus, and marched to the southward. Corinth was immediately garrisoned by the Macedonians, who, advancing toward Argos, reduced the fortress, and proceeded into Arcadia, while the Spartans hastened to the defence of their capital.

Despairing of success without farther aid, Cleomenes sent to Egypt for succours, which Ptolemy Euergetes promised, with a proviso that the mother and son of the royal applicant should be delivered up to him as hostages

for the observance of all engagements. The spirited princess, being afterward informed that her son was requested to conclude a peace with the Achaians, but could not venture to agree to it without the consent of Ptolemy, who was at the same time negotiating with the king of Macedon, desired him not to be deterred, by a sense of her danger, or that of his infant son, from doing whatever he thought might be expedient or honorable for his country.

When the Macedonians had reduced those Arcadian towns which were under the Spartan sway, they ^{Ante Chr. 223.} marched into Achaia; and, in a council which their sovereign held at Ægium, it was voted that their nation, the Epirots, Thessalians, Phocians, and Bœotians, should join the Peloponnesian confederacy. In the mean time, Cleomenes, having emancipated 2000 slaves and added them to his army, surprised Megalopolis. The majority of the people, fearing that he would chastise them for having invited the Macedonians, fled out of the city; and, when he offered to restore it to them, if they would relinquish all connexion with the invaders, and renounce the Achaian league, they refused to return on such conditions. The enraged prince gave his men full license to pillage the town, and ordered a great part of it to be destroyed. Not long before the perpetration of these acts of violence, the Achaians, on the recovery of Mantinea, had put to death the chief inhabitants, and enslaved the rest. Thus did both parties disgrace themselves by brutality and outrage¹³.

When Antigonus had dispersed his troops in different quarters, Cleomenes invaded the Argive territories, with a view of drawing him into the field, or of exposing him (on his refusal of the challenge) to the resentment of the harassed people. The Macedonian king suffered the storm of devastation to waste its fury; and, when the disap-

13 Polyb. lib. ii.—Plut. Vit. Cleom. et Arati.

pointed Spartan warrior had retired, his adversaries resolved to carry the war into Laconia.

Cleomenes was now in a dangerous predicament. The army of Antigonus had been augmented to 27,800 men, 10,000 of whom composed the boasted phalanx. Only 20,000 men, less powerfully armed, could be collected by the Spartan king; but he had made a prudent and skilful disposition of his force, and hoped to secure himself by the defensible nature of the pass, through which the enemy would be obliged to march. Antigonus paused when he observed the encampment and the varied posts, and cautiously declined an immediate attack. The want of pecuniary supplies for the mercenaries, whose discontent might prompt them to desert, urged Cleomenes to hazard a conflict.

Euclidas, who was posted on a mountain near Selasia, suffered a part of the hostile phalanx to ascend quietly, and almost to reach the summit, before he resisted; and he thus gave an extraordinary advantage to the assailants, who had already been assisted by Philopœmen, a Megalopolitan of promising talents, in routing a body of light infantry, sent to attack some cohorts in the rear. On another mountain, Cleomenes for a time maintained his ground. His brother was defeated and slain; the cavalry then gave way; and, when the greater part of the army had fallen¹⁴, the survivors fled with precipitation. The king hastened to his capital, and was so humbled by his ill success, that he recommended a general submission to the conqueror, whom he did not wait to receive. Embarking at Gytheum with some of his friends, he sailed to Egypt, where he was politely and hospitably treated¹⁵.

14 Justin says, that only 4000 of the Spartans and their associates escaped death.

15 Polyb. lib. ii.—Plut. Vit. Philopœm. et Cleom.—If Euergetes had lived, he would perhaps have assisted Cleomenes in the recovery of his power; but the licentious and inhuman Philopator, who succeeded him, insulted and

LETTER X.

Sequel of the MACEDONIAN and GRECIAN History, to the End of the second Punic War.

THE Spartans had no reason to complain of the conduct of Antigonus after his victory. He left them to those laws and that government which they deemed most expedient for their state; and they took the opportunity of exploding the strictness of the Lyncurgic system. They expressed their gratitude for this unexpected lenity, by applauding, as a generous benefactor, the prince who had wounded their pride by being the first captor of their city. He was equally flattered by the Argives; and the Achaian council complimented him with the highest honors. Being called away from Greece by the hostilities of the Illyrians, he boldly marched against them, while he labored under a wasting malady; and chastised them by a great diminution of their force; but his exertions in the field, and the transport with which his success inspired him, greatly weakened his frame, and accelerated his death. He was an able statesman and warrior, and a patriotic prince. Macedon flourished under his sway; and the people in general gladly acknowledged his attention to their interest¹. When he began his reign, he promised that Philip, the son of the preceding king, should only lose the succession for a time; and to him he secured the reversion of the crown.

confined the fugitive prince, whose high spirit hurried him into acts of sedition. He and his friends, having in vain endeavoured to excite an insurrection at Alexandria (in the year 220), killed themselves in despair. The tyrant immediately ordered the mother and son of the unfortunate king to be put to death. *Plutarch.*

1 He was called *Doson* (*Δωσων*)—that is, one who says he *will* give, but *does not*,—probably because he could not gratify all the solicitors of his favor and bounty.

The vigor of Antigonus had over-awed the Ætolians, and repressed their violent and predatory spirit: but they now resolved to take an active part in the affairs of Greece, and hoped to profit by their alertness and intrepidity. After some petty ravages, they invaded the Messenian territories. Aratus hastened to meet them; but they baffled all his efforts in the field, and, having extended their ravages and depredations to Sicyon, returned in triumph to their own country.

Being unable to cope with these ferocious robbers, the Achæians requested succour from those states of northern Greece which had lately joined their confederacy, and also sent deputies to Philip, king of Macedon. This prince gave a promise of speedy aid; and his troops were on their march, when Cynætha, an Arcadian town, was plundered by the Ætolians and a body of Illyrians, having been betrayed to the invaders by some exiles, who, soliciting pardon, had been recalled. The traitors were put to death even by those whom they favored; the other inhabitants were expelled; and the town was destroyed by fire. In a council at Corinth, war was declared in form against the Ætolians, who were stigmatised by the allies as enemies to every state more civilised than their own. For an obvious reason, it was denominated the social war².

Endangered by the strength of the confederacy, the Ætolians made great preparations for war. They were not without friends; for the Eleans were their allies, and the Lacedæmonians, feeling a keen animosity against Aratus, were disposed to assist them. One of the Ephori, opposing the faction that favored the Ætolians, had lost his life in a tumult. Philip menaced the authors of the sedition with severe chastisement; but his indignation subsided, when he was assured of the wish of the republic to

² Polyb. lib. iv.

cultivate his friendship. On the arrival of envoys from *Ætolia*, the partisans of Philip prevailed at Sparta in a general assembly : but a new sedition was soon after excited in the city ; and, the Ephori being murdered even while they were officiating at a sacrifice, the leaders of the opposite faction became triumphant. Having received intelligence of the death of Cleomenes, they resolved to elect two kings. One was Agesipolis, grandson of Cleombrotus ; the other bore the name of Lycurgus, and was not related to either branch of the family of Hercules, but obtained the royal dignity by bribing the new Ephori. A hostile decree was now promulgated against the Achaians and their associates ; and Lycurgus hoped to signalise his government by the vigor of his operations. He invaded the Megalopolitan territory, but was not remarkably successful. The Eleans made an incursion into *Achaia*, and reduced some fortresses ; while the *Ætolians*, led by the bold and turbulent Scopas, rushed into Macedon, prosecuted a course of devastation, and left *Dium* in a ruinous state. Dorimachus, with another body of *Ætolians*, seised *Ægira* ; but the intruders were soon driven out in such confusion, that many were crushed at one of the gates in their flight ; and the rest returned without weapons to their ships. On the other hand, Philip crossed the Ambracian gulph, dismantled several towns in *Ætolia*, and over-ran the country with little resistance. Being recalled to oppose the Dardanians, he dispersed their army by the mere intelligence of his approach. It was at this time that he met with an ally in the person of Demetrius, the Illyrian fugitive, whom he readily admitted into the number of his confidential advisers. This chieftain had acquired a considerable part of Illyria by the assistance of the Romans, had joined Antigonus against the Spartans, and had since deserted his former protectors, who therefore resolved to humble him. The consul *Æmilius Paulus* assaulted the strong town of Di-

malus ; and, after receiving the submissions of other towns belonging to Demetrius, he ordered his lieutenant to make a nocturnal descent on the isle of Pharos, and to conceal the greater part of the army in a woody spot. In the morning, he approached the harbour with only twenty vessels. The Illyrians, concluding that the consul had no other force than that which these ships contained, warmly opposed his landing ; but, during this conflict, the Romans who had already arrived hastened from their ambush, and intercepted the retreat of the enemy to the chief town. Æmilius now disembarked ; and the Illyrians, being attacked both in front and rear, were totally defeated. Demetrius, having lost his whole principality, escaped by sea, and recommended himself by his boldness and vivacity to the notice of the Macedonian monarch ³.

Philip, not thinking that he had sufficiently harassed the enemy, re-entered Greece in the midst of winter, when it was not expected that he would undertake any military enterprise. He sent for Aratus, whom he frequently consulted, and desired him to stimulate the exertions of the confederates. Hastening from Corinth, he surprised a Ante Chr. body of Eleans, who had appeared within the ^{218.} Sicyonian boundaries ; put some to the sword, and captured 2200. When the son of Aratus had joined him with Grecian troops, he marched to Psophis, a very strong town in Arcadia, then occupied by an Elean garrison. He soon reduced it by the vigor of his assaults, and presented it to the Achæians. He then rushed into the heart of the Elean state, seized various towns, and gratified the avidity of his soldiers with the spoils of the country. Proceeding into the territories of the Messenians, he gave them an opportunity of shaking off the Ætolian yoke.

Thus successful in the defence of his allies, he seemed to think that he had established his character, and that the

terror of his name would multiply his conquests. He had hitherto, by specious appearances, courted the good opinion of the public : but he now despised it, and began to act the part of a tyrant, regardless of the general disgust which such a change of conduct would produce. He listened to the reprehensible counsels of Apelles, an unprincipled courtier, and treated the prudent advice of Aratus with contempt. Over his allies in general, and the Achæians in particular, he proudly domineered. He procured the appointment of Eperatus, an enemy of Aratus, to the dignity of general, and suffered Apelles to poison his mind with calumnious insinuations against the veteran statesman and his son : but, when a charge of duplicity, and of secret opposition to the views of Philip, had been refuted, he for a time seemed to restore his confidence to Aratus.

Under the administration of the new president of the Achæian league, the means of continuing the war were not furnished with that liberality which the influence of Aratus would have elicited. Philip, therefore, found it expedient to request the interference of his former counsellor; and he thus procured a grant of money and a supply of stores. He now resolved upon a maritime expedition. As Cephallenia was a very useful island Ante Chr. 217. to the piratical Ætolians, he formed the siege of one of its principal towns, and, when a breach had been made in the wall, ordered his general, Leontius, to storm the place ; but the assault was unsuccessful, and the siege was relinquished. He then, by the advice of Aratus, invaded Ætolia, and seized Thermæ, the most sacred and important town in that country, abounding with valuable stores. The spoils which the captors could not conveniently carry off, were consigned to the flames ; and a magnificent temple was destroyed, in retaliation of similar havock committed by the enemy at Dium and Dodona. Having re-embarked his troops, the king sailed toward the isthmus ;

and fixed a rendezvous at Tegea, where a body of Achaians joined him. He then made an irruption into Laconia, with a view of taking vengeance upon Lycurgus. This prince, after his first campaign, had been exposed to danger by a conspiracy of Chilo, who entered Sparta with armed associates, and murdered some of the Ephori, but hastily retired, when he found that the people were unwilling to rise in his behalf. The power of Lycurgus was strengthened by this ill-judged insurrection; and he continued the war with alertness, but did not obtain any extraordinary advantage over his Messenian neighbours. Philip now ravaged the Lacedæmonian territories to a great extent; and a battle ensued, in which the Spartan king, having a very small force, was defeated. The victor, however, did not presume to assault the capital, but retired to Corinth⁴.

Philip was planning a new enterprise, when he was alarmed with the report of a sedition. As he had, in various instances, preferred the counsels of Aratus to those of Apelles, that minister was so incensed, that he conspired with Leontius and Megaleas to obstruct the king's measures, baffle his aims, and injure the public service. These three traitors withheld supplies, delayed preparations, corresponded with the enemy, and propagated disaffection among the troops. Hence arose the failure in Cephalenia; but they could not prevent their sovereign from being considerably successful in his subsequent operations. Displeased at the exploits in Ætolia, Megaleas and the general insulted Aratus, upon whom their dependents made a personal attack; and, after Philip's return to the isthmus, they excited military commotions at Corinth; but the king speedily quelled the insurrection. Apelles, who, from his station at Chalcis, domineered over Macedon and Thessaly, now hastened to meet his accom-

plices. He was received by the troops with submissive respect; while his reception at court was unfriendly and contemptuous. Megaleas, who had been arrested and released, made his escape, but soon afterward destroyed himself. Leontius was apprehended, and punished with death; as were also Apelles and his son.

The Ætolians had solicited peace; but, as Philip did not think that they were effectually humbled, he broke off the negotiation. He then marched to the northward, and, having secured Pæonia against the Dardanians, subverted the power of the Ætolians in Phthiotis. Ante Chr. 216. Demetrius now advised him to grant peace to his Grecian adversaries, and carry his arms into Illyria, whence he might easily undertake an expedition against the Romans, whom, in concert with Hannibal, he might perhaps subdue. This advice was given while the Romans still felt the severe effects of their defeat near the Thrasimene lake; and it's impression was strengthened by the intelligence of Hannibal's triumph at Cannæ. The king's ambition was flattered with the splendid idea; and, when he had consented to treat with the Ætolians and their allies at Naupactus, the suggestions of Agelaus, one of the negotiators, confirmed him in the expediency of keeping a strict eye over the affairs of the west. Peace was concluded on the basis of a mutual retention of conquests; for it was no longer deemed prudent to impose dishonorable terms upon the Ætolians.

After revolving the important subject in his Ante Chr. 215. mind, the Macedonian king sent deputies to the camp of Hannibal, to propose an alliance⁵. The offer of

⁵ Livy says, that the envoys, in passing through Apulia, were stopped by some Roman soldiers, and conducted to the tent of Lævinus, to whose interrogatories they replied, that they were commissioned to conclude a treaty of alliance with the republic. The prætor, deceived by this falsehood, gave them an escort. They took an opportunity of dismissing their guides, and arrived safely in the Carthaginian camp. On their return with a copy of the treaty, they were discovered, obliged to give up their dispatches, and thrown into prison.

riendship was not rejected; and the terms of confederacy were soon adjusted. It was stipulated, that the Carthaginians, and their allies in Italy and Gaul, should be defended and protected by Philip and his Grecian confederates, who should also be entitled to similar protection from the former state; that each party should be hostile to the enemies of the other, unless the foes of Carthage should be already in a state of amity with the king, or *vice versâ*; that, whenever peace should be restored with the Romans, the present contracting parties should equally enjoy the benefit of it; and that Demetrius should be gratified with territorial restitution⁶. It was also agreed, that, if the war should be successful, Italy should be possessed by the Carthaginians; that Hannibal and Philip should then transport their troops over the Ionian sea, and wage war in Greece at their discretion; and that the continental towns as well as islands nearest to Macedon should be added to that kingdom⁷.

Philip, while he kept his new scheme in view, endeavoured to augment his influence in Greece. While Aratus labored to restore concord among the Messenians, ante Chr. 214. the king inflamed dissension, by hinting, to the leaders of one party, the expediency of repressing plebeian licentiousness, and recommending, to the other chiefs, a spirited opposition to tyranny. The former, in expectation of his support, resolved to seize and punish the democratic orators; but the people, tumultuously rising, slew many of the principal men, and obtained superiority of power. Aratus was disgusted at the inflammatory arts of Philip; and the son of that statesman sharply reproached the king, who patiently submitted to what he considered as a gross insult, but did not forget the uncourtly freedom of remark. He soon after went with the senior Aratus to a strong castle near Messene; and, when

6 Excerpt. è Polyb. lib. vii.

7 Liv. lib. xxiii. cap. 33.

he expressed a wish for the possession of it, as it would contribute, with the mastery of the Corinthian citadel, to give him a great sway over the Peloponnesus, the honest politician observed, that the best fortress was the goodwill of the people. Philip seemed to acquiesce in the propriety of the observation, while he wished for a more obsequious counsellor.

The Macedonians did not distinguish themselves by the vigor of their efforts against the Romans. They were baffled in the siege of Apollonia; and 3000 of their number were slain or captured, before the rest could effect their retreat⁸. The king's ill success inflamed his tyrannical spirit; and, returning into the Peloponnesus, he ravaged the Messenian districts, because the people were unwilling to submit to him. Aratus remonstrated against such brutal outrages; and, being also highly offended at the seduction of his son's wife by the libidinous tyrant, he no longer respected his former friend. Philip, who was both ungrateful and inhuman, resolved to remove both the father and son from the world. By his order, ^{Ante Chr. 213.} poison was given to both. The son lived a considerable time afterward, weakened in his mind and body: his parent did not so long linger, nor did he immediately die⁹.

Among the few men whose characters adorned the later times of Greece, Aratus was highly distinguished. His abilities and address qualified him to shine on the political theatre: his ardent love of liberty entitled him to public confidence; his candor and equity, and his conciliatory manners, claimed the regard and attachment of his countrymen: but, like other statesmen, he was not uniformly just, patriotic, or humane.

After another campaign in Illyria, where the reduction of Lissus gave *éclat* to the Macedonian arms, Philip was alarmed at the intelligence of a league between the Ro-

⁸ Liv. lib. xxiv. cap. 40.

⁹ Plut. Vit. Arati.

mans and the Ætolians. Lævinus was the negotiator of this alliance, which he recommended by a promise of recovering the towns which the king had taken, and of restoring the authority of Ætolia over the Acarnanians. Scopas exhorted his countrymen to agree to the proposal; and a treaty was soon adjusted. Scerdiledes, an Illyrian prince, who was alternately the friend and the enemy of Philip, acceded to this league; in which also Attalus, the enterprising king of Pergamus, readily concurred¹⁰.

The king, before he marched against the Ætolians, endeavoured to secure himself on the side of Illyria, and also toward Dardania, by infusing terror into those communities which were not entirely devoted to him. He then advanced into the Mædic territories in Thrace, and indulged himself in the pleasure of devastation and the joy of conquest. The Ætolians, hoping that he would not soon return to the southward, made preparations for an invasion of Acarnania; but the people were roused to such a height of desperate fury, and so eager to rush *en masse* upon the arrogant foe, that Scopas paused before he would pass the frontier; and the news of Philip's return still farther contributed to stop the expedition.

In compliance with the late treaty, the Romans surrendered to the Ætolians their new conquests. These were, the island of Zacynthus, the towns of Nasus and Cēniadæ. Pleased at this success, and at the arrival of auxiliaries from Pergamus, the Ætolian general Pyrrhias advanced into Thessaly: but, being unsuccessful in two conflicts, he retired to Lamia, while the king stationed his army at Phalara, where he gave audience to envoys from the Egyptian court, from Rhodes, and Athens. Pacification was the object for which they were sent. Their employers apprehended that Philip, by the

Ante Chr.
211.

210.

vigor of his arms, might become too powerful in Greece, and they perhaps thought that the Romans, on the restoration of peace, would desist from their interference in the affairs of the Hellenic states. The subject was discussed at Rhium, in the Achaian council; but the demands of the Ætolians were considered as too unreasonable to be granted. Ante Chr. 209.

After the failure of the negotiation, Philip had an opportunity of displaying his active courage. A body of Romans having made a descent in the Peloponnesus, while he was super-intending the celebration of the Nemean games, he hastened to oppose the depredators, and quickly drove them to their ships. He returned exulting to Argos, and was received with general acclamations, as if he had been an illustrious conqueror: but his impure propensities, and his outrageous violations of the honor of families, soon rendered him odious to the citizens.

In an attempt upon Elis, which was then garrisoned by the Ætolians, he did not meet with that success which he expected. He did not know, when he ordered an assault, that 4000 men had landed from the Roman fleet, and introduced themselves at night into the city. As soon as he beheld the foreign ensigns, he was inclined to withdraw his army; but, as his Illyrian troops were already in action, he advanced with his cavalry, and attacked a Roman cohort. Being thrown from his wounded horse, he was in great danger of being captured. Many of his men fell around him, before the exertions of the infantry secured his retreat. While he was reflecting on his disappointment, he observed 4000 peasants, who had sought the protection of a neighbouring fortress: he compelled them to become his prisoners, and seised, at the same time, numerous herds and flocks¹¹.

The Spartans now joined in the league against Philip, at the instigation of Machanidas, who had Ante Chr. 208.

¹¹ Liv. lib. xxvii. cap. 32.

succeeded Lycurgus in the chief power. His preparations alarmed the Achæians, who dreaded his attempts for the subversion of their interest in the Peloponnesus : but the zeal and courage of Philopœmen furnished them with an example of manly conduct, and stimulated them to gallant efforts. Philip promised to support their republic ; but he seemed to be menaced with so many dangers, that he scarcely knew how to answer every demand for his exertions. The Dardanians had invaded his kingdom : a party of his mal-content subjects had risen against him under Eropus : the Ætolians had blocked up the pass of Thermopylæ ; and the combined fleet of the Romans and of Attalus threatened to ruin his authority in Eubœa. Such perils would have appalled and confounded some princes, but would only serve to rouse others. When Philip had sent troops to various quarters, and had placed fire-signals on conspicuous eminences, he hastened with his grand army to the pass, dislodged the enemy with ease, and arrived at Opus.

Sulpicius, the Roman commander, and the king of Pergamus, had gained possession of Oreus, by the treachery of the Macedonian governor. The former then invested Chalcis, which was so bravely defended, that the siege was soon relinquished. Attalus, passing over to the continent, formed the siege of Opus, and, having taken the place, was employed in plundering it, when the Macedonian army appeared. The town was instantly abandoned, and the besieging force escaped with difficulty. Philip, soon after, marched into the Peloponnesus, and drove the Spartan prince into his own territories. He then returned into northern Greece, harassed the Ætolians with a descent, and settled the affairs of Eubœa ; and the chastisement of the Dardanians subsequently engaged his attention ¹².

The hostile ambition of Machanidas exposed him to a severe check from the spirit of Philopœmen. Having improved the discipline of the Achaians, and strengthened their army with a considerable Ante Chr. 206. number of mercenaries, the general led them toward Mantinea, to meet the Lacedæmonians, who were also assisted by a multitude of hired strangers. An assault, by Machanidas, upon the left wing, was strongly resisted; but it proved so far successful, as to encourage him to an eager pursuit. His main body, crossing a ditch in a disorderly manner, could not withstand the force of the hostile charge; and the troops of this division were nearly defeated, when he returned from the inconsiderate pursuit. He rushed upon the Achaians for the relief of his centre; but his hopes were crushed by a fatal wound, which he received from the hand of Philopœmen himself. The exposure of his head, which was carried about on the point of a spear, tended to accelerate and complete the Achaian victory¹³.

To such a state of degradation were the Spartans reduced, that they suffered one Nabis, a monster of cruelty, to usurp the sovereignty, and treat them as slaves. Having drawn to his standard a set of unprincipled mercenaries, he plundered the rich with impunity, and murdered or banished those who dared to oppose his Ante Chr. 205. will, or murmur at his commands. Being thus employed at home, he neglected the prosecution of hostilities against the allies of the king of Macedon; and the Romans had for some time been equally inattentive to the Grecian war. Philip took this opportunity of imposing his own terms upon the Ætolians, who agreed to a pacification without consulting their Roman friends. The treaty was scarcely concluded, when he received intelli-

13 Polyb. lib. xi.—Plut. Vit. Philopœm.—About 4000 of the vanquished were slain in this battle.

gence of the arrival of a proconsul with a respectable army, and also of new insurrections among the neighbouring communities. He now marched to Apollonia, and challenged the invaders to a conflict; but they contented themselves with securing that city against his assaults.

When mutual animosity had declined, the prætors of Epirus proposed a negotiation. The Roman commander conferred with the king, and demanded a cession of the Parthine territory (a part of Macedon) and of three towns. Philip consented, on condition of being allowed to annex Atintania¹⁴ to his dominions. On these terms peace was restored; and the treaty was sanctioned by the concurrence of all the confederates of each party. Among the allies of the Romans, the Athenians are named, and also the Ilians, inhabitants of that city which was built on the ruins of Troy; and Prusias, the Bithynian, is mentioned at the head of Philip's associates¹⁵.

The king's active ambition did not suffer him to remain long unemployed. His adversary Nabis, and his ally Philopœmen, also found military occupation. The Spartan tyrant attacked the Megalopolitans, and, by devastation and blockade, reduced them to such distress, that they were obliged to raise corn even within the walls and in the streets of their city¹⁶. Philopœmen, who had lately rescued the Messenian capital from the grasp of Nabis, displeased his countrymen by making a campaign in Crete, as an auxiliary of the Gortynians. Philip, in the mean time, at the desire of Prusias, took Cios in Bithynia, destroyed the town, and enslaved the inhabitants. He harassed the Rhodians with naval hostilities, and, in violation of the recent treaty, invaded the dominions of Attalus; but he could not, with all his efforts, reduce Pergamus; and, at sea, he was defeated with great

Ante Chr.
203.

¹⁴ A part of Chaonia, or the northern division of Epirus.

¹⁵ Liv. lib. xxix, cap. 12.

¹⁶ Plut. Vit. Philopœm.

loss by the Asiatic prince and the fleet of the insular republic¹⁷. By these and other acts of hostility, he exposed himself to the resentment of that aspiring state, Ante Chr. 201. which had lately triumphed over Hannibal, and humbled the pride of Carthage.

LETTER XI.

History of SICILY and of Southern ITALY, from the Death of TIMOLEON, to the Beginning of the first Punic War.

THE loss of Timoleon was severely felt by those who wished to maintain the prosperity of Sicily in general, and of Syracuse in particular. No citizen, Ante Chr. 337. equal to him in ability or in merit, existed in the island at the time of his death. Ambitious adventurers, whom his reputation and influence had over-awed, started up in different parts; and factious intrigues superseded the spirit of patriotism. But the commotions of Syracuse did not rise to an alarming height before the appearance of Agathocles. The democratic government was, in a great measure, subverted by some powerful citizens, who so far prevailed, by weight of interest, as to erect an aristocratic council, composed of 600 persons. This senate Agathocles hoped, by the favor of the people, to overwhelm.

The origin of this enterprising man was humble; for he was the son of a potter. His person was prepossessing: he had great strength and courage; and his talents were undoubted: but he was unprincipled, profligate, and inhuman. By the interest of Damas, an opulent Syracusan, he was promoted to a high station in the military service; and he enriched himself by a marriage with his patron's

widow, with whom he had before been criminally familiar. Being employed in an expedition to Italy, he distinguished himself by his exertions against the Brutians; but, not thinking himself sufficiently rewarded or honored by Sosistratus, who was at the head of the expedition, he accused that commander of tyrannical views. The charge was discountenanced; and Sosistratus was enabled, by his aristocratic influence, to assume the principal authority in the new senate¹.

Agathocles, quitting the service in disgust, became a pirate and a soldier of fortune; but, when the democratic party had expelled Sosistratus and his chief abettors, he returned into Sicily, and took an active part in the hostilities which ensued. In one engagement he received seven wounds; and it was only by his uncommon activity that he escaped death. He was ordered to quit Syracuse on the appointment of Acestorides to the chief command of the army; but he soon returned, and procured that dignity for himself, amidst the confusion arising
 Ante Chr. 317. from the contests of faction. Having augmented, by every mode of attraction, the number of his military adherents, he denounced vengeance against those aristocratic citizens who had been recalled, and gave full indulgence to the licentiousness of his followers, who, in the exercise of rapine and cruelty, confounded friends with foes, and made dreadful havoc. Above 4000 persons were murdered by these ruffians; and 6000 fled, to avoid the extremity of outrage².

¹ Diod. lib. xix. sect. 2, 3.—Just. lib. xxii.

² Diod. lib. xix. sect. 4—8.—Justin affirms, that Hamilcar furnished Agathocles with 5000 soldiers, to accomplish his schemes of ambition; that the usurper first killed many citizens of the higher class, and then let loose his assassins upon the people; and that Hamilcar, having connived at the hostile insults offered by the tyrant to the Sicilian allies of Carthage, would have been severely punished for his treachery, if he had not, by a natural death, escaped that disgrace. But it does not appear, from Diodorus, that the general who is here said to have died was any other than that Hamilcar who was killed near Syracuse, in the 309th year before Christ.

The brutal adventurer, who thus aspired to sovereignty, pretended, in an assembly of the people, that he had no other wish than to restore them to liberty, and to enjoy the comforts of a private life : but he knew that his partisans would counter-act his supposed intention of retiring into obscurity, and urge him to an acceptance of the supreme dignity. He was, indeed, invested with ample power ; and, for some time, he exercised it with moderation, while he was employed in strengthening his army and navy.

Many of those Syracusans who had fled from the late massacre, had retired to Agrigentum and Messina ; and, as they did not long expect to be safe while Agathocles was in the enjoyment of power, they exhorted the rulers of those cities and of Gela to attack the tyrant, before he could extend his authority over many of the Sicilian towns. A league was consequently formed ; and the Lacedæmonians were requested to send a man of Ante Chr. 314. courage and ability, who might assume the chief command of the confederate army. As the Ephori did not attend to the request, Acrotatus, son of one of the reigning princes, sailed with a company of adventurers to Agrigentum ; but, by the shameful abuse of that authority with which he was intrusted, and particularly by the treacherous murder of Sosistratus, he excited such general odium, that, if he had not made a rapid retreat, he would, as he deserved, have been stoned to death. The allies, disappointed with regard to their general, discontinued their preparations.

The Carthaginians had encouraged the usurpation of Agathocles : but, when they found that he encroached on the rights of various towns, which had been declared free by a recent treaty, they resolved to check his career. He foresaw their aims, and studiously augmented his means of offence and resistance ; and, having intimidated the in-

habitants of Messina into an ejection of the Syracusan exiles, repaired to Agrigentum for the same purpose ; but, finding near the coast a fleet belonging to the Carthaginians, he altered his course, and seised some fortresses which acknowledged their authority. The exiles took arms against him under the conduct of Dinocrates ; and, by a defeat which they suffered, exposed themselves, and the inhabitants of a town which they had taken, to the vengeance of Pasiphilus, who thought himself bound to rival his master in cruelty³.

The usurper was soon sensible of the determined enmity of the Carthaginians. They sent Hamilcar to Sicily, with 130 ships of war ; but almost one half of this fleet, and a great number of vessels laden with corn, were lost in a storm. When the rest of the armament reached the island, the commander not only added to his African army all the Sicilians whom he could enlist, but hired foreign troops with the ample pecuniary supplies which he had received from the rulers of the state. He then took the field with 45,000 men ; a greater force than Agathocles could bring against him. When the two armies met, near the Himera, the tyrant routed a considerable *corps* by the effect of an ambuscade, and even penetrated into the camp of Hamilcar ; who, alarmed at the intrusion, ordered his Balearic slingers, renowned for their dexterity in throwing stones of great weight, to harass the assailants with all the vigor and address which they could exert. Their efforts contributed to clear the camp : yet the Syracusans and their allies would probably have at length prevailed, if fresh troops, sent from Africa, had not suddenly reached the scene of action. The followers of Agathocles were so discouraged at this accession of strength to the enemy, that they fled in confusion, and

were pursued by 5000 horsemen with sanguinary effect. About 7000 lost their lives⁴; and the remains of the army fled to Gela, where, before the battle, the blood-thirsty usurper had assassinated 4000 men, on pretence of their being more inclined to assist the Carthaginians than to co-operate with him⁵.

After his return to Syracuse, he repaired the fortifications, and collected various stores, that the city might be provided against an assault : but, instead of remaining to defend it, he formed the resolution of transporting an army to Africa, and of investing Carthage itself. A striking display of courage, he thought, would tend to intimidate even the victorious general, and would more effectually conduce to the retrieval of his affairs, than the limitation of his efforts to the defence of Syracuse. His daring mind did not reflect on that risque of total ruin, which the enterprise seemed to provoke.

Hamilcar's success, and the detestation which Agathocles had incurred, prompted many of the Sicilian communities to submit to the Carthaginian power; and the invader hoped to make his victory quickly promotive even of the acquisition of Syracuse. To that city, therefore, he directed his steps, and found it under the defensive care of Antander, to whom his brother had consigned the task of government.

Apprehending a revolt in his absence, Agathocles separated sons from their fathers, and brothers from their brethren, that those whom he took with him might serve as hostages for the fidelity of those who were left at Syracuse. He murdered such opulent citizens as were not attached to his interest, and seized their property; obliged

4 Diodorus says, with little probability, that as many lay dead near the river (without a wound) as were killed in the pursuit. He attributes this mortality to the copious draughts of the saline stream, taken by fatigued and over-heated warriors; for it was then the hottest part of the summer.

5 Diod. lib. xix. sect. 116—119.

guardians to surrender to him, as a more honorable administrator, the effects of their wards; carried away some of the votive offerings with which the temples abounded; robbed women of their ornaments; and condescended to borrow money of the merchants. He gave liberty to a number of slaves, and mingled them with his troops.

Ante Chr. 310. Having equipped sixty vessels, he waited for an opportunity of sailing, without the danger of being overwhelmed by the hostile fleet. He escaped at night, and, having continued his course for six days, found himself near the African coast; but the appearance of the Carthaginian fleet rendered it doubtful whether he could effect a disembarkation. After a slight contest however, between his rear and the van of the enemy, he landed, and secured his ships within an entrenchment. This security was only intended to be temporary, that they might not fall into the hands of his adversaries; for they were, soon after, burned by his order, because he wished to add all the seamen to his military force, and also from a wish of inspiring his troops with the most determined courage, when they had no other resource⁶.

While the vessels were yet flaming, he hastened to what was called the Great City, through a pleasant and well-cultivated country. The walls were not long defended; and the surrender of Tunis quickly followed. Consternation seised the senators and magistrates of Carthage, when they found that the country was thus invaded; for they could not persuade themselves that Agathocles would have ventured to leave Syracuse, or to cross the sea, unless he had triumphed both over the army and fleet of Hamilcar. Some proposed that peace should be solicited; but others were willing to wait for correct information with regard to the state of the armament. Such intelligence they soon obtained from the naval commander; and it served to allay their dejection. They soon

6 Diod. lib. xx. sect. 4—7.—Just. lib. xxii. cap. 4, 5, 6.

levied about 30,000 men⁷, principally among the citizens, and gave the chief command to Hanno and Bomilcar. Agathocles had not so many as 14,000 men to oppose the troops of the republic ; but he was a more able general than either of his adversaries, and the majority of his soldiers were better disciplined. Beside Syracusans and other Sicilians, he had Greeks, Samnites, Etrurians, and Gauls. The Carthaginian chariots, 2000 in number, made the first attack : but the warriors who fought in them, being harassed by missiles, were soon discouraged ; and the cavalry also quickly retreated. Hanno's division of infantry maintained a vigorous conflict ; and, if Bomilcar, after the fall of his associate, had properly directed the efforts of his battalions, the invaders might have been driven from the field. But, having a secret desire of usurping the government, which, he thought, he might more conveniently seize amidst the confusion and terror of a defeat, he ordered a part of the army to retire to a neighbouring eminence, as if he meditated some *manœuvre*. The troops in the nearest ranks, considering this as a flight, began to retreat ; and Agathocles, with his son Archagathus, boldly pushing forward, became completely victorious⁸.

The weakness of superstition was roused to cruelty by this misfortune. In sacrificing boys to Saturn, the children of the poor had for some time been the victims, instead of those of higher rank. To appease the God, who was supposed to resent this affront, 200 boys, selected from the most distinguished families, were consigned, without a sigh of regret, to the arms of a brazen statue, from which they fell into a furnace. While the people were looking forward to success in consequence of this execrable barbarity, messengers were sent into Sicily, to expedite the transmission of succours from Hamilcar ; and they carried over the iron beaks, saved from the destruction of the Sy-

⁷ Just. lib. xxii. cap. 6.—Diodorus says, 41,000.

⁸ Diod. lib. xx. sect. 8—12.

racusan fleet, with a view of giving credibility to a report which they intended to propagate, of the ruin of Agathocles and his whole force. This rumor was believed by many, but was doubted by the principal inhabitants of Syracuse. Antander seemed to give credit to it; and, dreading a sedition, sent away such as were suspected of not being attached to his brother, to the amount of 8000. These citizens were well treated by Hamilcar, who offered safety to the rest, if they would immediately surrender the city. In a council of officers, Antander proposed compliance; but the majority exploded such meanness. The arrival of a galley in the harbour, notwithstanding the difficulty of entrance, announced the victorious progress of Agathocles; and, at the same time, a party of the enemy having mounted the wall without success, Hamilcar drew off his army.

Agathocles, bold and sanguine, expected the speedy conquest of Carthage, as the fruit of his late victory. He reduced many towns and fortresses; but, while he was besieging Adrumetum, the Carthaginians attacked his fortified camp near Tunis, overpowered it's defenders, and invested the city. Posting a select *corps* on a hill between the towns, he kindled fires at night, so as to intimidate the besiegers of Tunis into a retreat, and the garrison of Adrumetum into a surrender. He then took Thapsus and other towns, and marched into the interior of the country. Recalled by a new attempt upon Tunis, he slew 2000 men, and dispersed the rest of the besieging force. He also attacked an African prince (who, after agreeing to an alliance, had renounced it), slew him, and routed his troops⁹.

While Agathocles was thus successful, the Syracusans triumphed over Hamilcar. He was marching at night
Ante Chr. 309. toward the city, for the renewal of the siege, when he was assaulted by a detachment, in a

spot unfavorable to his operations. Such was the confusion which prevailed, that his men fought with each other as if they had been enemies, and the cavalry trampled upon many of the infantry. Being at length deserted, he was made prisoner, and killed by torture. The exiles who had joined him, now left the Carthaginian camp; and the enemy, destitute of an able leader, seemed to be paralysed¹⁰.

The citizens of Agrigentum, hoping to profit by the late defeat of the invaders, and by the depression of the Syracusans, who were reduced to great distress for want of provisions, took measures for the acquisition of Sicilian supremacy. They sent an army under Xenodocus to Gela, and rescued that town from the yoke of Agathocles, by a substitution of their own authority. At Erbessus, the inhabitants joined the Agrigentines in overpowering the Carthaginian garrison; and other towns were recovered from the enemy.

Agathocles, having by address and conciliation quelled a mutiny, occasioned by the death of an officer (whom the tyrant's son had killed in a transport of passion, for having insulted and reviled his father and himself), attacked the Carthaginians at a time when they expected to be joined by a great number of the malcontents, and soon put them to flight. While they were harassed by a Numidian revolt, he took the opportunity of another action, and was again victorious, but not without considerable Ante Chr. 308. loss. After the battle, he inveigled a body of Greeks and Syracusans, from the adverse army, by a promise of safety, and put them all to death. He also practised his perfidious arts upon Ophellas, prince of Cyrene, who, allured by the prospect of extended sway, led an army over a sandy desert, infested by serpents and wild beasts, and reached the tyrant's camp after a perilous

¹⁰ Diod. lib. xx. sect. 29.

journey of two months. Exulting in the arrival of the deluded prince, Agathocles convoked a military council, and, pretending that Ophellas had formed sinister intentions, inflamed the resentment of his soldiers, who, while the majority of the strangers were foraging, attacked the rest, and slew their prince. The astonished troops soon ceased to resist, and quietly coalesced with the followers of the base and treacherous Sicilian¹¹.

He could not remain long without manifesting his detestable inhumanity. The town of Utica, which ^{Ante Chr.} 307. he had taken, revolted from him; and, in approaching to besiege it, he captured 300 men, to whom he promised safety; but, when the citizens refused to open the gates, he hung those prisoners upon a machine which he placed near the walls. He soon forced his way into the town; and massacre was the order of the day. Even the sanctity of temples did not secure, from his vindictive rage, the suppliants who fled to their hallowed precincts.

A desire of crushing the Agrigentines induced him to return to Sicily. Before his arrival, the Syracusans had encountered Xenodocus, and defeated him. Pleased with this success, Agathocles attacked various towns with alacrity, and enforced submission. Dinocrates, being at the head of a greater army than the tyrant could assemble, scoured the country, without being able to bring him to an engagement.

Archagathus, for some time, prosecuted the war in Africa with success; but a reverse of fortune ensued. One division of his army sustained, in battle, a loss of 4200 men: another considerable part of his force was almost annihilated; and he remained on the defensive at Tunis, in danger of total ruin. This disastrous change drew Agathocles from Sicily. He was victorious in a naval

¹¹ Diod. lib. xx. sect. 32, 34, 39. et seq.—Just.

conflict near Syracuse; and, when his troops had again prevailed over Xenodocus, he sailed to Africa, but not before he had murdered above 500 citizens at an entertainment, from an apprehension of their being inclined to favor Dinocrates. Immediately after his disembarkation, he sought an opportunity of action, with which the enemy at first refused to gratify him. He resolved to provoke a collision by assaulting the camp; and his challenge was then accepted. About 23,500 men, Africans included, were embodied under his command; while the Carthaginian force considerably exceeded that number. He maintained his ground for a time; but, his Italian and Gallic mercenaries not supporting him so strenuously as he wished or expected, and his African troops evincing still less alacrity in his cause, he retreated to his camp, after the loss of 3000 men. On the ensuing night, a fire broke out in the Carthaginian camp, in consequence of the horrible practice of burning human victims, selected from the number of prisoners. The wind blew the flames to the sacred tent, which stood near the altar; and thence the conflagration spread to the general encampment, so as to occasion a dreadful loss of lives. About the same time, 5000 Africans, from the army of Agathocles, were hastening to join his adversaries; but the latter, concluding, from the report of the scouts, that the tyrant and his whole army were coming to renew the fight, fled in extreme disorder; and a great number fell, wounded or crushed by associates, who fancied that they were encountering enemies. The astonished Africans marched back; and the Sicilians and their fellow-warriors, mistaking them for the adverse army, hastily retreated; and, in the confusion of error, thousands were slain¹².

All the Africans who were in the tyrant's service now quitted his camp; and a dread of being overpowered by

12 *Diod. lib. xx. sect. 58—68.*

the Carthaginians prompted him to expedite his return to Europe. He would have proposed a treaty, if he had not apprehended that the incensed foe would rather exterminate his army than condescend to negotiate with him. Not having a fleet adequate to the transportation of a multitude, he resolved to retire with only some select friends, and leave his troops to their fate. Archagathus, being privately informed of this intention, and of his inclusion among those who were to be so shamefully deserted, communicated the intelligence to the principal officers, by whom it was soon propagated over the whole camp. The treacherous general was seised by his indignant soldiers; but they soon relented, and suffered the monster again to harass and murder his fellow-creatures. He sailed away in the night, leaving his two sons, who, as soon as his retreat was known, were assassinated by the rage of the troops¹³.

New commanders were immediately chosen; and peace was the first object of their consideration. The enemy did not refuse to accede to the wish of the deserted army. It was agreed, that the towns which had been taken by the invaders should be restored for 300 talents, and that all who were unwilling to enter into the military service of Carthage should be safely conveyed to Sicily. As the garrisons of some towns declined an acquiescence in this treaty, the Carthaginians had recourse to violence for the chastisement of the refractory strangers. The places were soon recovered: the commandants were crucified; and their men, reduced to slavery, were compelled to cultivate the country which they had ravaged.

The re-appearance of Agathocles in Sicily was soon announced, in his usual mode, by acts of horrible cruelty. He shamefully plundered the people of Ægesta, murdered the majority on pretence of their disaffection, and sold the women and children to the Brutians; and, to revenge

13 *Died. lib. xx. sect. 69 70.*—*Just. lib. xxii. cap. 8.*

the death of his sons, he sent orders to his brother at Syracuse for the massacre of all who were related, even in the most distant degree, to any of the soldiers whom he had left in Africa¹⁴. His commands were executed with the most inhuman punctuality, as if the murder of many innocent individuals could be a legitimate atonement for the guilt of others. The assassination of his sons cannot be justified; but he who had robbed innumerable parents of their sons, by the sword of wanton tyranny, had no right to complain of the murder of his own children.

Dinocrates had so far profited by the absence of Agathocles, as to make himself master of a great part of Sicily; and the tyrant's recent cruelties still farther promoted the interest of his rival. Discouraged and despairing, or perhaps only assuming an air of dejection with insidious views, the master of Syracuse offered to Ante Chr. 306. restore the popular government in that city, if Dinocrates would cede to him two fortresses, with the adjacent lands. That commander, wishing to domineer over the Syracusans, refused to allow them the proposed freedom, and rejected all the overtures which were made to him. Agathocles now reconciled himself to the Carthaginians; and, on their payment of a considerable sum, he restored, as far as his authority extended, the towns which they had formerly possessed in the island.

The rivalry of the two commanders burst into a renewal of war. Agathocles, with a small army, attacked Ante Chr. 305. a very superior number, and obtained the victory by the sudden desertion of a part of the opposite force. The joy of triumph did not inspire him with a ray of humanity: his dark soul brooded over vengeance. Having checked the pursuit, he offered safety to 4000 of the exiles, who had taken possession of a hill in their retreat. They eagerly accepted his promise of restoring them to

their families and estates, and marched down from their post. He instantly disarmed them; and not even the life of one of the number was spared¹⁵.

The vanquished general, resigning his hopes of uncontrolled ascendancy, submitted to the victor, and became his confidential friend; and Agathocles, in a great measure, regained over the island that power which he ought never to have possessed. Cruelty and rapine were still his chief engines of government; and the people had not the spirit to resist his abominable tyranny. In an expedition to the Æolian isles, his ordinary rapacity was aggravated to the profanity of sacrilege. He not only robbed the inhabitants, but pillaged the temples and sacred Ante Chr. 304. treasury at Lipara, in contempt of all remonstrances. On his return, he is said to have lost, in a storm, eleven of his vessels, laden with spoils. This loss was considered as an infliction of the vengeance of Æolus, the deified possessor of those islands¹⁶.

With a view of displaying his power, and extending his fame, Agathocles sailed with an armament to Ante Chr. 301. Corcyra, which the Macedonians under Cassander were besieging. He destroyed the greater part of that prince's fleet, and put an end to the siege. After this exploit, he murdered 2000 mercenaries, who had composed a part of his army in Africa, when his sons were assassinated. The Brutians who served under him were so shocked at this barbarity, that they deserted him. He besieged one of their towns in revenge, and, if he had taken

¹⁵ Diod. lib. xx. sect. 90.

¹⁶ These volcanic spots are now called the Lipari isles. The largest anciently bore the name of Lipara, from being colonised by Liparus, an Italian chieftain. His son-in-law Æolus afterward became king of the whole groupe; and the islands flourished for some centuries under the sway of the same family. On the failure of the royal line, a republican government was introduced. The inhabitants, being harassed by Etrurian pirates, provided a strong navy, and frequently prevailed over their assailants. The city of Lipara was gradually enriched by commerce, and by the resort of strangers to its warm baths.

it, he would probably have destroyed the whole population; but he was attacked in the night, and compelled, with the loss of 4000 men, to raise the siege. Returning to Italy, he took Crotona, pillaged every house in the town, and massacred all the male inhabitants. He then entered into an infamous combination with gangs of Italian pirates, supplying them with vessels, on condition of sharing largely in their spoils¹⁷.

After some years of peace, he renewed his hostile attempts in the territories of the Brutians. When he had taken Hipponium, they sued for peace, which he granted on the promise of submission. Their concern in the treaty, however, proved a mere delusion; for, as soon as he had left the coast, they slew all who were in garrison, recovered the town, and retrieved their independence.

In the decline of life, his ambition did not subside. He meditated a new war with the Carthaginians, and made extraordinary preparations for attacking them with effect: but death unexpectedly stopped his career of guilt. Mœnon, a native of Ægesta, had acquired his favor by the meanest submissions and the most disgraceful compliances; but he abhorred the character of his master, and particularly resented the murder of his fellow-citizens. Archagathus, grandson of the despot, aimed at the possession of the Syracusan sovereignty, in preference to young Agathocles; and, while he watched an opportunity of destroying the son, he easily persuaded Mœnon to take away the father's life. The former was treacherously assassinated at a festival; and the latter, receiving an envenomed tooth-pick from the hands of his attendant, made use of it with such eagerness, that his
Ante Chr.
289.
gums were quickly infected; and the poison gradually diffused itself in his frame. He lived for some days in this state, bitterly complaining of the cruelty of his grandson.

The consummation of the conspiracy was reserved for Oxythemes, a Macedonian envoy, who seized the tortured prince while he still had life, and threw him upon a funeral pile¹⁸.

Agathocles must be allowed to have possessed courage and talents, as he could not otherwise have raised himself from a low state to a high degree of authority, or have so long retained the power which he usurped : but it is difficult to find, even in the records of war and despotism, a more unfeeling and flagitious tyrant.

A contest for power arose between Mœnon and his confederate. Having the command of the army, Archagathus seemed to be sure of success : but the murderous address of Mœnon gave him the superiority. He privately removed his rival from the world, and prevailed upon the troops to support his interest. But the citizens of Syracuse refused to submit to him, and gave a temporary authority over their state to Icetes, whom the self-constituted general was unwilling to meet in the field. The governors of the Carthaginian towns, by assisting Mœnon, enabled him to dictate terms of peace to the Syracusans : yet he could not, with all his efforts, prevent Icetes from prolonging his sway. The mercenaries who remained in the city were soon after embroiled with the other inhabitants, with whom they wished to be on a par in point of vote and privilege. Such pretensions not being admitted, the claimants, who were chiefly Campanians, at length retired to Messina, murdered or expelled the male citizens, compelled the widows and their adult daughters to submit to offers of marriage, and, under the appellation of *Mamertines* (or *great warriors*), took possession of the town. While their barbarity excited horror, their courage propagated their authority over the neighbouring districts¹⁹.

18 Excerpt. è Diod.—Justin, without the mention of poison, attributes his death to a dreadful disorder, arising from a malignant humor.

19 Excerpt, è Diod. lib. xxi.—Polyb. lib. i.

The endeavours of the Syracusans to extend or retain their power over other Sicilian communities, were obstructed by ambitious citizens, who started up in various parts of the island, and assumed arbitrary sway. Agrigentum and Tauromenium had their respective tyrants; and, in some of the smaller towns, a similar government prevailed. Icetes and the Agrigentine prince contended for superiority; and the former, being victorious over his competitor, was encouraged to attack the Carthaginians, who were disposed to take advantage of the dissensions and disorders of the country. He was defeated with considerable loss; and the enemy made great progress in the reduction of the island.

Having with difficulty retained his authority for nine years, Icetes was expelled by the efforts of Thynion, who did not, however, acquire the sole sovereignty, Ante Chr. 280. being involved in war with another leader. These statesmen were so alarmed at the Carthaginian career of conquest, that they had recourse to the dangerous expedient of inviting a powerful prince to assist the Syracusans. The warrior who drew their attention was Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. Being an enemy to the Romans, he was very ready to act against the Carthaginians, who were then in a state of alliance with the Italian republic. He directed his course to the island with a respectable army, and soon met with the most encouraging success. The enemy had invested Syracuse by land with 50,000 men, and occupied its harbour with a great fleet: but even the rumor of his advance put an end to the siege. He received the submissions of many towns, and took others by force; but, by imprudence and misgovernment, he lost that high authority which he had acquired, and retired from Sicily in disgust.

Hiero, who traced his descent from the celebrated Gelon, was elevated by the Syracusan army to the Ante Chr. 275. chief magistracy. This appointment was resent-

ed by the citizens as an encroachment upon their rights; but the talents and reputation of Hiero induced them to confirm it, without granting a participation of power to Artemidorus, whom the soldiers had associated with him. He strengthened his interest by espousing the daughter of Leptines; and, by the united endeavours of the new governor and his father-in-law, factious dissensions were allayed, and tranquillity was restored to the city.

The conduct of Hiero toward the mercenaries, while it arose from a desire of securing internal peace, exhibited a combination of treachery and cruelty. Dreading the effects of their insubmissive and licentious spirit, he led them against the ferocious Mamertines, with a body of Syracusans; and, keeping the latter in the rear, on pretence of supporting the first line in case of danger, he left the foreigners fully exposed to the assaults of the enemy. They were extirpated; while he and the Sicilians slowly and safely retreated²⁰.

As the Mamertines continued to extend their territories, the Syracusans advanced in force to oppose them, and rescued several towns from their grasp. In the prosecution of this success, they found an opportunity of attacking the foe with such promising auspices that they obtained a signal victory. Few, out of 8000 Mamertines, escaped to Messina²¹. The possessors of that city were on the point of surrendering it to Hiero, when the Carthaginians, who had an armament near the Æolian isles, offered to assist in the defence of the town. The Syracusans, thus disappointed, retired without commencing a siege; but they were so elevated with their triumph in the field, that they conferred on their general the title of king.

When the inhabitants of Messina had recovered from the consternation produced by the disastrous result of the late battle, they were divided in sentiment with regard to

²⁰ Polyb. lib. i.

²¹ Excerpt. è Diod. lib. xxii.

the acceptance of Carthaginian or of Roman protection. But the influence of Rome prevailed ; and the occupancy of the city by a legionary force led to a war between the Carthaginians and the Romans.

The subsequent concerns of Sicily and Magna Græcia, whenever they are worthy of notice, will be included in the Roman history.

LETTER XII.

Continuation of the History of ROME, to the Formation of a Quadruple Alliance against that State.

THAT the Romans, who occupied so small a territory, could have carried on so many wars as they are said to have waged from the time of Numa's death, we cannot believe, unless we suppose that their armies were far from being numerous ; for a spot so circumscribed could not have supported a large population, or have kept it up when so frequently diminished by the merciless ravages of the sword. A similar remark may be extended to the Volscians, who, from the reign of Tarquin the Proud to the time when Camillus flourished, had only occasional intervals of peace. We may reasonably conclude, that the numbers of the combatants on both sides are exaggerated beyond all reasonable bounds by the ancient narrators of Roman affairs, and that petty conflicts are too highly colored, and exalted to undue importance.

The Samnites had courted an alliance with Rome, and easily obtained their wish. The treaty had been faithfully observed for about eleven years, when an attack was made upon the inhabitants of Sidicinium by the domineering spirit of the former people. The harassed community im-

plored assistance from the Campanians ; who, being rudely treated for their interference, applied to the Romans for succour. To this request an incomplicant answer was Ante Chr. given, as it was repugnant to a formal treaty.

343. To secure the desired aid, the Campanians surrendered their towns and lands to the Romans. "If you will not protect *our* possessions (said the envoys); you will at least defend *your own*." This surrender altered the tone of the senate ; and deputies were sent to insist upon a termination of hostilities on the part of the Samnites. So little regard was paid to the requisition, that an order was given for a new irruption into Campania. On the other hand, the consuls levied two armies ; with one of which, Valerius Corvinus marched to repel the threatened incursion ; while, with the other, Cornelius Cossus advanced into Samnium¹.

A vigorous resistance, on the part of the Samnites, gave the Romans an earnest of what they might expect in future campaigns. For some hours, Valerius made no impression upon the enemy : but at length the efforts of his cavalry opened a way between the wings for his infantry ; and he then began to have the advantage. Yet the Samnites fought until the close of day, when they fled from the rising fury of the Romans. The routed troops, when their general had procured a considerable accession of force, tried the fortune of another battle ; in which Valerius was equally successful.

Cornelius, having incautiously entered a valley, was surprised at the appearance of the Samnites on a woody eminence which commanded his march. He scarcely knew how to act, when the tribune Decius, pointing to a hill that rose above the hostile station, proposed to occupy it with light-armed troops. This seizure was so well managed, that the consul had time to emerge from his dis-

advantageous situation, while the enemy remained in doubt and indecision. By the favor of night, Decius and his party escaped to the consular army; and, in the morning, the Samnites were attacked and routed².

A considerable part of the Roman army being dispersed among the towns of Campania, those who were stationed in Capua, relaxed by the luxuries of an opulent city, conceived the idea of keeping full possession of the town, instead of returning to Rome at the beck of either consul. Marcius, who with Servilius succeeded to the government, undertook the suppression of this mutiny, while Ante Chr. 340. the Samnites were inactive. On various pretences, he sent away the most discontented soldiers; but, when a strong body had met near Anxur, schemes of secession and revolt were agitated; and a leader was forced into the seditious confederacy. Valerius, being named dictator, exerted his great influence and authority in reclaiming the malcontents; and order was restored without the effusion of blood³.

Encouraged by the new war, the people of Privernum, who had been conquered by the plebeian Marcius, revolted from the Romans; and other Volscian Ante Chr. 341. communities again defied those who had so frequently prevailed over them. Plautius chastised the former in the field, and deprived them of two thirds of their territory. The Volscians, principally those of Antium, fought without affording any apparent advantage to the Romans; but, by a confused retreat in the night, they acknowledged that the victory did not belong to them.

² Livy says, "All whom fear had driven within the *vallum*, were slain, to the amount of *thirty thousand* men." This statement will appear, to every judicious reader, to be a gross exaggeration. Is it credible, that the occupants of a small territory could bear the loss of so great a number of men in one battle, and yet wage so long a war?

³ Liv. lib. vii. cap. 38—42.—The historian, after referring to different accounts of this affair, says, "Nothing is certain on this head, but that a sedition *arose and was quelled*."

Æmilius, by a course of devastation, humbled the Samnites into temporary forbearance, and granted that peace which they desired. They immediately re-attacked the inhabitants of Sidicinum, who, being assisted by the Latins and Campanians, were secured against their resentful enemies.

That confederacy which had long been in train among
Ante Chr. 340. the Latin states, now burst forth into vigorous action. Being desired not to molest the Samnites, they asserted their right of free agency; but declared their readiness to cultivate peace with the Romans and their allies or friends, if they should be allowed to furnish one of the annual consuls, and be admitted to an incorporative union. These demands excited the indignation of the consul Manlius, and of the whole senate; and it was resolved, that a war with the Latins should no longer be delayed.

An act of unnatural barbarity marked the commencement of the campaign. The son of Manlius, unmindful of a consular prohibition of conflict, ventured to engage a Tusculan officer of cavalry, and slew his antagonist. His stern and unfeeling parent reproached him for having given to the soldiery an example of disobedience, and condemned him to death. With sincere regret the army witnessed his fate; and "curses, not loud but deep," were vented upon the inflexible commander⁴.

The colleague of Manlius was Decius, who, being informed by the soothsayers, that the anger of the Gods, evinced in some unfavorable circumstances which attended the sacrifices, could only be averted by the devotion of one of the consuls to a voluntary death for the service of his country, resolved to comply with the superstitious suggestion, if that division which he commanded should begin to give way. Manlius, perhaps, would have

been less willing to sacrifice himself, in the event of a repulse, than he was to immolate his son. In an engagement with the Latins and their Campanian allies, the repulse of the left wing reminded Decius of his vow. He besought Jupiter and Mars to give success to the Roman arms, and devoted himself, with the enemies of his country, to the infernal deities. Rushing into the midst of the opposing force, he soon fell; diffusing confidence among his men, and terror among the Latins, who were at length defeated in all parts of the field. When another battle had proved equally unfavorable to the Latins, although they were assisted by a Volscian detachment, the states of Latium submitted; and the Campanians solicited pardon for their breach of faith. Agrarian spoils were the price of reconciliation⁵.

Disgusted at the seizure of their lands, the La- Ante Chr.
339.
tins renewed the war; but they were reduced by Publilius to external submission. Æmilius besieged Pedum, one of their towns; and, when the senate, after refusing him a triumph for a small advantage which he had gained in the field, ordered the appointment of a dictator on account of a revolt of the Latins, he named his colleague, who, without making any forcible impression upon the enemy, contented himself with augmenting the power of the people, by establishing the general authority of their enactments, and by other internal regulations. The next consuls, Camillus and Mænius, completely subdued the Ante Chr.
338.
Latins; and dispossessed the Volscians of Antium, removing or burning all the ships in that port.

A war with the people of Sidicinum, who were not without difficulty brought under the yoke, gave way to an alarm of a different kind. A discovery is said to have been made of the murderous malignity of the women of Rome, many of whom poisoned their husbands; and it is added,

that about 170 were put to death for this execrable atrocity⁶. The historian who mentions this extraordinary affair, seems to doubt the authenticity of the story; and many of his readers, I should suppose, are equally unwilling to believe it.

In suppressing a revolt of the inhabitants of Privernum, the Roman troops were occupied for two campaigns; and the attention of the senate was then transferred to the Samnites, who had for some time appeared desirous of renewing the war. They were accused of having sent aid to the Greeks near the coast, who, for harassing the Roman subjects in Campania, had been obliged to witness the investiture of Palæopolis. They complained, in their turn, of Roman encroachments on their territories; and, as the high tone of both parties precluded an accommodation of the dispute, war was declared in form.

Ante Chr. 326. Three towns were quickly taken from the Samnites; and Palæopolis was surrendered by its Grecian rulers.

The Lucanians and Apulians, hearing of the Roman exploits with an united sense of fear and admiration, had courted the friendship of the republic, and offered military aid for the subjugation of the Samnites: but, by bribing some young men of the former nation to accuse the Romans of outrageous and inhuman treatment, the Tarentines drew the people into a renewal of amity with the foes of Rome. To these the Vestines also added their strength, which, however, did not correspond with their

Ante Chr. 325. courage. The consul Brutus, when he had routed them with the loss of many of his countrymen, reduced their towns, and almost annihilated their power of annoyance. Camillus intended to invade Samnium; but a severe illness prevented his march. Papirius was therefore appointed dictator; between whom and Fabius, his master of the horse, a remarkable contest arose.

During the temporary absence of the chief commander, an opportunity of action offered itself to the lieutenant, who, not reflecting on the catastrophe of young Manlius, resolved to fight without permission. He advanced against the enemy; and so well did the troops follow the example of his activity and courage, that a great part of the hostile army fell in the battle and pursuit. The dictator, pretending great anxiety for military discipline, but jealous of the reputation thus acquired by Fabius, exclaimed against the conduct of that officer, and declared that he would punish him with the utmost severity. He ordered him to be stripped and scourged, that he might suffer the fate of the disobedient Manlius; but the officer repelled the lictors, and threw himself amidst the ranks for protection. The soldiers seemed ready to rise against their merciless general, when night suspended the dispute. Fabius immediately fled to Rome, followed by the incensed Papirius, who, resisting even the entreaties of the senate, commanded the seizure of the delinquent. The father of Fabius appealed to a general assembly; but the dictator seemed still intent upon vengeance. At length, however, he suffered himself to be subdued, declaring that he gave up the offender to the demands of the people, and to the intercession of their tribunes, to whom, he said, all the ill consequences of such lenity must be imputed⁷.

The escape of the victorious officer was attended with general joy; and it did not relax the discipline or weaken the subordination of the troops in subsequent campaigns. Yet the intended rigor of the dictator, in the next collision of the two armies, so far checked the exertions of the soldiery, that, keeping themselves within the line of duty, they did not gratify Papirius with the victory which he might otherwise have obtained. Observing their disgust, he allayed it by courteous and conciliatory manners; and

⁷ Liv. lib. viii. cap. 30—35.

Ante Chr. they fought with such alacrity on another occa-
324. sion, that the vanquished Samnites implored peace. A dispute arising upon the terms, they could only procure an armistice for one year^s.

By a non-observance of the truce, the enemy provoked the Romans to the infliction of territorial ravages; which were so resented, that a great army took the field, in the confident hope of severely chastising the consular legions. Fabius and Fulvius were carelessly encamped, when the
Ante Chr. hostile force advanced to an attack. The en-
322. gagement continued for five hours, without any indication of victory: but an inconsiderate assault upon the baggage, by the cavalry of the Samnites, gave a turn to the balance. The Roman horse easily routed the depredators, and hastened to improve their success by attacking the main body in the rear. The confused Samnites were now defeated; and a triumph was decreed to both consuls.

The apologies of the Samnites, and their offer of restoring spoils, did not appease the resentment of the senate for their violation of the armistice; and a treaty of peace was not granted to their solicitations. They therefore resolved to prosecute the war with vigor, under the conduct of Pon-
Ante Chr. tius, of whose military talents they entertained a
321. high opinion. This commander, by propagating a false report of his intentions, drew the Roman army into a disadvantageous situation. At Caudium, the two consuls (Veturius and Posthumius) found themselves and their troops enclosed in a narrow passage between woody hills; and, when they advanced, met with a strait still less commodious or favorable, blocked up by a fence formed of trees and rocky fragments. They now retreated; but found equal obstructions to an escape. The Samnites, who had garrisoned the hills, exultingly beheld their

enemies within their power. Their general, having consulted his father (who was famed for wisdom), was advised, either to permit the safe retreat of the Romans, and thus ensure their gratitude, or put every one of them to death, as such a massacre might long preclude the republic from the power of inflicting serious injury. The former proposition was deemed too lenient, and the latter too severe. Pontius therefore proposed, that all should give up their arms, and pass under the yoke; that the territories of his countrymen should be evacuated by every Roman soldier and colonist; and that 600 respectable hostages should be immediately given for the performance of these stipulations. The consuls agreed to these imperious demands; and, after the degrading ceremony, the whole army returned to Rome in that silent dejection, which portended mischief to the inflictors of the ignominy⁹.

When the senate had refused to ratify the convention, the unsuccessful consuls, and all the officers who had promised to maintain it, were with their own consent delivered up (with their hands tied behind them) to the Samnites, to release the Romans from the obligation Ante Chr. 520. of that disgraceful agreement. Pontius declared, that every soldier who had been in his power ought to be given up, or peace granted; and he sent back the consuls and their companions. The war was renewed with increased animosity. The Samnites attacked Fregellæ; and all the colonists who did not rush out by an opposite gate, were burned to death in their habitations, or within the walls. Publilius soon brought the enemy to action; and his men, throwing down their javelins, rushed onward with drawn swords, and made great havock. The routed troops fled to Luceria; near which town, with an additional force, they were assaulted by Papirius, whose enraged followers fought more like wild beasts than like men, killing all that

⁹ Liv. lib. ix. cap. 1—7.—Aurel. Vict. de Viris Illust. cap. 30.—Flor. i. 16

came in their way, whether armed or unarmed, soldier or sutler, man or child, and not sparing even the cattle, as if these innocent animals had promoted the Caudine disgrace. Papirius, shocked at these acts of cruelty, called off his barbarians from the work of slaughter, and reminded them of the hostages, whose lives were thus rendered insecure. Having invested Luceria, he reduced it's defenders to such distress for want of provisions, that they agreed to pass under the yoke, and to restore the hostages. That town belonged to the Apulians; but it was garrisoned by the Samnites, who had drawn their neighbours into the war. Publilius now marched into the heart of the Apulian state, and met with considerable success. Plautius afterward reduced some towns in that territory; but the people were not fully subdued before the consulate of Æmilius Barbula and Junius ¹⁰.

A detail of the war with the Samnites would be uninteresting: a display of it's leading features will be sufficient. The dictator, Æmilius Mamercinus, routed the enemy near Saticula, but could not reduce that town, which his successor Fabius likewise besieged. Several attempts were made by the Samnites to raise the siege; and, on one of these occasions, their chief commander was slain by the master of the horse, who was killed in his turn by the brother of that general. The town was now surrendered to the Romans, who, removing toward Sora, fought twice with various success. Sora was taken by the guidance of a deserter; and three Ausonian towns were also gained by treachery. Luceria had been recently betrayed to the Samnites: it was now seized by the Romans, who put all it's occupants to the sword. A much greater loss was sustained by the enemy in the plains of Campania. The Roman right wing gave way at a time

Ante Chr.

314.

when the left prevailed; but the consuls, Sulpi-

cus and Pœtelius, were at length victorious in every part of the field ¹¹.

In another campaign, the troops of Junius were drawn into a wood by the hope of finding an abundance of cattle: the report was true; but they were not aware that the Samnites were ready to rush in great force upon them from a concealed station. They were not, ^{Ante Chr. 311.} however, confounded, but extricated themselves from danger, and slew a very considerable part of the ambushed host.

Stimulated in all probability by the persuasions of the Samnites, the Etrurians had for some time been meditating a new war. They began with the siege of Sutrium; and, when Æmilius Barbula advanced to it's relief, they attacked him with great fury. He obtained the chief honor of the day; but he dearly purchased his victory. Fabius engaged the same enemy with sanguinary effect; and, when those who fled from the terrors of the Roman sword had entered the Ciminian forest, he detached his brother to explore a passage through it in disguise. He then led the army through it, routed ^{Ante Chr. 310.} the tumultuary force which he found near it's extremity, and returned to the vicinity of Sutrium with valuable spoils ¹².

The Etrurians now prevailed upon the Umbrians to join them; and a great army approached the Roman camp. Fabius led out his men before the dawn, assaulted the confederates when they were unprepared, and slew or captured an extraordinary number. Intimidated by this severe loss, three of the Etrurian states solicited the favor of peace, and obtained a long armistice.

11 About 30,000 of the Samnites are said to have been killed or made prisoners on that day. *Liv.* lib. ix. cap. 27.—The Romans slew above 10,000. *Diod.* xix. 86.—I leave these disputable enumerations to the judgement of the reader.

12 *Liv.* lib. ix. cap. 32, 35, 36.—*Diod.* lib. xx.

An alarm being excited at Rome by the supposed danger of the consul Marcius, who had fought unsuccessfully with the Samnites, Papirius was requested to resume the dictatorial office; and this able general soon retrieved the

Ante Chr. credit of the Roman arms. His lieutenant, Junius,

309. first disordered the enemy, by an attack upon that body which faced the left wing. The dictator, apprehending a loss of honor, if the victory should begin from any division except that which he peculiarly commanded, led the right wing into action with an air of confidence and alacrity; while Valerius and Decius judiciously directed the exertions of the cavalry, by assailing both flanks at the same time¹³. The victory was complete; and the triumph was rendered unusually splendid by the display of a great number of captured shields, curiously inlaid with gold and silver. Fabius equally distinguished himself by his success over the Etrurians, whom he routed in two engagements. His triumph, in the public eye, was even more honorable than that of his rival, the dictator. The consulate was re-conferred upon him at the next election; and the gallant Decius was appointed his colleague; while Valerius was rewarded with the dignity of prætor. The Samnites were again chastised in Ante Chr. the field; and the Etrurians were so harassed,
308. that the whole nation called for peace; but they were only gratified with a suspension of arms for one year, which they purchased by a grant of money and military clothing¹⁴.

The Umbrians ridiculed the terrors of the Etrurians, and persuaded a great number of them to march to the attack of Rome itself, without regarding the armistice. Fabius hastened from Samnium to oppose the confederates, over whom he quickly prevailed. He then, while

¹³ Diodorus says not a word of this battle, though he mentions some petty exploits of the Romans.

¹⁴ Liv. lib. ix. cap. 38—41.

the consul Volumnius made a successful campaign against the Salentines, returned to attack the Samnites, whom he defeated near Allifæ. Among their auxiliaries were found many of the Hernicians; and, while the senate prosecuted an inquiry, whether these men had been forced into the service, or acted as volunteers, the whole nation declared war against the Romans: but these revolvers were, with little difficulty, reduced to submission. The Samnites were afterward attacked by one consular army, while they were engaged with another; and they were routed with dreadful slaughter. In the following year, they were again defeated with such severity of loss, that they despaired of the ability of continuing the contest. They now renewed their supplications for peace; Ante Chr. 304. and the senate, considering them as sufficiently humbled, agreed to a treaty. The Æqui, having assisted them in the war, became the objects of Roman vengeance. The consuls could not find an army to oppose, but successively reduced the towns of the enemy, most of which they wantonly demolished. A subsequent campaign was conducted by the dictator Junius, whose success was deemed sufficient to entitle him to the honorable gratification of a triumph¹⁵.

War seemed to be the element in which the Romans lived. The Marsians, who, for disaffection to the Ante Chr. 301. republic, had been already chastised, re-took arms, and were again defeated. The lieutenant of the dictator Valerius suffered some disgrace in a campaign against the Etrurians; and an exaggerated report of the misfortune diffused terror among the citizens of Rome; but Valerius dissipated all apprehensions by triumphing over the enemy.

To relieve the horrors of this picture of multiplied hostilities, I will offer some remarks on the state of parties at Rome. Although the plebeians had met with success in

some important pretensions, they were not so fully satisfied as to relinquish all farther claims. They yet complained of the prevalence of the patricians, with whom they wished to be entirely upon a par, in point of regular authority and official power. They had formed high expectations of benefit from the zeal of Appius Claudius, surnamed the Blind, who, while he filled the office of censor, extended, even to the sons of freed-men, the privilege of admission into the senate, and, to the great disgust of the pious patricians, gave the priesthood of Hercules to slaves. But these innovations were not suffered to obtain a permanent sanction; and the disappointment was not sufficiently compensated by the permission of appointing sixteen out of twenty-four tribunes in the consular legions, or of naming two inspectors of the naval establishment. Appius, still courting popularity, dispersed the lowest of the citizens among all the tribes, so as to influence the elections in that preponderating degree which could not please the patricians; but the spirited exertions of Fabius checked this encroachment, and baffled the views of the new advocate of popular pretensions. Thus the two parties were employed in mutual observance and counter-action.

Such was the political state of Rome, when an alarming confederacy threatened even her existence with danger.

LETTER XIII.

History of ROME, to the Commencement of the first PUNIC WAR.

THE rising fame and power of Rome, which occasionally intimidated the neighbouring nations, served at other times to rouse and animate their courage. The Etrurians had so far shaken off the influence of terror, that they re-

solved to act with extraordinary spirit, in the hope of avenging former defeats. When they were on the point of renewing the war, a Gallic army appeared within their frontiers. As it was the wish of the former to procure assistance, they offered money to the Gauls for an alliance against the Romans. The barbarians readily accepted it, but refused to act, unless a considerable portion of land should be transferred to them. Thus disappointed, the Etrurians avoided a conflict with the veteran Valerius, who endeavoured by ravages to draw them into action: but, in the next year, they opposed a consular army with vigor and obstinacy.

By molesting the Lucanians for a refusal of their alliance, the Samnites entailed upon themselves a new war. Cnæus Fulvius¹ proved victorious over them near Bovianum, and reduced two of their towns. Fabius advanced against their augmented army, stationed near the Tifernus; and it was with no small difficulty that he gained the advantage. Decius, having by an opportune attack prevented the Apulians from joining them, concurred with Fabius in a series of destructive ravages. Some of their strongest towns were afterward taken; and, when one of their armies had been plundering Campania, the marauders were surprised by Volumnius, routed, and dispossessed of their spoils and captives. The Etrurians, reinforced by Gauls and Umbrians, were attacked both by that consul and by Appius, and defeated with the loss of 7000 men.

To repel the attacks of four confederate nations, required extraordinary exertions on the part of the Romans. Not only young men, but the middle-aged and even the old, were required to assist in the defence of the country; and preparations for a very spirited war were conducted with the greatest diligence and zeal. Fabius and Decius were

1 The *Fasti Capitolini* attribute the renewal of the war with the Samnites to the consulate of Marcus Fulvius Pætinus in 299.

re-chosen consuls; and, advancing into Etruria, they
 Ante Chr. found the enemy ready for action. The former,
 295. with the right wing, kept his adversaries in check,
 for many hours, without prevailing over them: indeed,
 he with-held his strength out of policy, being of opinion
 that both the Samnites and the Gauls were rather fierce
 at the onset than perseveringly resolute, and that their
 spirits would fail long before the vigor of his men would
 decline. His associate had no idea of that kind: he
 wished to make an early impression, and quickly sent his
 cavalry into action, as the infantry, he thought, were not
 sufficiently brisk and alert. Twice did they repel the op-
 posing horse: but, when the Gallic war-chariots were
 brought into play, a panic seised the whole left wing. All
 the expostulations of Decius could not rally the retiring
 men. After a short deliberation, he invoked the *manès*
 of his father, whose patriotic example he resolved to imi-
 tate. Having devoted himself and the enemy to death,
 in the form ordained by the pontifical law, he met his
 fate among the hostile ranks. The astonished Gauls
 paused: the Romans renewed the conflict, and, aided by
 a detachment from the reserve, gradually obtained the
 advantage. Fabius, when the Samnites were fatigued and
 dispirited, ordered his cavalry to flank them; and the
 advance of the last line concurred with this transverse at-
 tack to throw them into confusion. A body of horse, at
 the same time, assaulted the Gauls in the rear: and the
 victory was at length completed ².

Soon after this memorable engagement, the Samnites

² By Livy's account, 25,000 of the Gauls and Samnites were slain, and 8000 captured; while 8200 fell on the Roman side. According to him, the Etrurians and Umbrians did not act on this occasion. It was their intention, he says, to attack the Roman camp, while their allies were warmly engaged; but Fabius, being apprised of this scheme, took such measures as prevented the attempt.

The obstinate resistance of the Samnites may well excite the astonishment both of the historian and the reader: but Livy has fallen into a great error, in representing the war with that nation as having an uninterrupted course (*bella*

were defeated with great loss by Appius and Volumnius ; and the Etrurians were severely harassed with ravages and conflicts. The next campaign was less sanguinary ; but it by no means declined into languor. The consul Atilius Regulus, on the frontiers of Sam-
Ante Chr. 294.
 nium, repelled a detachment which had penetrated into the heart of his camp ; and, near Luceria, he was in great danger of being defeated ; but, turning the tide, he captured above 7000 men, although the number of the slain, in his army, exceeded the amount of those whom the Romans destroyed. Posthumius wrested some towns from both nations, and compelled three of the Etrurian states to pay a fine and accept a truce.

A signal^a victory which was obtained by Papirius, reminded the Romans of the fame and services of his father, the celebrated dictator. Near Aquilonia he engaged the Samnites, while the other consul, Carvilius, was
Ante Chr. 293.
 employed in the siege of Cominium. A part of the hostile army had taken an oath, amidst the sacrificial slaughter of men and cattle, to fight perseveringly, and not have recourse to flight : but such was the Roman *impetus*, that this oath, even at first, had little effect, and, at last, became nugatory. The carnage was dreadful³ ; the flight was disorderly and precipitate. The camp was seised ; and, one gate of Aquilonia being forced, the whole town was abandoned in the night. Carvilius took Cominium by

Samnitiūm continue) from the consulate of Valerius and Cornelius, in the 343d year before our æra, to the time when this battle was fought. It would be a mere cavil to say, that it was occasionally discontinued for many months ; for all wars have intervals of inaction : but it appears that, after the triumph of those consuls, the Samnites remained quiet until the year 341, when they were constrained to make peace ; that they adhered to this treaty for *fourteen years* (for it was in 327 that they sent troops to Palæopolis) ; that, in 318, a truce was adjusted for two years, and not violated ; that a treaty of alliance was concluded with them in 304 ; and the war was not renewed before 299. Can this be called a continuity of war ?

3 But, in all probability, it was far from reaching the number stated by Livy—30,340.

storm ; and both towns, when the victorious soldiers had carried off the spoils, were reduced to ashes. Many other fortified places, in Samnium and in Etruria, were taken, with great loss on the part of the defenders⁴.

One of the following consuls, although he was a son of the great Fabius, disgraced himself by military misconduct. He eagerly attacked the Samnites ; and, when
 Ante Chr. about 3000 of his men had fallen, night alone
 292. saved the rest of his army. Being summoned by the senate to answer for his folly and negligence, he avoided the stigma of removal by the interest of his father, who stipulated for his future good behaviour, and offered to attend him in the camp. Another engagement ensued, in which Pontius directed his chief efforts against the consul ; whom, when endangered, his parent rescued. The Romans were now victorious ; but they sullied their triumph by the deliberate murder of Pontius⁵.

No very remarkable incidents distinguished the consulate of Posthumius Megellus. He treated his ple-
 Ante Chr. beian fellow-magistrate, Junius, with the utmost
 291. contempt ; ordered the younger Fabius, who acted as proconsul, to quit his province ; and behaved with arrogance even to the senatorial body. In the course of his year of action, he took several towns, and slew some thousands of the Samnites ; but, as soon as his government expired, he was tried for having employed a part of his army in the cultivation of his own lands, and subjected to a heavy fine⁶.

The next campaign inflicted new disasters on
 Ante Chr. the Samnites, who, imploring peace, were ad-
 290. mitted to an alliance. The Sabines, not intimidated by the misfortunes of other communities, now rushed into

4 Liv. lib. x. cap. 38—46.

5 Epit. Livii Hist. lib. xi.—J. Freinshemii Supplementa Liviana.—Here begins a chasm in Livy's history, of which the far greater part, to the irreparable misfortune of the literary world, is no longer extant.

6 Excerpt. è Dionysii Halicarn. Libris perditis.

arms⁷. Curius Dentatus, by dividing his army, constrained them to take the same step; and they were repeatedly routed. They supplicated pardon, and were again considered as the allies of Rome.

A respite from war encouraged the plebeians to a revival of dispute. They complained of the weight of their debts, and loudly called for relief; and, after fruitless attempts to soften what they termed the obduracy of their creditors, a great number of the inferior citizens seceded from the rest of the community. To quell all seditious movements, Hortensius was named dictator. By an authoritative renewal of a neglected statute for the universal obligation of laws ordained in meetings of the tribes, and by other concessions, he quieted the mal-contented.

The severe blow which the Gauls (denominated Senones) had received from Fabius, had induced them to abstain from war with the Romans for eleven years, except that they suffered their young adventurers to enter into the Etrurian service: but they now invested Arretium. The inhabitants of that city and the circumjacent territory were not in alliance with Rome: yet, as they had received the indulgence of a very long truce, deputies were sent by the senate to recommend a dereliction of the siege. These envoys were assassinated by order of Britomaris, a young man of high lineage, whose father had lost his life by the Roman sword. The consul Dolabella retaliated this murder by the death of many of the Senones, when he subjected their territories to a course of devastation. Near Arretium, the prætor Cæcilius attacked the Gauls; by whom he was slain, with a great number of his men. Having assembled all their countrymen whom they could find in

⁷ It does not appear that all the Sabine states were incorporated with the Romans in the reign of Romulus; but such as were not so united, were bound by a federal treaty, which they now violated.

Etruria, the Senones eagerly advanced, in the vain hope of reducing the capital of their haughty enemies. They were met by Domitius, who coolly sustained the fierce assault which they made upon his army. Many fell in the conflict; others killed themselves in despair. Those who then escaped were encouraged, by a reinforcement of Boii and Etrurians, to contend with Dolabella, near the lake Vadimon; but he totally routed these confederates, and actually extirpated the Senones⁸.

A league which threatened danger to the increasing power of Rome, was now formed against that republic, chiefly by the persuasions and arts of the rulers of the Tarentine state. Alarmed at that warlike spirit which seemed to aim at the complete conquest of Italy, those statesmen had roused other communities to vigorous action, that the Romans might be checked in their career, before they should become too powerful to be easily withstood. The Samnites, expecting a strenuous co-operation, resolved to disregard their last treaty⁹: the Etrurians (but not all their states) professed their zeal in the cause of independence; and the Lucanians and Brutians were persuaded to join them. Ante Chr. 282. Fabricius led an army to the southern confines of Lucania, where the allies were besieging Thurium. He encountered them with such effective vigor, that they lost a great part of their army: many also fell in the defence of their camp.

Not aware of the intrigues of the Tarentines, the commander of a Roman fleet prepared to enter the harbour of their capital. Either suspecting hostile intentions, or pleased with an opportunity of crushing that naval force

⁸ Supplementa Liviana, lib. xii.

⁹ Florus accuses them of having *six times* violated their treaties with the Romans. I do not mean to vindicate their breach of faith; for I reprobate such conduct as much in public as in private life: but the assertion is not true, as far as we may judge from better authority. He should have said *four times*. See note 2.

which seemed to be within their grasp, the citizens denied the right of the Romans to sail beyond the Lacinian promontory, and began to attack the intruding vessels, five of which escaped, while five were sunk or taken, the admiral himself being drowned. Many of the captives were put to death, and the rest enslaved. After these outrages, the Tarentines, reproaching the people of Thurium for having invited the Romans into that part of Italy, seized and plundered their town. Posthumius and other ambassadors were sent to insist upon compensation and atonement; but they were ridiculed and grossly insulted. When the offended senator held up his robe, which had been defiled by one of the rabble, the theatre (which was the place of audience) resounded with laughter. He exclaimed, "Laugh, Tarentines, while ye can; ye will soon have cause to weep¹⁰."

These insults did not immediately influence the senate to a hostile declaration against the Tarentines. Many days were employed in doubtful debates; and the affair was at length submitted to popular deliberation. It was then determined, that war should be declared. Ante Chr. 281. To meet the approaching storm, one of the speakers, in a public assembly at Tarentum, proposed that Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, should be invited as an auxiliary. It was the opinion of many, that the Romans would accommodate all disputes upon honorable terms, rather than suffer a prince, so warlike and powerful, to be introduced into Italy; or that, if they should not make any concessions, he would be able effectually to protect Tarentum. Some apprehended that he would encroach on the liberty and independence of the state; but this objection was over-ruled, and he was invited in due form.

The ambition of Pyrrhus exulted in the prospect of ex-

¹⁰ Excerpt, à Dionys. Lib. perd.—Orosii Hist. lib. iv.—Epit. Liv.—Flor. Hist.

tending his power. He hoped soon to subdue Italy : Sicily, he thought, would submit to his yoke in the sequel : and he resolved, if fortune should thus favor him, to aim at the conquest of Carthage. "What will you do (his "friend Cineas asked) when you have realised these "splendid visions?"—"I will enjoy (replied the king) "every kind of amusement and indulgence." "Those "gratifications (rejoined Cineas) you may now command. "Why will you risque the loss of such advantages?" Persisting in his schemes, Pyrrhus sent a body of his military subjects to Tarentum, and promised to transport a considerable army in the ensuing year ¹¹.

Æmilius Barbula, who was consul with Marcius Philippus, had invaded the Tarentine country, and ravaged it with little opposition : but, on the arrival of the first *corps* of Epirots, he retired into Lucania, through a narrow pass between craggy rocks and the sea, securing his troops from molestation by placing his prisoners on each side.

Pyrrhus, before he reached the Italian coast, was endangered by a storm, which dispersed and damaged his fleet. He leaped overboard, and swam to the shore ; and entered Tarentum with a very small part of the army which had left Epirus. He was hailed by the citizens as their friend and protector ; but he did not long retain their favorable opinion ; for, as soon as the bulk of his force arrived, he prohibited all public amusements, restrained luxury, checked idleness, and compelled the junior inhabitants to enter into the military service. He enforced discipline with severity, and acted with arbitrary violence.

The conduct of the war against this prince was committed to Valerius Lævinus ; on whose approach, a herald was sent with a letter, intimating that it was the wish of Pyrrhus to be an arbitrator between the Romans and

Tarentines. The consul answered, "We do not acknowledge your right to be our judge, nor do we fear you as an enemy. Mars, the founder of our nation, is the only judge to whom we appeal." The two armies met near Heraclea; but many weeks passed before a general engagement was risked. Some spies, who were discovered by the Romans, were conducted by order of Valerius through all parts of the camp, and then sent back to Pyrrhus, that they might give a full account of what they had seen. Not having been joined by the force which he expected from the Italian states, the king was unwilling to be the aggressor; but, when the Romans had commenced an attack, he and his troops fought with great spirit. Being marked out by his adversaries, he changed his dress with Megacles; whose fall, soon after, occasioned a report of the death of his master. The Epirots would probably have fled, if Pyrrhus had not shown himself, without his helmet, in various parts of the field. Each side repeatedly gave way, and again faced the enemy. The last resource of Valerius was an order for his cavalry to emerge from concealment, and assault the rear of his opponents. Pyrrhus, who had in reserve a body of elephants, with select warriors on their backs, brought them forth to decide the fortune of the day. Unaccustomed to the sight of such combatants, both men and horses were terrified; and the greatest confusion arose, which soon diffused itself among the infantry. The king now commanded his Thessalian cavalry to advance; and resistance, on the part of the Romans, at length ceased. Looking at many of his prostrate foes¹², he observed that their wounds were in front, and that they retained, even in death, a ferocity of countenance. "With such soldiers" (said he) "I could conquer the world!" He treated his

¹² Some accounts elevate the number of the slain, in the consular army, to 15,000; by other statements, only 7000 fell. Pyrrhus is said to have lost 13,000 men; but some have reduced his loss to 4000.

prisoners with humanity, and did not express any displeasure at their refusal of serving under his standard. Being now joined by the Lucanians and Samnites, he ravaged Campania, but was prevented by Valerius, who had been reinforced, from taking possession of Capua. When he had reached the neighbourhood of Præneste, within twenty-five miles of Rome, Coruncanius, who had subdued some of the Etrurian states, checked his advance by a firm front; and, as Valerius was also prepared to retrieve his credit, the prudent monarch marched back to Tarentum¹³.

A wish to recover the captives¹⁴, who had fought with alacrity until the elephants made their appearance, prompted the senate to depute Fabricius and other persons of distinction to the court of Pyrrhus; to whose choice it was left whether he would have an exchange or ransom. Cineas advised him to a gratuitous restitution, and recommended peace with the Romans, whom he had no reason either to hate or despise. The king consented to surrender the prisoners without ransom, on condition of peace and alliance. To Fabricius, in a private conference, he offered as much gold as would make him the most opulent of all the Romans, if he would persuade the senate to conclude an equitable treaty, and would then reside at his court as a friend and counsellor. The Roman, who gloried in his poverty, treated the offer with contempt¹⁵. Pyrrhus, not appearing to be offended, still professed his desire of a reconciliation with the republic, and instantly liberated 200 of the captives. He sent Cineas to Rome, with presents¹⁶ for the senators and their wives, and full powers of negotiation. The terms proposed were, that he should be permitted to enter Rome; that the Tarentines should

13 Plut. Vit. Pyrrhi.—Eutrop. lib. ii.—Flor. lib. i.

14 The number of these amounted to 1800. *Eutrop.*

15 Excerpt. à Dionys. lib. perd.

16 Which, say Plutarch and Justin, were peremptorily refused.

be comprehended in the treaty ; and that the Samnites, Lucanians, and Brutians, should be reinstated in all their privileges and possessions. The senate seemed inclined to acquiesce in these proposals ; but Appius so strongly inveighed against them, as unreasonable and disgraceful, that a continuance of the war was voted ; and it was declared, that no negotiation should be carried on with Pyrrhus, before his departure from Italy¹⁷. When the king asked the ambassador, after his abrupt dismissal, what he thought of the city, and of the council to which he had been introduced, he answered, that “ Rome seemed like a great temple, and the senate like an assembly of many kings¹⁸. ”

The negotiation being thus broken off, a spirited prosecution of the war marked the animosity of both parties. Apulia became the scene of action. Sul-
Ante Chr. 279.
 picus and Decius attacked the confederates near Asculum ; and neither party had reason to boast of victory. Both sustained great loss ; and Pyrrhus returned, unpursued, to his Tarentine station¹⁹.

At the opening of the next campaign, the conduct of Fabricius afforded, to his countrymen, a new cause of admiration. A traitor having offered, for a great
Ante Chr. 278.
 reward, to poison the king, the consul sent him back to the royal camp with an intimation of his murderous plot. Pyrrhus exclaimed, “ The sun will sooner change his regular course, than Fabricius will deviate from rectitude and justice ! ”—and he instantly ordered the unconditional release of all the prisoners ; for whom, with a due sense of honor, the senate gave in exchange the same number of Tarentines and Samnites. He again signified his wish for peace ; but the Romans refused to negotiate with him while he remained in Italy²⁰.

He was, for some time, undetermined how to act. His

17 Supplem. Liv. lib. xiii.

19 Flor. lib. i. cap. 18.

18 Βασιλεων πολλων συνεδριον. Plut.

20 Supplem. Liv. lib. xiii.

Italian allies conjured him not to withhold his protection: a strong party among the Macedonians invited him to take advantage of the disordered state of their kingdom; and he was also requested to pass over into Sicily, and check the progress of the Carthaginians. He at length resolved to accept the last invitation; and his arms prospered in that island, while Fabricius carried on the war against the Brutians, Tarentines, and their allies, with such vigor, as to obtain the honor of a splendid triumph. They were not, however, entirely subdued by that able general; for a continuance of the war was deemed necessary.

Cornelius Rufinus, who, notwithstanding the intervention of private animosity, had procured the consulate by the influence of Fabricius, proved himself to be an active leader in the work of devastation; but neither he, nor his associate Junius, could force the entrenchments of the Samnites, who slew many of the assailants. Some advantages were afterward obtained over the Brutians and Lucanians; and those harassed nations were on the point of being subjugated, when Pyrrhus, having met with a reverse of fortune in Sicily, embarked for the opposite coast: but he did not arrive in Italy before the Carthaginians had defeated his navy; and he had scarcely landed, when he was attacked by the Mamertines, whom he with great difficulty repelled²¹.

Curius was a proper antagonist for the Epirot king. His courage was indisputable; and he was not destitute of skill or policy. He made choice of a situation in which the strength of the Macedonian phalanx could not be effectually employed against him; and he delayed an engagement, not only from his expectation

21 Plut. Vit. Pyrrhi.—Zonaræ Annales, lib. viii.—Zonaras is not a very ancient writer, as he flourished in the twelfth century; but, as he probably had recourse to many histories which are now lost, and prosecuted his task with care and diligence, he merits occasional consultation.

of a reinforcement, but because the auspices and auguries were unfavorable in the eye of superstition. Pyrrhus was eager for action, while the troops under each consul were in different stations. When he approached, Curius did not decline his challenge. The Epirots first gave way : the elephants were then brought forward, and one of the Roman wings began to retreat ; but the beasts, being harassed by darts and combustible missiles, became ungovernable, and spread confusion among their friends. A signal victory was at length obtained by Curius, who, by a great slaughter, chastised the bold invaders of Italy. Cornelius Lentulus, in the same campaign prevailed over the Samnites and Lucanians : but his triumph attracted little notice, in comparison with that of his colleague, whose car was preceded by captives of polished nations, and attended (beside the exhibition of turreted elephants) with a display of wrought gold and silver, elegant tapestry, and admired productions of the pencil and the chisel²².

While Pyrrhus amused his dejected confederates with promises of farther exertion, he had formed the resolution of a speedy return to Epirus. The re-election of his fortunate adversary to the consulate was not calculated to alter his purpose. Leaving a garrison at Tarentum, he departed with his diminished army, and turned his attention to other enterprises. His allies were attacked with success by Claudius Canina, and with decisive effect by Papirius and Carvilius²³, to the great joy of the senate and the people, who thus extended their influence to the extremity of Italy. But the citadel of Ta-
Ante Chr.
272.
rentum was not immediately reduced. The citizens, bearing of the death of Pyrrhus, applied to the Carthaginians for protection. A Punic fleet soon arrived in the harbour, and the fortress was invested by sea, while the Romans

²² Supplem. Liv. lib. xiv.

²³ According to the Fasti Capitolini, both these consuls triumphed over the Tarentines, Samnites, Lucanians, and Brutians.

besieged it by land. Papirius, who particularly wished to prevent it from falling into the hands of the Carthaginians, made secret promises of favor to Milo, the commandant, and at length procured a surrender of the place. The Tarantines were punished by the seizure of their arms and ships, and by the imposition of a tribute.

Asanguinary act of justice was soon after performed upon
 Ante Chr. the remains of a Campanian legion, which had
 271. been sent to garrison Rhegium, on the first appearance of Pyrrhus in Italy. These military ruffians had massacred the greater part of the male inhabitants, and expelled the rest; and, elate with temporary success, had also murdered the Roman garrison at Croton. Being besieged in Rhegium by the consul Genucius, many of them fell by the chance of war: the rest, to the amount of 300, were decapitated by the just severity of the senate²⁴.

For six years from this time, few particulars concerning the republic remain on record. We find the consul Cornelius triumphing over the Sarsinates, an Umbrian state: we are afterward informed of the complete subjugation of the Umbrians by Fabius Pictor: we read of a very sanguinary conflict with the Picentes, whom Sempronius subdued: the Salentines are also represented as falling under the yoke, in consequence of the activity and vigor of Atilius Regulus; and it appears that the Volsinian allies of Rome, oppressed by slaves whom they had emancipated and armed, were rescued by legionary aid from the most inhuman tyranny²⁵.

²⁴ Polybii Hist. lib. i.—Epit. Liv.

²⁵ Flor. lib. i.—Oros. lib. iv.

LETTER XIV.

History of the ROMANS, during the first Punic War, and to the Beginning of the second.

THE warlike operations of the Romans had been hitherto confined to the continent of Italy; and, as their neighbours were brave and enterprising, the conquest of that country, even with the exclusion of Cis-alpine Gaul, was a very slow and difficult work. From the attainment of royalty by Romulus to the acquisition of the southern part of Magna Græcia by the senate and the people, almost five hundred years may be reckoned; and, during that long period, the struggling dynasty was repeatedly in danger of total ruin. Courage and fortitude, however, saved the state: a succession of warriors and patriots gradually elevated the Roman name, and paved the way to aggrandisement and supremacy.

The primary cause of the war between the Romans and Carthaginians may be found in the ambition and jealousy of each state. The former began to taste the sweets of extended dominion; and, as they had reached the strait which divides Italy from Sicily, they cast a look of cupidity upon that fertile and flourishing island. The latter were equally fond of power; and, having observed the bold spirit of the Italian republic, wished to give it a seasonable check. While they pretended to be the allies of Rome, they had no friendship or cordial regard for her, and would have witnessed her ruin with sensations of real joy.

A body of Mamertines had passed over from Italy, and seized Messina, after murdering or expelling the male inhabitants. Being attacked by the Syracusans, they applied to the Romans for protection. The senate not being inclined to assist such inhuman and unprincipled adventurers, the people voted for a compliance

with the request. A military tribune went over, in a fishing-boat, to learn the exact state of affairs; and, when he found that a part of the community had introduced a Carthaginian garrison into the place, he hastily returned to Rhegium, whence he put to sea with a few galleys. These were repelled by the Punic fleet; and the Romans were accused of having violated the treaty of alliance, in endeavouring to force a passage over a strait of which the Carthaginians were masters. The tribune soon re-appeared at Messina, and procured the ejection of the garrison. Hiero, king of Syracuse, then formed a league with the Carthaginians for the exclusion of the Romans from Sicily; and the confederates prosecuted with vigor the siege of Messina, after Hanno, the Punic general, had put to death all his soldiers of Italian extraction¹.

Appius Claudius, who shared the consulate with Fulvius Flaccus, transported an army into Sicily by
 Ante Chr. 264. the favor of night, and attacked the troops of Hiero. The Syracusans compelled the cavalry to give way, but were driven by the infantry within their entrenchments; and the king soon after led them back to his capital. An assault was then made upon the well-fortified camp of the Carthaginians, who, when a spirited defence had driven off the invaders, were encouraged to leave the spot where they could fight to advantage, and suffered severely for this act of imprudence. The siege was now raised; and the consul made preparations for the investment of Syracuse. Having involved himself in danger, he escaped by holding out to Hiero the prospect of a negotiation; and, leaving troops to protect the Mamertines, he returned to Italy.

The Romans were highly pleased at this beginning of
 Ante Chr. 263. the contest, although the advantages obtained were not very considerable. Valerius and Oc-

¹ Polyb. lib. i.—Epit. Liv. lib. xvi.—Zonar. lib. viii.

tacilius were sent to conduct that transmarine war which seemed to promise an increase of fame and territory. When they had taken one fortified place by storm, and were besieging another, such was the terror which they diffused, that a great number of towns were yielded without defence. Having strengthened their army with auxiliaries from these towns, they encamped near Syracuse, and would have besieged that city, if Hiero, reposing greater confidence in the honor and power of Rome than in the friendship of Carthage, had not made overtures of peace. He was required to pay for the indulgence, and was allowed to retain Syracuse and its dependencies².

Agrigentum was the chief seat of the Carthaginian power in Sicily; and it therefore became the ^{Ante Chr.} chief object of Roman hostility. When five ^{262.} months had elapsed from the investment of the place, the Romans would have retired from the walls, if Hiero had not occasionally supplied their wants. Hanno, who commanded a great army in the neighbourhood, was eager to engage, when the consuls were unwilling to risque a conflict; and, when they were disposed for action, he declined the challenge. Two additional months passed in indecision; and then, on an intimation of the distressed state of the garrison, Hanno approached the Roman camp. A battle ensued, in which the loss and disgrace were chiefly on his side; and a simultaneous *sortie* from the town was easily repelled. The greater part of the garrison, soon after, escaped by night: the town was pillaged by the legionaries; and above 24,000 of the male inhabitants were sold as slaves³.

As the enemy harassed the Italian coasts, the senate felt the necessity of providing a better fleet than ^{Ante Chr.} the republic had hitherto possessed. A Cartha- ^{261.} ginian galley, furnished with five rows of oars, had been

² Excerpt. à Diod. Sic. lib. xxiii.—Polyb. lib. i.

³ Diod.—Polyb.

driven on shore near Rhegium: this was closely examined; and one hundred vessels were rapidly constructed on that model, beside twenty of smaller dimensions⁴. The consul Cnæus Cornelius being drawn into the port of Lipara by an artifice of the enemy, seventeen of the new
 Ante Chr. galleys were captured with him: but the fleet
 260. which he had ordered to follow him took many ships from the Carthaginians, before the commander of their navy could make proper dispositions for an engagement.

To the prows of the Roman vessels, grappling machines were fixed, that the men might fight closely, as upon land. The Carthaginians, trusting to their skill and superiority of number, laughed at this contrivance; but they soon found that their derision was misplaced. They fell in heaps, when they were constrained to join in close combat with Duilius and his inexperienced marines: thirty of their ships were captured, and thirteen sunk⁵.

The novelty of this success gave great joy to the Romans; and Duilius triumphed amidst an excess of popular congratulation. He was so elate with his victory, that, whenever he returned from an entertainment in the evening, he announced his approach by the glare of flambeaux, and the animating sound of the pipe. His opponent was Hannibal⁶, who escaped in a boat from the heat of action, and sent a friend to Carthage on pretence of learning the will of the senate, whether it was proper for him to engage the Roman fleet. "That is undoubtedly our wish," was the answer. "He has fought (said his friend), and has been vanquished." He thus escaped punishment for his ill success, as what the assembly pro-

⁴ Polyb. lib. i.—Florus says, that, within sixty days after the trees had been cut down for timber, one hundred and sixty ships were lying at anchor: but he is addicted to amplification and embellishment.

⁵ Aurel. Vict. de Viris Illust.—Polybius says, that they lost fifty ships.

⁶ Not the celebrated general.

nounced to be expedient could not be a fair ground of accusation⁷.

When Duilius, after the reduction of some towns, had left the camp, Hamilcar, taking advantage of dissensions which had broken out in the army on the subject of precedency, attacked a separate body, and slew about 4000 of the allies of Rome. Other instances of good fortune attended the arms of Carthage: but the Romans, full of hope and confidence, disregarded these checks, and not only expected soon to ruin the Punic interest in Sicily, but also to dislodge their enemies from Corsica and Sardinia.

While the Carthaginians seemed to prosper in Sicily, Lucius Cornelius subdued Corsica. He then invaded Sardinia, and, near Olbia, encountered Hanno, who, when he saw his troops on the point of being defeated, rushed amidst the hostile ranks, and quickly lost his life. The conquest of several towns followed the consul's victory. In the following campaign, Sulpicius carried on the war with success in the same island, and thence sailed toward the coast of Africa.

Ante Chr.
259.

Ante Chr.
258.

Both his fleet, and that of Hannibal, were harassed by a storm, and each took refuge in a Sardinian port. Being informed that the Romans were again proceeding to Africa, Hannibal incautiously attacked them. Some of his vessels were sunk, and others captured; and the unfortunate commander was crucified by his own soldiers or seamen for that negligence which was supposed to have occasioned his defeat⁸.

In Sicily, Atilius Calatinus did not conduct the war with uniform success. He took Mutistratum, which, in a former campaign, had been besieged above six months, and had also undergone a second siege without effect. The Punic

⁷ Valer. Max. lib. iii. cap. 6; vii. 3.

⁸ Epit. Liv. lib. xvii.—Polyb. lib. i.

garrison having marched off in the night, the Romans rushed into the town at day-break, and, with vindictive fury, murdered every one whom they met, whether man, woman, or child, until the consul checked the slaughter. Near Camarina, the troops were exposed to great danger in a narrow valley, commanded by heights which the enemy occupied; but a resolute and patriotic tribune, named Calpurnius, ascended an eminence with only 300 men, and kept the Carthaginians in employ by a fierce attack, so as to give the consular army an opportunity of escape. He alone was found by Atilius with the spark of life not extinct; and he was enabled to serve his country on other occasions; but a wreath of grass, it is said, was his only recompence. Several towns were then taken; but the consul reaped only loss and disgrace from the siege of Lipara⁹.

The war was at length transferred to Africa. Encouraged by a recent instance of maritime success, the Romans prosecuted their naval equipments with great Ante Chr. 256. zeal; and 330 of their vessels were ready to engage. Eager to preclude all access to the Carthaginian coast, another Hanno made his appearance with 350 ships; and a fierce conflict ensued near Heraclea. Manlius and Atilius Regulus made judicious arrangements; and, with their fleet disposed in the form of a triangle, attacked the enemy in the middle of an extended line. Fortune favored the consuls, who, after a three-fold collision, put Hanno and Hamilcar to flight, capturing sixty-three vessels, and sinking thirty, while only twenty-four were sunk on the side of the Romans, and not one became a prize¹⁰.

After this great success, the Romans proceeded to Africa without farther obstruction. They landed near Clupea, seized that town, and ravaged the country. A

part of the army then returned to Rome with Manlius, while Regulus acted with the rest as proconsul. In a course of devastation, attended with the capture of many towns, he reached the river Bagrada, ^{Ante Chr. 255.} where his troops are said to have had a serious contest with an enormous serpent (perhaps a crocodile), which was at length killed¹¹. He afterward defeated the Carthaginians, who were encamped upon a woody hill, where their cavalry and elephants could not act. Apprehending that a new commander might soon be sent, who would defraud him of the honor of terminating the war, he exhorted the enemy to conclude a peace with him; but so exorbitant were the terms upon which he insisted, that they were rejected with scorn. To the expostulations of the envoys he replied, "You have your option; you must either conquer, or submit to the will of the conquerors."

Roused by this haughty treatment to redoubled energy, the Carthaginians resolved to chastise or expel the invaders. Having procured a supply of mercenaries from Greece, they gave the command of their army to Xanthippus, a Lacedæmonian, who, by encamping on an extensive plain, gave the Romans to understand that a new general had been selected to oppose them. Their infantry yielded to the enemy in number; but their cavalry had a great superiority in that respect. A troop of elephants began the engagement. One division of the Roman foot, avoiding the fury of the beasts, advanced against the Greek auxiliaries, and drove them toward the camp. The front line of the other body sustained for a time the onset of the elephants; but, when the Punic horsemen had dispersed their opponents, and flanked the proconsul's infantry,—and when the latter, boldly push-

11. Epit. Liv. lib. xviii.—Plin. lib. viii. cap. 14.—Valer. Max. lib. i.—No mention is made by Polybius of this monster, the length of which is said to have been 120 feet.

ing forward, met the Carthaginian battalions,—great disorder and dreadful slaughter ensued. Only 2000 of the Romans escaped: about 12,000¹² were slain, and 500 captured with their commander. Xanthippus, dreading the malignant jealousy of his employers, retired from the scene of action, and contented himself with the applause of his countrymen, without claiming any reward for his victory¹³.

The subsequent fate of the captive general is said to have been deplorably calamitous. It is affirmed, that he was sent to Rome to propose peace¹⁴, or (if that could not be obtained) negotiate an exchange of prisoners; that he advised the senate not to agree to either proposition; that, having sworn to return to Carthage, if the overture respecting the captives should be rejected, he reprobated the loose casuistry of the high priest (who said that, having once been allowed to return, as a man *sui juris*, he might remain at Rome without perjury), and soon re-appeared among the enemies of his country, who put him to lingering torture, by confining him in a chest armed with spikes, and leaving him to his fate¹⁵.

The Romans consoled themselves for the defeat of Regulus by the lustre and the advantages of a naval victory. Between Carthage and Clupea, Æmilius and Fulvius en-

12 This is a far more probable calculation than that which elevates the number of victims to 30,000; for Polybius says, that only 15,500 men remained with Regulus, when his colleague had left him; and he must have lost some in the battle which preceded his defeat. It does not appear that he was reinforced in the interval, or that the author omitted the stipendiary allies of Rome, as if they were wholly unworthy of being reckoned in the amount of the army. Even if it should be allowed, that the Roman force under Regulus consisted (as Appian affirms) of 30,000 men, can it be supposed that so many should fall, and (as Polybius says) scarcely more than 800 of the Greeks and Carthaginians? Would *myriads* of Romans thus tamely suffer themselves to be slaughtered?

13 Polyb. lib. i.

14 In the year 250, after the victory of Metellus.

15 Epit. Liv. lib. xviii.—Cicer. de Officiis, lib. i. cap. 13. et ejusdem Orat. 37.—Appiani Hist.—Valer. Max. lib. i.—Eutrop. lib. ii.—Aurel. Vict.—A.

countered the Punic fleet with such vigor, that above 100 ships were sunk or taken, with the loss of only nine on the side of the Romans. This success, however, was followed by a great misfortune; for the consuls, inconsiderately hovering near the Sicilian coast, lost above 250 vessels of war, beside an abundance of small craft. Both perished on this occasion, with a multitude of their men. Not discouraged, the Romans constructed a new fleet Ante Chr. 254. with extraordinary rapidity; and the succeeding consuls renewed the war in Sicily with alacrity and animation. Agrigentum had been recently re-taken by the enemy, and destroyed; but Panormus and other considerable towns were reduced by the Romans.

A new expedition to Africa was undertaken Ante Chr. 253. with a respectable armament: but it was not attended with great advantage; and the returning fleet was so shattered and diminished, that the Romans conceived a disgust to the maritime service. The winds and waves, they thought, had ceased to favor them; and a capricious element was not to be trusted. But, when they reflected on the impossibility of ruining the Carthaginian power in Sicily without a powerful fleet,—and when they found that for two years the legions were almost inactive by land, from a dread of severe misfortune,—they resolved upon the renovation of their marine.

While the work of naval construction was in a favorable train, the proconsul Metellus retrieved by land Ante Chr. 250. the honor of the Roman arms. He was stationed at Panormus, when Asdrubal, encouraged by the late de-

Gell.—In opposition to this united testimony, I shall only mention the silence of Polybius, who was born only 45 years after the time assigned for the catastrophe of Regulus, and whose history affords the most authentic account of that period. The story is not inconsistent with Punic cruelty, or with the spirit of the Roman character; but it may at least be doubted. However the truth may be in that respect, Regulus was certainly a man of some ability and great courage; had a high sense of honor, and was respectable in his private character; and, like other distinguished Romans, he was poor and content.

pression of the Romans and the seeming timidity of their general, advanced to an attack. The elephants rushed upon the light-armed soldiers, who quickly retired into the fosse, whence they sent forth volleys of missiles; while archers, posted upon the walls, severely galled the unwieldy animals, who, turning upon their friends, overwhelmed many, and disordered the ranks. Metellus now rushed out of the town with his main body, and bore down all before him. Great was the slaughter of the foe; and not a few were drowned in endeavouring to reach some ships which appeared off the coast¹⁶.

Hoping to profit by this victory, while the consternation which it had produced among the Carthaginians still subsisted, the senate sent a considerable reinforcement to the army in Sicily; and the consuls invested Lilybæum, which, if we may judge from the length of the siege, was the strongest town in the island. The garrison, not at first weak, received a large accession of force in the course of the year; and the governor was thus encouraged to make an attack upon the *apparatus* and works of the besiegers. Some machines were destroyed; but the enemy returned into the town after a very sanguinary contest. In another sally the engines and towers were burned; and, as all the breaches made in the walls were easily repaired, the operations of the besieging army were frustrated. Finding that the garrison preserved a communication with Drepanum, Claudius, one of the new consuls, sailed to-
 Ante Chr.
 249. ward that town; and some of his ships entered the harbour; but they were soon recalled; and an engagement ensued, very detrimental to the Romans, who, being disadvantageously situated, though greatly superior in point of force, lost 117 vessels, and many thousands of combatants. The superstitious people attributed this disaster to the impiety of Claudius, who,

having unfavorable auspices, had derided the ritual religion of his country. In another conflict, and by a storm, the Romans were deprived of almost their whole navy¹⁷.

The senate now discontinued naval equipments, and yet did not make any extraordinary efforts by land. The governor of Lilybæum still refused to surrender; Ante Chr. 247. and the defenders of Drepanum seemed willing to vie in spirit with their neighbours. Hamilcar Barcas, a brave and skilful commander, fortified a craggy mountain between Eryx (a Roman post) and Panormus; and his detachments harassed the Romans with frequent skirmishes. The coasts of southern Italy were, at the same time, infested by the enemy; but a *flotilla* of privateers (then first allowed to act) spread terror along the coast of Carthage, and, returning to Sicily, engaged a Punic squadron with advantage.

A bold attempt was made upon the town of Ante Chr. 244. Eryx by Hamilcar. The hill on which it was situated, had a Roman fortification at the top, and another near the foot; but, notwithstanding the seeming safety of a town thus placed, it was taken in the night by the active general, who massacred the majority of its occupants. He then invested the upper station, while the troops of the lower post besieged the intermediate town which he had recovered.

The war had now continued for twenty-one Ante Chr. 243. years; and both nations were eager to stop its mischievous course. The funds of the Roman government being inadequate to the renovation of a navy, opulent citizens advanced money for that purpose, under a promise of future reimbursement. Vessels were fabricated to the amount of 200; and various additions augmented, nearly to 300, that fleet which was destined to decide the grand dispute. The consul Lutatius Catulus

17 Polyb. lib. i.—Excerpt. è Diod. lib. xxiv.—Epit. Liv. lib. xix.

Ante Chr. now sailed to Sicily, and surprised the Cartha-
 242. ginians with the appearance of a great arma-
 ment. He engaged Hanno near the isles called Ægates,
 before that commander could (as he intended) form a
 junction with Hamilcar; and the conflict had scarcely
 commenced, when victory declared for the Romans. Ca-
 tulus had been wounded in a recent attack upon Drepa-
 num; but he was not disabled from giving directions; and
 he was ably assisted by the prætor Valerius. Only twelve
 of the Roman vessels were sunk; while the Carthaginians
 lost 120 by demersion and by capture¹⁸.

So discouraged were the rulers of Carthage by this de-
 feat, that they desired Hamilcar to act at his discretion;
 their meaning was, that he should negotiate a peace. The
 consul knew that his countrymen wished for a respite from
 the toils and the miseries of war; and he therefore listened
 to pacific overtures from an humbled enemy. The terms
 adjusted between him and the Punic deputies were of the
 following tenor. Sicily was to be evacuated by the Car-
 thaginians, who were also required to dismiss all their
 prisoners without ransom, to send away all deserters, and
 pay 2200 talents within twenty years. Catulus wished to
 disgrace the general and the garrison of Eryx, by de-
 manding a surrender of their arms; but this requisition
 was treated with indignant scorn¹⁹. Hamilcar, however,
 consented to pay a small sum for each person who should
 quit Eryx, and to give money for every captive in private
 hands. The conditions were rendered more disadvan-
 tageous to the enemy by the senate and people; who
 stipulated, that only ten years should be allowed for the

18 Polyb. lib. i.—Florus says, “ So great was this victory, that the Ro-
 mans no longer thought of ruining the capital of the enemy. It seemed use-
 less to rage against the citadel and the walls, when Carthage was already
 destroyed in the sea.”—*cum jam in mari esset deleta Carthago*.—This author
 was of Spanish extraction; and he was fond of that inflated style which is still
 in vogue among the Spaniards.

19 Cornel. Nep. Vit. Hamilcaris.

payment of the sum stated by the consul ; that 1000 talents should be now paid beside that grant ; that neither party should molest the allies of the other ; and that, from the islands near Sicily, every subject of Carthage should depart. To these stipulations a reluctant assent was given²⁰.

The wish of each nation, for undisturbed Ante Chr. 241. peace, was soon obstructed. From a motive not stated, the Faliscians took arms, and ventured upon two engagements. One was indecisive ; the other terminated in the defeat and submission of the insurgents. This war was closed within six days ; but that which harassed the Carthaginians, after their pacification with the Romans, continued above three years. The mercenaries, who composed the bulk of their army, demanded the arrears of their pay ; and, when they were requested to agree to a composition, they rose against their employers. Their demands were, in a great measure, granted ; but they alleged farther claims ; and, at the instigation of Spendius, formerly a Campanian slave, and of Matho, a seditious African, they declared war against the state. Hamilcar obtained two victories over them ; but, obstinately continuing in arms, they blockaded the Carthaginian capital. Being obliged to raise the siege, they were repeatedly routed ; and, after great cruelties had been perpetrated on both sides, peace was at length restored. Some Italian traders had supplied the rebels with various commodities ; and, for this clandestine traffic, 500 were seised and imprisoned ; but they were released on an application from Rome. The mercenaries in Sardinia, having revolted from the Carthaginians, endeavoured to retain that island ; but, being attacked by the natives, they were expelled. They had invited the Romans to take possession of Sardinia ; and, although the

20 Polyb. lib. i. & iii.—Zonar. lib. viii.

senate at first rejected the overture, a voyage of observation was afterward undertaken. The Carthaginians sent troops to secure the island ; but, when they found the Romans intent on the acquisition of the whole territory, Ante Chr. 237. they renounced their pretensions, and even purchased, by a considerable sum, a continuance of peace.

Rome either found or made a new enemy in the persons of the Ligurians. They bravely encountered different consuls, and were not subdued without considerable difficulty. The Gauls, seemingly weary of a long peace, invaded the Roman territories ; but, a dissension arising among them, they attacked each other with the weapons which were intended to be used against the supposed enemies of the whole Gallic race²¹. A war arose in Corsica ; which island, although not ceded to the Romans

Ante Chr. 236. by treaty, they appear to have retained. The inhabitants, instigated by the Carthaginians, rose in arms ; and, after they had submitted to Licinius, they were again ready for resistance. The Sardinians at the same time revolted ; but both islands were quieted by Roman vigor.

Ante Chr. 235. The temple of Janus was now shut ; and this indication of the prevalence of peace is a remarkable incident in the Roman history. A nation more decidedly warlike never existed. In peace, it seemed to be out of it's element. From the reign of Numa, this was only the second instance of the kind ; and above two centuries elapsed before the temple was again closed.

The flood-gates of war were soon re-opened. Not

²¹ According to Polybius, the Gauls had been quiet for forty-five years when this invasion occurred, which he places five years before the consulate of Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, or in the year 237 ; and, on this occasion (he says), the Romans had no conflict with them. But Zonaras says, that the consul Valerius fought two battles with the Gauls before that invasion, and that other engagements also preceded it.

only the Ligurians, but also the Corsicans and Sardinians, seemed to require fresh attacks. Ante Chr. 234.

One consul made a successful campaign in Liguria; and the other quelled the rising storm in each island. Many of the Ligurians being still in arms, Fabius was ordered to reduce them to submission. He routed their army, but did not effectually subjugate the nation. Pomponius waged war with the Sardinians, who were not yet reconciled to the Roman yoke. He pretended that he had obtained great advantages in their island, and was therefore gratified by the senate with the honors of a triumph: yet it was thought necessary to employ the two following consuls in the same service; and these generals merely committed depredations. In another campaign, when the natives had fled into the woods and among the mountains, Pomponius sent blood-hounds to hunt them out²², and pacified the island. A revolt of the Corsicans, at the same time, furnished Papirius Maso with a pretence for demanding a triumph, which the people, but not the senate, allowed.

From the ferocity and piratical spirit of the Illyrians, a war arose in the consulate of Fulvius and Posthumius. Ante Chr. 229. An ambassador being murdered for complaining of their depredations and outrages, an armament was sent to enforce satisfaction. The isle of Corcyra, which they had lately seised, was surrendered to the Romans, who also took Issa, and reduced several towns along the Illyrian coast. Some of the states then submitted; and their navigation was restricted by treaty. This success was intimated to the Corinthians and Athenians; and the latter were so pleased with it, that they signified a wish for an alliance with Rome²³.

²² In our own times, this brutal practice has been followed in Jamaica, against the Maroons.

²³ Polyb. lib. ii.—Flor. lib. ii.

Preparations, unprecedented in the annals of the republic²⁴, were made for a war with the Gauls, who loudly complained of the division of land among the Romans, in the country which had belonged to the Senones. A numerous army of Boii and Insubres invaded Etruria, disordered that force which they attacked near Fesulae, and made great havoc. The fugitives, taking possession of a fortified hill, were rescued by the approach of the consul Æmilius Papus; and the Gauls, retiring to secure their spoils, were met by Atilius, whom they slew in a conflict of cavalry, without defeating his men. The infantry soon came into action, the barbarians being attacked by two armies. Being insufficiently protected by their shields, and not deriving great benefit from their ill-made swords, they were at length routed with extraordinary carnage²⁵. The two next rulers of the state, advancing against the Boii, received offers of submission; but a long continuance of rain, and a contagious disorder, checked their progress. Flaminius and Furius crossed the Po, and contended with the Insubres, who, after a short truce, attacked them with an augmented army. These consuls (or rather the brave and experienced tribunes under their command) routed the enemy, and enjoyed triumphal honors. But their fame was eclipsed by that of Marcellus, who, with a small force, encountered a numerous host near Clastidium. He singled out the Gallic leader, slew him, and exultingly carried off his splendid arms, which, being won by a chief commander on the fall of the opposing general, were considered as the most honorable spoils, and called *spolia opi-*

24 Polybius says, that an account was then taken of the number of Roman subjects and allies capable of bearing arms; and that the list amounted to 700,000 foot and 70,000 horse. But, even if we admit this calculation, we are not to suppose that all these men were actually assembled, and ready for service.

25 If credit may be given to Polybius, 40,000 of the Gauls fell in this battle, and 10,000 were made prisoners.

*ma*²⁶. The Gauls were put to flight: Mediolanum and other towns were taken; and the Insubres, giving a considerable sum of money, and surrendering a part of their territory, acknowledged themselves the vassals of Rome²⁷.

The piracies of the Istrians, and a revolt of the Illyrians, entailed upon the offenders the vigor of Roman hostility. The former were subdued, but not without loss and difficulty; and the latter, being attacked by Æmilius Ante Chr. 219. Paulus, were constrained to renew their submissions.

Thus did the Romans advance in power and prosperity. But they were destined soon to undergo severe trials of their fortitude, and to encounter the most alarming dangers. A bold and enterprising enemy arose against them, who, if his wisdom had been equal to his courage, might have ruined and subverted their dominion.

LETTER XV.

History of the second PUNIC WAR, to the Roman Conquest of SICILY.

If we consider the ambitious and martial spirit of the Romans, and the pride of power which still elevated the Carthaginians, we shall not be greatly surprised at the eruption of a new war between those nations. The former wished to extinguish all rivalry; and the latter, with equal confidence, hoped to re-establish their authority and influence. The Carthaginians had long possessed a considerable portion of Spain; and their general Hamilcar Barcas, by his courage and address, made important addi-

²⁶ The only Romans who had acquired such spoils before Marcellus, were Romulus and Cornelius Cossus.

²⁷ Supplem. Liv. lib. xx.

tions to their territories in that country, during a residence of nine years, commencing from the reluctant transfer of Sardinia to the encroaching Romans. Resenting the injustice of that nation, he hoped to find an opportunity of revenge; and, in the mean time, he extended the power and resources of his country. He inflamed his son Hannibal with similar resentment, and persuaded him, at the solemnity of a sacrifice, to take an oath of perpetual enmity against the Roman senate and people¹. In retiring from the hostilities of Orisso, a Spanish prince, he was drowned in a river which he attempted to cross². He was succeeded in the command by his son-in-law Asdrubal, who built New-Carthage³ for the seat of his government, and established his power over the greater part of the peninsula. With this general the Romans concluded an agreement, which, beside confining the Carthaginians to the Ebro, bound them not to molest the people of Saguntum, a colony from the island of Zacynthus, in alliance with Rome. Asdrubal being assassinated by a Spaniard, whose master he had unjustly put to death, the whole army wished for the appointment of Hannibal to the command; and, although Hanno's party at Carthage, jealous of the power and influence of the Barcine faction, Ante Chr. 220. opposed the nomination, the majority of the senate made choice of the enterprising son of Hamilcar⁴.

The new commander, encouraged by the success of some expeditions against the Spaniards, undertook the siege of Saguntum, without regard to Asdrubal's convention. The inhabitants having solicited aid from the senate, deputies were sent into Spain to remonstrate with Hannibal; and, as he disregarded the application, they repaired to Carthage, where the agreement was disavowed, and the Roman alliance with Saguntum was represented as poste-

1 Polyb. lib. iii.

2 Excerpt. è Diod. lib. xxv.

3 Where Carthagena now stands.

4 Liv. lib. xxi. cap. 2—4. — Just. lib. xlv.

rior to the Sicilian treaty. "We have brought with us (the envoys then said) peace and war : you may have your choice."—"You may have the first option," said the principal Carthaginian senators."—"War is our choice," replied the deputies.

All the exertions of the besiegers could not reduce Saguntum before seven months had passed from the investment of the town. When it was nearly ruined by frequent attacks, Hannibal proposed, that the garrison and inhabitants should retire from it unarmed, each with only two garments ; and that all the gold and silver, whether public or private property, should be given up to him. While these terms were under deliberation, the principal men of the community retired from the meeting, threw into a fire all the treasures which they could collect, and desperately rushed into the devouring flames. Amidst the shock which this horrid scene gave to the feelings of the spectators, one of the shattered towers gave way ; and the Carthaginians, eagerly pressing forward, seized the town. The inhuman conqueror gave orders for the massacre of all the male adults : these, indeed, were disposed to rush upon the weapons of the enemy : others were also put to the sword ; and many, shut up in their apartments, set fire to their habitations. Those who escaped slaughter were given up to the soldiers for sale ⁶.

A war with the Romans could no longer be avoided ; nor did the aspiring general wish to avoid it. He intended to cross the Alps, in defiance of every obstacle ; for his mind rose above all sense of danger or difficulty. With 50,000 foot-soldiers and 9000 horse, he crossed ^{Ante Chr. 218.} the Pyrenean mountains, and advanced to the banks of the Rhone. When his army had passed that river, on rafts and in boats, in the face of a Gallic enemy, he continued his march toward the mountainous barrier

5 Liv. lib. xxi. cap. 13—15.

6 Polyb. lib. iii.—Liv. lib. xxi.

which separated him from northern Italy. The most difficult part of his journey remained: the tremendous Alps appeared. In ascending those mountains, he lost a multitude of his men by the hostilities of the Gallic tribes: a great number perished amidst ice and snow, from falls, or from fatigue and exhaustion; and the descent was found to be more steep and dangerous than the ascent⁷. Within fifteen days, he accomplished the arduous task, and gladly rested from his almost incessant toil. Entering the country of the Taurini, he invited the people to an alliance; and, on their refusal, turned his arms against them. Their hostilities exposed him to considerable loss; but he stormed their principal town, and was prosecuting his success when the approach of a consular army was announced.

After the return of the Roman envoys, the senate appealed to the people on the subject of a war with the Carthaginians; and the vote for it was followed by a public supplication to the Gods for its success. In Rome and its immediate dependencies, six legions were speedily enrolled, consisting, in the aggregate, of 24,000 infantry and 1800 cavalry; and, in addition to these levies, 44,400 of the allies of Rome were enlisted. Sempronius Longus was sent into Sicily, with two legions and a considerable part of the allied army. Cornelius Scipio, the other consul, and the prætor Manlius, were intrusted with the rest of the republican force, and ordered to watch the motions of Hannibal. Deputies were sent into Spain and Trans-Alpine Gaul, to form alliances with different states, or at least prevent them from assisting the Carthaginians; but they received in compliant answers, and did not receive any marks of respect before they arrived at Marseilles.

⁷ It is said, that, when a quantity of wood had been fired for the purpose of heating the rocks, vinegar was used to soften them, so as to facilitate a passage: but this story is unworthy of the good sense of Livy.

When Cornelius reached the Tesino, Hannibal was ready for conflict; and he soon convinced the Romans that they had not a feeble or spiritless enemy to encounter. On a plain between that river and the Po, the cavalry rushed into action, and fought for some time with alacrity: but, as the Roman infantry gradually mingled with their equestrian associates, confusion arose; and an attack upon the rear by the Numidian horse gave the victory to the foes of Rome. The consul was wounded, but was saved from death or from capture by a Ligurian slave⁸. As soon as he found that above 2000 of the Cis-Alpine Gauls had left his camp for that of Hannibal, he retreated to a more secure position, and looked forward to the arrival of an army which had been ordered to join him.

After the defeat of a Punic squadron near Lilybæum, Sempronius took prudent measures for the security of Sicily. He was then recalled by the senate, and desired to act against Hannibal, instead of proceeding to the coast of Africa. When he had joined Cornelius, he was eager for an engagement, which his colleague wished to delay. Near the Trebia, the subsidiaries from the Balearic islands began the action with an attack upon the Roman infantry, who made a gallant resistance. The former then moved toward the wings, and, having assisted the cavalry in overpowering the small number of horse that served in the consular army, flanked the foot, while the elephants advanced among the middle ranks. At the same time, Mago, the general's brother, emerging with a select *corps* from an ambush, assaulted the rear. The Romans still maintained their ground; but, when their Gallic auxiliaries were routed, about 10,000 rushed through the midst

⁸ This is more probable than that he was rescued from danger by his own son, who was afterward the celebrated Scipio Africanus; because writers are so frequently hurried, by their admiration of a great man, into the belief and adoption of every idle report which may add to his fame, or render his character more interesting.

of the Carthaginian army, and, with a great slaughter of their adversaries, retired from the field. Of the rest, many were drowned, and others slain on the banks of the Trebia. The cold was so severe, that, in concurrence with fatigue, it proved fatal to many in both armies⁹.

The disgrace of this defeat was allayed by the success of the Romans in Spain. Several states were subdued; and Hanno was captured, beside sustaining a considerable loss of his men. Asdrubal, indeed, triumphed over a great body of marines and seamen; but, unwilling to meet the army of Cnæus Scipio, he retired into winter-quarters, while the Romans extended their power in Spain by farther incursions.

Even the rigors of winter did not wholly suspend hostilities; but it is not necessary to particularise every act of mutual offence. The new conductors of the war, and rulers of the state, were Servilius and Flaminius. The Ante Chr. latter so shocked the superstitious part of the 217. community, by neglecting the auspices and other religious formalities, that his departure to the camp was deemed ominous. In Etruria he met Hannibal, whose army, for three days, had been wading through marshes formed by the inundations of the Arno. Prudence would have dictated a defensive system, in expectation of the arrival of the other consul: but Flaminius, having been generally successful in his schemes and measures, trusted to a continuance of good fortune, and resolved to enter the lists without delay.

The African chief had made such an artful disposition of his force, that, when the consul advanced into a plain between hills (near the Thrasimene lake) he thought he saw the whole of the adverse army, of which, however, a very considerable part remained concealed to the right and left; and he was in fact circumvented, being also as-

sailed in the rear. The Romans resisted for three hours, fighting without order or regularity. Flaminius, after a display of the most active and undaunted courage, was singled out by a Gallic horseman, who, remembering the sanguinary victory which he had obtained over the Gauls in his former consulate, and perhaps recollecting the proposal which he had made, when tribune of the people, for a division of land that had been taken from those enemies of Rome, first slew his armour-bearer, and then pierced with a lance the consul himself. The greatest confusion now prevailed, and the Romans and their allies fell in heaps. About 6000 men escaped from the scene of slaughter by forcing their way through every obstacle: but they were stopped on the following day, and obliged to surrender. The number of the slain, in the vanquished army, nearly amounted to 15,000¹⁰. An equal or greater number became prisoners; but the allies were separated from the rest, and released. During the conflict, an earthquake made great havock in many towns of Italy; but, says the historian by whom that fact is mentioned, the combatants were not sensible of the extraordinary agitation¹¹: the shock of arms, indeed, engrossed their attention.

So great was the terror which the success of a ferocious enemy produced, that the Romans trembled even in their capital, which the senate ordered to be additionally fortified. A dictator was chosen to save the sinking state; and the choice of the individual was judicious. Fabius was brave, without rashness; ready to meet danger, without rushing madly into it. He resolved to avoid an engagement, unless some striking advantage should offer itself; and he hoped to weary out the foe by defensive precaution and long delay. All the arts of Hannibal were exercised upon him, without effect: nothing could shake

10 Polyb. lib. iii.—Plut. Vit. Fabii Maximi.—Eutropius, with his usual exaggeration, says, that 25,000 men were killed.

11 Liv. lib. xxii. cap. 5.

the firmness of his purpose. Thus disappointed, the Carthaginian general suddenly marched into Campania, and furiously ravaged that flourishing part of Italy. Fabius removed his army into the same territory, so as to give hopes of a battle to those soldiers who murmured at his forbearance. His master of the horse, Minucius Rufus, almost excited a mutiny among the troops by blaming that caution which he construed into timidity; but he disregarded all clamors, and checked the rashness of impatience. He endeavoured to obstruct the retreat of the invaders, so as to confine them to an unfavorable spot for the winter; but they eluded his aim, and secured a commodious station. Returning to Rome for religious purposes, he gave prudent advice to Minucius, and warned him of the disgrace of Sempronius and the catastrophe of Flaminius. The lieutenant soon entered into action. Hannibal had sent out a third part of his force to reap the harvest, and gradually increased the number of foragers. These were attacked by the light-armed troops, and routed; and this exploit was so extolled at Rome, that both the senate and the people elevated Rufus to an equality of power with the dictator. The legions were divided, and each commander had a separate camp. Minucius, in contending for the possession of a hill, fell into an ambuscade, and was in danger of being defeated with great loss, when Fabius, forgetting the insolent behaviour of his rival, and thinking only of the service of his country, opportunely advanced, and, having rallied the harassed troops, intimidated the enemy into a retreat. “Minucius (said Hannibal on this occasion) was conquered by me; but I am conquered by Fabius¹².”

The dictator's fame was now established. Rufus, convinced of his error, led his army toward the tent of Fabius, and saluted him by the appellation of father; while

12 Polyb. lib. iii.—Liv. lib. xxii. cap. 8—18, 24—29.—Plut. Vit. Fabii.

the rescued troops hailed the rest as their patrons and protectors. “ I will be the first (said the humbled commander) to repeal the decree of equality : henceforth, the dictator shall find me an obedient officer and a faithful servant.”

In Spain, the Roman arms continued to prevail. Cnæus Scipio, by terror and by persuasion, subjected many states to the authority of the republic; and, at his instigation, the Celtiberians twice attacked Asdrubal, and slew a great part of the opposing army. His brother, the late consul, joined him with a considerable force, and augmented the number of dependent states.

There was great difficulty in adjusting the next consular election. Terentius Varro, a headstrong plebeian, was warmly opposed by the patricians : but he was elevated to the desired dignity. His colleague was Æmilius Paulus, a respectable senator. These magistrates had not long been inaugurated, when a Ante Chr.
216. fleet arrived from Sicily, sent by Hiero, the steady ally of the Romans, with a copious supply of corn, and a select body of archers and slingers, who, he thought, might be usefully employed against the Balearic and Mauritanian warriors. When the new levies were completed, the consuls agreed to take the command alternately. While Æmilius had the chief authority, a skirmish arose, in which the Romans had the advantage : but, as he had not given orders for it, and was apprehensive of an ambushade, he recalled the disorderly pursuers. Terentius accused him of injurious caution, and of an unwillingness to put an end to the war.

When Hannibal had fixed upon a spot where his cavalry had full power of action, he was eager to draw the Romans into action. The consuls followed him to Cannæ in Apulia. Æmilius still wished to avoid a general conflict; but Terentius, on one of his days of command, led the army across the Aufidus, and rashly resolved to engage.

The right wing was placed under the immediate direction of Paulus; the left (consisting of allies) Varro reserved to himself; while Servilius commanded the main body. The first line was composed of the light-armed soldiery. In the number of infantry, the Romans had a great superiority; but, in cavalry, the Carthaginians had a considerable advantage. Hannibal's right wing chiefly consisted of Numidian horse, under Asdrubal: Gallic and Spanish horse, conducted by Maharbal, formed the left; and the general, with Mago, commanded the foot in the centre. The Roman cavalry were soon put to flight. The infantry pressed forward, and repelled the main body; but, being assaulted by a multitude of Africans, whose ranks connected the wings with the centre, they were exposed to great danger. They had made an opening in the opposite phalanx, within which they were now miserably hemmed; and the carnage was truly horrible. About 42,700 men (among whom were Æmilius, Servilius, and Minucius) are said to have fallen on the side of the vanquished, and 8000 on the part of the victors. Terentius fled with a small party of horse to Venusia, and thence with 4000 men to Canusium, where he was joined by a more considerable number of fugitives¹³.

Amidst the overpowering shock of this disastrous conflict, many of the young patricians at Canusium were so thunder-stricken, that they thought of retiring from Italy, and seeking an asylum in a foreign country. This inglorious resolution was combated by the younger Scipio with spirited eloquence; and, brandishing his sword over the heads of those despairing youths, he declared that he would treat, as an enemy, every one who did not swear to defend and support the republic. At Rome, the prætors

¹³ Liv. lib. xxii. cap. 44—49, 52, 54.—Polyb. lib. iii.—Flor. lib. ii. —When the surviving consul returned to Rome, he was met by a body of citizens, of all ranks, and thanked for not abandoning all hopes of public safety—*quæd de republicâ non desperasset*.

convoked the senate ; and it was resolved, that the members should disperse themselves about the city, for the purpose of allaying the anxiety and terrors of the inhabitants. Junius, who was appointed dictator, began to form a new army ; enlisting many who would in less critical times have been thought too young, and others who would have seemed to be too old ; and admitting slaves, and even criminals, into the legions. The redemption of prisoners would have furnished a considerable number of men ; but, to deter others from yielding to captivity, the senate rejected Hannibal's overture for that purpose¹⁴.

The Punic general has been censured for not hastening to Rome, to profit by the panic which his victory had occasioned. It is not improbable that a rapid advance might have enabled him to seize the metropolis¹⁵. The states of southern Italy were ready to revolt, and assist him in the subversion of the republic. But he seemed to wish for leisure to analyse the nature of his success ; and therefore said to his friends, that the extraordinary state of affairs required time for deliberation. He perhaps did not think that Rome would yield so easily as many might be induced to suppose.

A great part of the following day was consumed in the collection of spoils. The camps of the two consuls were attacked, and taken with facility ; and 8000 men were found within them. The Roman cruelty, in not redeeming these and other captives, may be justly blamed. Except horses and gold or silver, all the spoils were given up to the soldiery. After the pillage, the victorious army marched to Compsa, and garrisoned the surrendered town. The troops being then divided, Hannibal left a part of his force with Mago, directing him to promote with all his power the interest of Carthage ; and marched

14 Liv. lib. xxii. cap. 53, 56—61.—Cicer. de Officiis, lib. iii. cap. 32.

15 Livy mentions it as the general belief, that the delay of one day saved the city and the republic.

with the rest to secure the port of Neapolis. Finding the town too strong to be quickly taken, he repaired to Capua, where the citizens were ripe for revolt. They sent deputies to him on his march, to conclude a treaty with him, on condition of retaining their own laws and magistrates, and of being exempt from compulsive military conscription. He declared his assent to these terms, and, entering the city, promised to exalt it to the supremacy of Italy. He soon evinced his disregard to Campanian liberty, by ordering Decius Magius, one of the principal citizens, to be hurried into a ship, and conveyed to Carthage, for having opposed the revolt ; but the vessel was driven by a storm to another port, and Decius found in Egypt that protection which he deserved.

Hannibal, during the rest of the year, made few additions to his fame or power. He took Nuceria, plundered and burned it ; but, when he appeared before Nola, Marcellus made a vigorous sally, and, losing few, slew a considerable number. The enemy retired to Acerræ, and, having destroyed that town, invested Casilinum, which was not reduced without a long blockade. Petelia was also blocked up by the Carthaginians under Himilco, and a body of Brutian revolvers ; and the garrison did not submit before the miseries of famine had been long endured.

The gallant brothers, Publius and Cnæus Scipio, continued to support in Spain the reputation which they had before acquired. In a general engagement they attacked Asdrubal with such vigor, that a great slaughter of his men ensued ; and he was prevented from transporting into Italy the respectable force which he had lately commanded.

Rome, in the mean time, was in a state of tranquillity. A new dictator was chosen for the purpose of filling the vacancies in the senate, as (beside the natural death of many) a considerable number of the members had fallen in battle. He named 177 individuals, who were imme-

diately admitted into the assembly. When consuls had been elected for the following year, intelligence arrived of the defeat and death of one of the number. Posthumius and his troops,—entering a wood, in which the trees had been so cut, that, while they seemed to stand firmly, they fell at the slightest touch,—became so entangled, that many were crushed to death, and many were killed by the Gauls; and of his whole army, consisting of two legions beside allies, few (it is said) escaped. He fell, bravely combating; and the barbarians made a drinking-cup of his scull. His place, as consul, was supplied by Fabius, whose colleague was Sempronius Gracchus¹⁶.

Hannibal passed the winter at Capua, where he and his men felt the enfeebling influence of pleasure and luxury. He emerged from his retreat, as soon as he was informed of the success of Gracchus, who had stormed the camp of Alphius, the Campanian chief magistrate, and had thus secured Cumæ from an intended act of treachery. This town was now besieged by the Carthaginians, who were, however, soon driven from the walls by a well-managed *sortie*. They again attempted the reduction of Nola; but Marcellus, leading his army out of the town, engaged Hannibal, and slew or captured 5000 of his men. The disappointed chief retired into Apulia for the winter, having felt the effects of indolence and debauchery.

The Spanish campaign was more remarkable than that of Italy. Beside other incidents, two great conflicts elevated the Roman fame. The army of Asdrubal, reinforced by Mago, very far exceeded that which Scipio and his brother commanded: yet these generals obtained a signal victory. In the second battle they were equally fortunate. It is said (but we must allow for exaggeration), that, on one occasion, the number of slain enemies transcended

16 Liv. lib. xxiii. cap. 23, 24.

the amount of the Roman army (16,000); and that, in the other action, above 13,000 of the vanquished fell¹⁷. By these and former victories, Spain had almost become a Roman province.

Sardinia was also a scene of vigorous warfare. The son of a revolting chief was routed by the prætor Manlius; and, when a Punic armament had reached the island, the Romans defeated, with great slaughter, both the invaders and the insurgents. Octacilius, after he had ravaged the African coast near Carthage, sailed toward Sardinia in quest of the fleet which had conveyed the reinforcement; and, having captured seven ships, he was aided by a storm in dispersing the rest.

In Sicily, the Romans lost a friend by the death of the venerable Hiero, who had reigned above fifty years with ability and reputation. Apprehending the misgovernment of the Syracusan state under the sway of his grandson Hieronymus, he wished to leave it in a state of republican freedom; but he was dissuaded from that resolution by his daughters. His successor renounced the Roman alliance, and excited such odium by his arrogance and cruelty, that he lost his life by the attacks of conspirators. Andranodorus, a son-in-law of Hiero, and Themistius, who had espoused the grand-daughter of that prince, became temporary rulers of the state with other magistrates; but, being suspected of aiming at tyranny, they were assassinated with their wives; and Hippocrates and Epicydes (born at Carthage, but of Sicilian extraction) were allowed to act among the prætors or governors. Marcellus, who succeeded Gracchus in the consulate, was

Ante Chr. 214. sent into Sicily to defend the Roman division of the island, and subvert the Carthaginian influence at Syracuse. Hippocrates having ventured to attack a Roman garrison, the consul announced the rupture

of the long-existing treaty with Syracuse, and insisted upon the banishment of the two brothers. As they were protected by the people of Leontium, he hastened to that town and took it by assault; but the obnoxious prætors escaped to Syracuse, and, having excited a popular insurrection, they obtained the whole power by the murder of those prætors who had not time to effect a retreat. The city was now besieged; but, as the various modes of attack were baffled by the mechanical skill and ingenious contrivances of Archimedes, the siege was converted into a blockade¹⁸.

To assist in the subversion of the Roman power, a new enemy at this time appeared. Philip, king of Macedon, was at first undetermined with regard to the part which he should act in the great contest; but, when he found that Hannibal had been frequently victorious, he resolved, at the instigation of Demetrius (an Illyrian prince, whom the Romans had deprived of his territories), to form an alliance with the Carthaginians. His overtures were gladly accepted. He landed in Epirus, and took Oricum, but soon lost it. The reduction of Apollonia, an Illyrian town under Roman protection, was his next object. Disgrace attended his early hostilities. Valerius, who had been ordered to observe his movements, sent a select *corps* from his fleet to the town, under Nævius, who, taking advantage of the king's negligence, entered his camp at night, and routed the surprised enemy. Philip escaped with difficulty; and, having burned some of his ships, and drawn the rest on shore, he led off by land the wreck of his army.

Hannibal commenced the campaign with furious devastations in those parts of Campania which were within the jurisdiction of towns still possessed by the Romans. He then renewed his efforts for the acquisition of Nola; but,

18 Liv. lib. xxiv. cap. 4, 7, 21—34.——Excerpt. è Polyb. lib. viii.

being again disappointed in his aim by the courage of Marcellus, who disordered and repelled his army, he marched toward Tarentum, where he had many partisans, whom, however, the vigilance of the garrison over-awed. His friend Hanno was not more fortunate; for, being met near Beneventum by the proconsul Gracchus, whose force chiefly consisted of volunteer slaves, animated to exertion by the prospect of liberty, he was routed with the slaughter or captivity of the greater part of his army. All the slaves were immediately manumitted by the exulting victor.

Fabius, who had been re-elected consul, employed himself in the recovery of Italian towns. Casilinum was so well defended, that he was on the point of relinquishing the siege; but Marcellus (more patient on this occasion than even the cool and steady opposer of Hannibal) urged him to continue it. It was at length reduced, with many other towns; in which, it is said, 25,000 men (either foreigners or revolters) were slain or captured. In Spain, the Roman arms were also successful; for, although Asdrubal and Mago routed an army of Spaniards, Cnæus Scipio retaliated in two engagements with superior effect. In a third battle, he was wounded, yet victorious: in a fourth and fifth, his adversaries were again put to flight¹⁹.

When the younger Fabius had succeeded his father as consul, with the association of Gracchus, the new campaign was not eventful. The Romans besieged
 Ante Chr. 213. Arpi; and a small party, having scaled the walls in a neglected part, opened a gate for the rest. The besiegers were at first opposed by the armed inhabitants, but were soon joined by them, as well as by the Spanish portion of the garrison; and the town was evacuated by its Carthaginian defenders. Aternum was also re-taken; and, within the walls, 7000 men were captured. Hannibal lingered in the vicinity of Tarentum; and, while some in-

considerable places in that part of Italy revolted to him, several Lucanian towns were recovered by Gracchus. In the Brutian country, Pomponius, having encountered Hanno with an undisciplined force, was vanquished and made prisoner; but some communities, in that province, were reclaimed to submission.

In the following year, the war was prosecuted with less languor. The consuls (Appius Claudius ^{Ante Chr. 212.} and Fulvius Flaccus) were superintending the enlistment of new troops, when an inquiry into the mal-practices of the contractors for military supplies engrossed the public attention. Some of these unprincipled men had falsely alleged losses by shipwreck, and demanded indemnification: others had put worthless articles into old and shattered vessels, and privately ordered them to be sunk; then claimed a large sum from the treasury, as if they had sent off numerous and valuable commodities. Two of the plebeian tribunes commenced a process against Posthumius Pyrgensis for an offence of this kind; and his delinquency was subjected to the cognisance of a general assembly. A body of contractors excited a riot; but their opposition did not prevent the people from declaring Posthumius an outlaw, if he should not appear on a fixed day; and several of the rioters were sent to prison, while others fled from justice. This affair was thus imperfectly settled, when the consuls renewed the interrupted levies. It was so difficult to procure a sufficient number of men for the army, that commissioners were sent about the country to enforce the conscription, and enlist even those who were under the age of seventeen years.

A city which Hannibal had long wished to secure was betrayed to him by mal-contents. He was admitted into Tarentum at night; and many of the Roman inhabitants were put to the sword; but the citadel was vigorously defended against him. Being requested to provide for the safety of Capua, which was threatened with a siege, he

ordered Hanno to attend to that object. This officer was encamped near Beneventum, when an attack was made upon his camp by Fulvius ; but so many of the assailants fell, that the consul called off his troops, and resolved to await the arrival of Appius. The ardor of the soldiers rose above such caution : they re-attacked the camp, forced it, slew 6000 of the enemy, and obtained ample spoils. Both consuls then marched to invest Capua, desiring Gracchus to hover about Beneventum with the cavalry and light-armed troops. The lieutenant, in his way to the prescribed station, was led by a treacherous Lucanian into an ambuscade, and killed with his attendants by the followers of Mago.

While the consuls and their chief adversary were contending for Capua, two battles, in different parts, diminished in no small degree the military force of the Romans. Centenius, a boasting centurion, was permitted by the senate to lead 8000 men from Rome ; and, on his march into Lucania, he nearly doubled that force : but, being met by Hannibal, he was slain, with the greater part of his army. In Apulia, the prætor Cnæus Fulvius, being attacked by the Punic general, fought with less courage than the centurion, and was defeated, with the death or captivity of 16,000 men.

During the siege of Capua, that of Syracuse was brought to a close. Marcellus tried the effect of a secret correspondence in the town ; but Epicydes discovered the plot before it was ripe for execution, and put to death, with the severity of torture, all who were detected. Soon afterward, in a public conference respecting a Lacedæmonian prisoner, some of the Romans observed a part of the wall which seemed to offer little difficulty of ascent ; and a deserter assured them that the Syracusans were celebrating the festival of Diana, and were always indulged on such an occasion with plenty of wine. A body of Romans scaled the wall at night, and opened one of the

gates for the admission of their brethren, who rushed in at day-break, and filled the place with confusion. Epicydes retired to Acradina, a distinctly-walled part of Syracuse, while Marcellus hastened to attack a different division of that spacious city. He gained possession of several fortified parts of it, and then formed the blockade of Acradina. Hippocrates, arriving with troops from Agrigentum, attacked the Roman camp; and Epicydes made a *sortie*; but no benefit resulted to either commander from these hostilities. The plague broke out in the autumn, from the insalubrious air of morasses and the heat of the weather, and thinned the contending armies, proving more particularly fatal to the Punic part of the garrison. A large fleet sailed from Carthage to the relief of the besieged; but Bomilcar, who commanded it, was afraid to attack the Romans, and retired toward Tarentum. Epicydes fled to Agrigentum: his præfects were assassinated by the populace, and new prætors were chosen, with a view to a capitulation. Many in Acradina, who had deserted the service of Rome, apprehensive of being delivered up, obstructed the negotiation, slew the prætors, and commenced a massacre of the inhabitants. When this sanguinary tumult had subsided, Marcellus gained over one of the præfects of that part of the city, and soon found himself in full possession of the place. The freedom of pillage was allowed to the soldiery; and this rapine was accompanied with some instances of murder, particularly that of the celebrated Archimedes, whom a military ruffian stabbed without knowing him, while he was tracing mathematical figures in the dust. The proconsul lamented this act of violence, being by no means desirous of waging war with science²⁰.

As the fine arts were diligently cultivated by the Syracusans, their city abounded with pictures, statues, and other elegant productions of genius. These (says an

historian) devolved to the Romans by the right of conquest: yet there is an illiberality in robbing a town of those ornaments and possessions which draw strangers to the spot, and cherish among the citizens a taste for the arts. Many even of the Romans sympathised with the Sicilians in this point, and considered such spoliation as mean and disgraceful.

The island was not yet totally subdued. Hanno had an army near Agrigentum; and Mutines, an enterprising officer, made incursions into the Roman dependencies. Marcellus attacked the enemy near the Himera, and proved victorious; but the subjects and allies of Rome were still harassed with hostilities.

Spain, which had almost been reduced under the Roman yoke, was in danger of being lost. Publius Scipio, being molested by a body of Numidian horse under Masinissa, and apprehending the junction of a Spanish army with that active leader, went forth in the evening to intercept the Spaniards. While he was engaged with them, the young Numidian and his cavalry suddenly flanked him; and Mago, with a considerable force, attacked him in the rear. In the heat of action, he was pierced with a spear, and fell lifeless from his horse; and his army would have been destroyed, if night had not favored the escape of many. Mago then joined his brother Asdrubal, in the confident hope of crushing Cnæus Scipio. This commander retired to an eminence, which he endeavoured hastily to fortify; but it was not a defensible post. A considerable part of his army escaped: the enemy overwhelmed the rest, with the general himself. Thus perished two able officers and respectable men, whose fate excited general regret²¹.

The brothers of Hannibal, elate with this success, imagined that the principalities and states of Spain might

²¹ Liv. lib. xxv. cap. 34.—36.—Flor. lib. ii. cap. 6.—Appiani Hist.

easily be drawn off from the Roman interest. But, at this crisis, Marcius, a young knight, assembled the fugitives, drew troops from different garrisons, and joined Fonteius, whom Publius had left with a small force in his camp. In a military council, the chief command was given to the bold youth, who did not despair of the cause of Spain. The reported approach of Asdrubal, the son of Gesco²², so terrified many of the soldiers, that they shed tears like women, and abjectly deplored their distressed state: but, when the danger became unavoidable, they encountered it with the courage of men. They rushed forward, and put the enemy to flight; and their leader soon after employed them in an attack upon the camp of Asdrubal. Beyond this camp other troops were stationed. To prevent these from assisting their friends, Marcius concealed a body of horse and foot in an intermediate woody vale. The occupants of the camp, unprepared for conflict, were quickly thrown into irremediable confusion. Their tents and huts were fired: such as had arms were scarcely able to use them amidst the horrors of the scene; the unarmed fell in heaps; and those who fled were cut off by the ambushed party. To the next station the victors hastened, and found the enemy in a state of supine negligence. Yet many resisted with vigor, until they saw the shields of the Romans smeared with blood from the late conflict. Above 17,000 men (some say a much greater number) were slain in these actions by the followers of Marcius²³.

In the next campaign, the earliest attention was given to the recovery of Capua. The blockade was Ante Chr. 211. strictly kept up: occasional attacks were also made upon the place; and the proconsuls were ordered not to retire from the walls without complete success. Hannibal assaulted the camp of the besiegers, and seemed

²² Gesco, or Gisco, was an officer of distinction, who was murdered by the insurgent mercenaries after the first Punic war.

²³ Liv. lib. xxv. cap. 37—39.

on the point of forcing it in one part ; but his troops were driven off with considerable loss. He then bent his course toward Rome ; but the opportunity of making an impression upon that city had been long since lost. The report of his intention excited such alarm, that one of the senators advised a recall of the troops from Capua, and from all parts of Italy, to the defence of the metropolis ; but it was merely voted, that a part of the army should be brought from the siege. After a course of ravages, the Punic general encamped within three or four miles of Rome, and approached one of the gates with a party of horse. The proconsul Flaccus sent a body of cavalry to repel the daring foe ; and, on the succeeding day, prepared to attack him near the Anio, with the two consuls of the year. A dreadful storm checked each army, both on that and on another occasion ; and a particular incident tended to discourage Hannibal. The very land upon which his camp stood was publicly sold ; and not the smallest abatement of the price was allowed for the uncertainty of possession²⁴. To this circumstance, however seemingly trivial, he gave it's due importance : he was aware that it strikingly evinced the high and unconquered spirit of the nation with which he contended.

Retiring from Latium into Campania, he did not attempt to relieve Capua, but proceeded to the extremity of Italy. The besieged, thus deserted, harassed by famine, and dreading a general assault from Flaccus, who had returned to assist Appius in the siege, no longer thought of defence. While many of the senators, to avoid public punishment for their concern in the revolt, poisoned themselves, the greater part voted for a surrender of the city. When the besiegers had taken possession of it, the cruelty of Flaccus prevailed over the moderation of Appius. He ordered twenty-eight sena-

²⁴ Liv. lib. xxvi. cap. 11.—Plut. Vit. Hannibalis.

tors to be decapitated ; and twenty-five others were on the point of suffering the same fate, when dispatches arrived from Rome. He had reason to believe (and this was the fact) that the senate had sent instructions for the exercise of clemency ; but he put aside the unopened packet, and coolly commanded the lictors to do their duty. At Atella and Calatia, other Campanians of distinction were also put to death. The majority of the Capuans were sold as slaves : the town was pillaged, and some proposed that it should be demolished ; but it was saved in consideration of the extraordinary fertility of the circumjacent lands, that it might serve for the abode of farmers and laborers²⁵.

To the army of Marcius, in Spain, a reinforcement was sent under Claudius Nero, who assumed the command of the whole. Asdrubal, the son of Hamilcar, had brought himself into such a situation in a wood, that he might have been precluded from an escape ; but the new general suffered the crafty African to delude him, day after day, with evasive negotiations ; and, in the mean time, Asdrubal gradually extricated his men from danger, and then declined the challenge of Claudius to action. Wishing to supersede the incompetent commander, the senate referred to the people the choice of another ; and, when the electors could not fix upon any one, the younger Scipio presented himself to view, and was immediately and unanimously chosen. He had not completed his twenty-fifth year ; but, from his promising abilities, he was deemed worthy of high command. By the lateness of the season, when he had transported a new army into Spain, he was precluded from action ; but he revolved various schemes in his mind, and conciliated the leading men of the different states.

The war with the king of Macedon, for several years, had

given little trouble to the Romans, who merely kept an armament for the purpose of observation. They now instigated the Ætolians to a renewal of hostilities against Philip; concluded an alliance with that republic; and, having taken some Acarnanian towns, transferred them to their new friends. Valerius, sailing from Corcyra in the ^{Ante Chr.} 210. spring, proceeded up the Corinthian gulph, and took Anticyra²⁶. He then returned into Italy, to exercise the consular functions. The war in that country was at first allotted to him, while his colleague Marcellus was to act in Sicily: but this arrangement was so displeasing to the Sicilians, that the latter consul offered to resign this branch of the war to Valerius. When the levies had been completed for the land-force, the consuls, alleging the great difficulty of procuring rowers for the galleys, and the emptiness of the treasury, ordered the citizens to provide men for that service, and also to furnish money for their pay, and sustenance for thirty days. In a time of severe taxation, this additional burthen almost excited a sedition: but, when the senators and knights had contributed the greater part of their gold and silver, the people, without farther complaint, acquiesced in the arbitrary edict²⁷.

When Valerius had settled the affairs of Syracuse, and redressed some grievances, he formed the siege of Agrigentum. He would not have easily taken so strong a town, if Mutines, disgusted at the conduct of Hanno, whose mean jealousy had induced him to deprive that officer of his command, had not betrayed the place to the Romans, by introducing a body of Numidians. The governor and Epicydes, with a small party, escaped by sea; while many of the Carthaginians and Sicilians were stopped in their flight, and slain near the gates. The principal citizens were put to death; the rest were enslaved. Other towns

26 Or Anti-Cirra.

27 Liv. lib. xxvi. cap. 24, 26, 29, 35.

were betrayed to the consul ; some were taken by assault : and many were voluntarily surrendered by the inhabitants. Thus was a valuable island completely brought under the Roman dominion.

LETTER XVI.

*View of the Progress and Conclusion of the second War between the
ROMANS and CARTHAGINIANS.*

THE acquisition of Sicily, by inspiring the Ro- Ante Chr. 210.
mans with the hope of additional conquests, stimulated them to a vigorous continuance of the war ; and, on the other hand, the loss did not so discourage the Carthaginians, as to produce debility or languor among their troops, or throw their commanders in a suppliant attitude at the feet of the senatorial rulers of the republic.

However disposed was Marcellus to act with unabated zeal, he had no opportunity, in this campaign, of performing any great exploits. He reduced some towns ; and, after Hannibal had defeated the proconsul Fulvius Centumalus in Apulia, and had slain 7000 men with that commander, he engaged his old antagonist in Lucania, without any apparent advantage.

New-Carthage, the Spanish arsenal, and the repository of Punic wealth, was besieged by Scipio with vigor, while his friend Lælius, with equal zeal, conducted the maritime blockade. The town being built on a peninsula, the labor of circumvallation was not requisite : success depended on attacks from the isthmus. Mago gave directions for a *sortie* ; but it was so fiercely repelled by the legionaries, that the eruptors with difficulty re-entered. Observing that several stations were deserted by the garrison amidst the anxiety and terror attendant upon the conflict, Scipio

ordered the walls to be scaled while an attack was made by sea. The attempt was baffled ; but, when a more favorable occasion presented itself, he made a feint from the dry land, while a select body, on the recess of the tide, forded a part from which no danger was apprehended by the enemy. The wall was low in this part, and also unguarded ; and, therefore, it was not difficult for the besiegers to mount it. As the feint drew all the attention of the garrison, the men who entered after passing the ford were unperceived, until their missiles were felt in the rear of the enemy. The gates were forced, and great slaughter ensued. Mago retired into the citadel, and endeavoured to defend it. To the disgrace of the *god-like* Scipio, as he was called, all the inhabitants who from their age were capable of military service were massacred, whether armed or unarmed ; but, when the fortress was surrendered, he ordered a cessation of carnage, and gave a general license for plunder¹.

All conquerors are murderers and robbers ; and, to those who are so irrational as to judge of propriety from practice, the conduct of this commander will not appear particularly reprehensible : but, if we judge from the principles of humanity, equity, and rectitude, which no custom can subvert, and no sophistry can destroy, his memory deserves the severity of censure.

Valuable were the spoils of the captured town. A great number of military engines and weapons of every kind, an abundance of corn, much gold and silver, were found within the walls ; and sixty-three transports were seized in the harbour. The general permitted the free inhabitants to continue their residence in the town, and sent the able-bodied slaves on board of his fleet.

His behaviour to a female captive of uncommon beauty, has been highly applauded. He ordered her to be treated

1 Lib. lib. xxvi. cap. 42—46.

with delicacy and respect; and, sending for her lover Allucius, a Celtiberian chieftain, he gave her, inviolate, to his embrace. Her parents and relatives had brought a large ransom for her; and, when they found that she had been gratuitously released, they pressed him to accept the whole, in compliment to his extraordinary generosity. He received the gold, and immediately gave it to Allucius, as the added portion of his intended wife. The grateful chieftain panegyrised the merits of Scipio among his vassals, and presented himself in the Roman camp with 1400 horsemen, ready to serve under the ensigns of his benefactor.

Scipio augmented his reputation, in the next campaign, by a victory over Asdrubal. The hostile camp Ante Chr. 209. being in a situation of natural strength, an attack was hazardous: but the Romans ascended the hill with alacrity amidst a shower of darts and stones, and dislodged the foe. About 8000 men (it is said) were slain, and 12,000 captured. The Spanish prisoners were restored to liberty, while the Africans were sold for servitude. By the former, Scipio was saluted with the appellation of *king*; but, as the sound was unpleasing to republican ears, he disclaimed the title².

Marcellus and Hannibal again contended for victory and fame. In one conflict, the Carthaginian leader prevailed; the Roman general in another. Fabius re-gained the city of Tarentum, less by the valor of his troops than by the treachery of a Brutian officer, who, being enamoured of the sister of a Roman soldier, promised to facilitate the entrance of the consul. The besiegers scaled the walls, slew for some time all whom they met, and pillaged the wealthy town. Fabius is said to have particularly ordered the slaughter of the Brutians, that the treachery might not be discovered, and that he might seem to have taken

² Liv. lib. xxvii. cap. 18, 19.

the place in open and honorable warfare³: but this story is improbable and unsupported. “The Romans (said the Punic chief) have now their Hannibal: they have recovered Tarentum in the same manner in which we lost it.”

Many of the Roman citizens, disgusted at the length of the war, accused their generals of want of vigor, and blamed Marcellus in particular for suffering Hannibal so long to have Italy for his province. These clamors did not obstruct his re-election to the consulate: but he did not long enjoy this renovation of honor. It was the Ante Chr. 208. general wish, that his army, and that which his colleague Quintius Crispinus commanded, should unitedly engage Hannibal, as there would then be a prospect of decisive success. That artful general was determined not to encounter both consuls at once; and he trusted to clandestine means of success over each. They had ordered troops to be sent from Tarentum to form the siege of Locri; and, as he had good intelligence of the movements of his adversaries, he posted a part of his army in ambuscade, and thus 3200 of the Romans were either killed or made prisoners. A woody hill between the camps seemed a desirable spot for prior occupancy. It was seized at night by a body of Numidians, without the knowledge of the Romans, some of whom hinted to the consuls, that it ought to be instantly secured. Both went with a small party of horse to take a survey of the spot;—a very inconsiderate step in those who knew the crafty circumspection of Hannibal. They were suddenly attacked by the Numidians. Marcellus lost his life; his son was wounded; and Crispinus, pierced by two javelins, escaped from the field with great difficulty, and died before the close of the year⁴.

Marcellus was one of the great men to whom Rome was indebted for her salvation. He was an able general and a

³ Plut. Vit. Fabii.

⁴ Liv. lib. xxvii. cap. 21, 26, 27.—Plut. Vit. Marcelli.

zealous patriot, ready to incur every hazard in combating the enemies of his country. Hannibal was sensible of his merit; and, although he did not sincerely lament his death, he paid the tribute of praise to his memory.

The intended junction of Asdrubal with his formidable brother diffused an alarm through Italy. He crossed the Alps with a considerable force, and invested Ante Chr. 207. Placentia: but the approach of Livius Salinator constrained him to raise the siege. Claudius Nero marched against Hannibal, and found him in Lucania. The Punic general was desirous of avoiding a general engagement, while Claudius wished to risque it. When the Roman commander had drawn up his force in array of battle, the challenge was reluctantly accepted; and the conflict had scarcely commenced, when the invaders were assaulted in the rear, by a *corps* which had been secretly posted behind a hill. They endeavoured to regain their camp; but many thousands were slain before the Romans sheathed the sword. Hannibal took the first opportunity of changing his station; but, from the vigilance of pursuit, he sustained a farther loss before he effected his retreat into Apulia.

An intercepted letter from Asdrubal, promising to meet his brother in Umbria, suggested to Claudius the idea of leaving southern Italy to its fate, and hastening to the northward to meet the rising storm. His course was uncommonly rapid: scarcely did he allow time for ordinary refreshment and repose. He hoped to crush Asdrubal, and return to the southward, before Hannibal should hear of his departure. His army having joined that of Livius at night, preparations were made for a speedy engagement. Asdrubal, suspecting a conjunction of force, hastily decamped; but the eagerness of his enemies precluded him from the means of escape. He therefore roused his own courage and that of his numerous followers, and made arrangements for action. He placed himself and the Spaniards in the right wing, the Gauls in the left, and the

Ligurians in the centre, behind a row of elephants. Livius attacked him with great spirit, and was vigorously resisted. The prætor Porcius, unmoved by the fury of the elephants, who soon disordered the ranks of their friends, kept the Ligurians in check. Claudius, not observing the Gauls, as they were concealed by a hill, loudly called for the wing that ought to oppose him. Being disappointed in that respect, he marched toward the left side of the combating battalions, and assailed both the flank and the rear. Slaughter now raged among the ranks; and at length it reached the Gauls, who made little resistance. Having lost the honor of the day, Asdrubal rode into the thickest ranks of a Roman cohort, and was quickly slain. About 10,000 of the vanquished fell in the battle, beside many Gauls who, in a state of intoxication or of fatigue, were put to death in the manner in which victims were immolated. On the side of the Romans, 2000 fell. The indefatigable Claudius, on the ensuing night, began his journey to his former station, and announced his arrival by throwing the head of Asdrubal into the camp of his brother, who, confounded at the sight, and at the intelligence of the late defeat, retired to the extremity of Italy⁵.

On the departure of Asdrubal from Spain, Hanno had transported a new army from Africa, and had enlisted 9000 Celtiberians. These, being in a separate camp, were attacked by Silanus, and totally routed; and the Carthaginians who came from the other camp to assist them, were also repelled with great loss, and with the captivity of their leader. Scipio was encouraged by this success to

5 Excerpt. 2 Polyb. lib. xi.—Livy says, that 56,000 of the enemy were slain: he adds, that 5400 became prisoners. About 8000 Romans and allies, according to him, were killed. Polybius may have erred on the side of diminution; but I cannot give credit to the assertion of the Roman writer, with regard to the number of victims in Asdrubal's army. The battle was fought near Sena, now Senegaglia.

march against the surviving Asdrubal, who was then in the south of Spain: but, as that general, when he was informed of the advance of his foes, quitted the field, and distributed his army in fortified towns, it was not thought expedient to assault these stations.

The success of the two consuls filled Rome with joy. Both were thanked and praised for their exertions: but the fame of Claudius out-shone that of his colleague. It was observed, that he had triumphed in different parts of Italy over two commanders, having personally defeated one, and checked the other by the supposition of his continuance in his former camp.

Hannibal gave no trouble to the consuls of the following year. He remained in the Brutian territory, brooding over the decline of his success. Some of the Romans probably thought that it would be advisable to attack him, in the hope of bringing the war to a close. But the senate and the consuls were not inclined to rouse the dormant lion.

Italy being thus quiet, the public attention was directed to Spain. Asdrubal and Mago were at the head of the hostile army in that country; and Scipio was continued in his command by those who were sensible of his merit. The youthful general was more desirous of action than either of his adversaries; and he found an opportunity of drawing them into a conflict. He studiously extended his wings, and trusted chiefly to them for the success of the battle, having formed them of Romans, while the allies composed the centre. The wings had been for some time engaged, before the rest of each army approached; for the general engagement was delayed by Scipio, until he thought that the enemy, not having broken fast, would be so much in want of refreshment, as to act with languor and inertness. Asdrubal's centre, consisting of veteran Carthaginians and other Africans, did not long contend.

but retreated slowly and in compact order⁶. Having defeated the wings, Scipio put his army in such quick motion, that the retreat of the foe was changed into flight. The pursuers would even have taken the camp, if the rain had not suddenly poured down in torrents. Asdrubal would have defended his camp in the morning that followed, if he had not been deserted by a great number of his Spanish auxiliaries. Discouraged by this diminution of his force, he decamped in the ensuing night; but his last division was overtaken by Scipio, who slew a multitude of the fugitives. A lofty hill seemed to afford an opportunity of encamping: it was seised and hastily fortified. Asdrubal, not wishing to become a prisoner, fled to the sea-side, and was conveyed to Gades with a small part of his force. Scipio then repaired to Tarraco, deeming Silanus equal to the task of subduing the remains of the enemy. Masinissa, the Numidian prince, in a private conference with the lieutenant, promised to espouse the Roman cause, and was permitted to return to Africa with that view. There was no necessity of storming the camp; for, when Mago had followed Asdrubal, the deserted army dwindled away.

Thus fortunate in Spain, Scipio resolved to pass over to Africa, and attack the vitals of the Carthaginian republic. He first secured (as he thought) the association of Syphax, king of the Masæsyli, at whose court he met Asdrubal, the solicitor of a similar confederacy. After his return to Spain from this preparatory voyage, he gave a loose to the fury of revenge, by storming Illiturgi, and putting every one of the inhabitants to death, because

6 Liv. lib. xxviii. cap. 15.—Appian, on the contrary, represents the Punie centre as not beginning to retreat before it had contended for the whole day, and had nearly defeated the opposing division. If such had been the resistance of the main body, is it to be supposed that only 800 men should fall in the whole army of the Romans (as this author affirms) while 15,000 of the enemy, by the same account, were slain?

some of the fugitive soldiers, who had served under his father or his uncle, had been murdered in seeking refuge at that town. For such cruelty, the leaders of the revolt deserved punishment; but the slaughter of women and infants dishonored the sword and disgraced the character of Scipio; and the destruction of the town by fire did not add to his fame. At Astapa also, a horrible scene was exhibited. The people, having evinced a determined spirit of hostility against the Romans, did not expect mercy from that stern and vindictive nation; and, being agitated to phrensy, they assembled their wives and children, and put them under the custody of fifty young men, who were directed to stab them as soon as the inhuman and insulting enemy had a certainty of success, and throw them upon a blazing pile, with the most valuable property that could be collected. The other inhabitants advanced against Marcius, and were cut off to a man by his troops. Then the directions which had been given were strictly followed; and the fifty executors of the barbarous order threw themselves into the devouring flames 7.

A mutiny soon after arose in the Roman army, from a disgust at the length of the war, and a wish for the immediate payment of stipendiary arrears; and the revolt of some Spanish states also alarmed the general, whose temporary illness had encouraged these ebullitions of discontent. The returning vigor of Scipio quelled the mutiny, the chief authors of which, to the number of thirty-five, were beheaded; and the revolted were chastised in the field with destructive effect. On his re-appearance at Rome, he declared to the senate, that he had not left a single Carthaginian in Spain. He was now created consul; and the people flattered themselves with the hope, that he would soon put an end to the war.

The new consul sailed with an army to Sicily, Ante Chr. 205. intending at an early opportunity to carry the

7 Liv. lib. xxviii. cap. 19, 20, 22.—Appiani Hist.

war into Africa. Hearing that Hannibal had repaired to Locri, to dislodge the Romans from a fort which had been betrayed to them, he passed over into Italy, that he might personally contend with that general. He soon compelled him to retreat from the place, and obtained full possession of it. But he did not feel himself capable of enforcing, at this time, the retreat of the great enemy of Rome from Italy.

On a reference to the Sibylline books, when the frequent fall of stones from the sky (probably nothing more than hail of an extraordinary size) had alarmed the superstition of the Romans, an oracle was found, intimating that the foreign enemy might be driven from Italy, if the mother of the Gods should be brought from Phrygia. In consequence of this discovery, Valerius and other persons of distinction were sent to the court of Attalus, king of Pergamus, to request his permission for the removal of the Goddess. They first consulted the Delphic oracle, and were desired to put the sacred image, when brought to Rome, under the care of the best man. Having obtained Ante Chr. 204. their wish, they returned to the mouth of the Tiber, and delivered the idol into the hands of Scipio Nasica, whom the senate and people had recommended as the best of the Roman citizens. He was the son of Cnæus, and consequently cousin to the young general, upon whom the eyes of Rome were eagerly fixed. He transferred the Goddess to the chief matrons of the city, who carried the precious deposit to the temple of Victory, on the Palatine hill[§].

This, my son, is a striking *trait* of Roman superstition. To suppose that a figure of stone had any inherent virtue or efficacy, was irrational and absurd; but the removal had a great effect on the minds of the people, who imagined that Rome was then the object of divine favor, and

§ Liv. lib. xxix. cap. 10, 11, 14.—Valer. Max. lib. viii. cap. 15.

would soon triumph over her enemies. One of her adversaries had already closed the war; but, as he had given very little molestation to the republic, this pacification was not productive of that joy which would have resulted from the termination of a difficult or dangerous war. I allude to Philip of Macedon, who granted peace to the Ætolians, at a time when Sempronius Tuditanus was crossing the sea with a considerable force. This commander reproached the allies for their hasty and clandestine negotiation; but he was soon induced to agree to a treaty, by which some districts of small importance were ceded to the Romans⁹.

The expedition to Africa had been delayed by the reluctance of the senate, from an apprehension of peril and disaster: but it was undertaken in the consulate of Sempronius and Cornelius Cethegus. Before the embarkation, Scipio was informed of the success of Asdrubal at the court of Syphax, who was persuaded to marry Sophonisba, the daughter of his Carthaginian visitant, and also to form a political alliance. He endeavoured to conceal from his men such intelligence as might discourage them; pretending that the Numidians who were seen in his camp, had been sent by Syphax to quicken his progress. After a long delay, he transported a gallant army to Africa¹⁰; and the report of his disembarkation spread terror through the dominions of Carthage. Masinissa, who had obtained the Massylian sovereignty in Numidia, but had since lost it by the hostilities of Syphax, joined the Romans with a party of horse, and promised every exertion. The grand encampment was near Utica; and the fleet attended the army at a short distance. When a body of cavalry had advanced to harass the invaders, Masinissa drew them into action, and gradually retreated, until the pursuers reached

9 See the account of this war in the Tenth Letter of the Second Part.

10 As far as we can judge from varying accounts, it is probable that about 20,000 men accompanied Scipio.

some hills, behind which Scipio had posted a sufficient number of horse to withstand and repel the foe. About 3000 were slain or captured; and Utica was now invested; but, after a siege of forty days, Scipio retired from the walls, on the approach of Asdrubal and his son-in-law with a very numerous army.

Hannibal, while he was anxious for the safety of Carthage, was not wholly inactive in Italy. He engaged Sempronius near Croton, and slew 1200 of his men; but, when the consul had augmented his army, he retrieved his honor by a victorious conflict, in which 4000 of the enemy fell. The other consul was employed in checking a spirit of revolt which had been manifested in Etruria. Many persons of distinction were accused of holding a correspondence with Mago; and, to avoid capital punishment, they banished themselves from the Roman dominions.

While the people were surprised at the seemingly-slow
Ante Chr. 203. progress of Scipio, they were gratified with intelligence of important success. The winter huts of Asdrubal's army being chiefly constructed of hurdles and other wood, and those of the Numidians being formed of reeds and mats, the idea of burning them arose in the mind of the general. He took possession of a hill near Utica, as if he merely intended to recommence the siege; and, while Lælius and Masinissa advanced at night to the camp of Syphax, he, with another part of the army, marched to Asdrubal's station. The sentinels of the former camp were easily overpowered, and the nearest huts fired. The flames spread with rapidity. The Numidians, thinking that the fire was accidental, rushed unarmed to attempt its extinction: many were instantly slaughtered; many were crushed to death by the throng of those who endeavoured to escape; and a great number miserably perished in the flames. From Asdrubal's camp, the astonished soldiers rushed in crowds to assist the Numidians. They were stopped and put to the sword by the

followers of Scipio, who entered by the neglected gates, and set fire to some of the huts and tents. The blaze soon became general, and the havock was horrible beyond description. About 40,000 of the enemy (it is said) lost their lives, and 5000 were made prisoners¹¹. But the king and his ally escaped, and diligently collected the fugitives, so as still to present the appearance of an army.

The Romans were soon favored with additional success. Asdrubal and Syphax, having added to their African troops a body of Celtiberians, ventured to encounter Scipio, but were defeated with little difficulty. Lælius and Masinissa were detached to pursue the fugitives, while the proconsul reduced one town after another. The prince recovered his kingdom by the expulsion of the troops of Syphax, and began to conceive the hope of adding the realm of his adversary to his own dominions. Risquing another battle, Syphax had the advantage in the equestrian conflict : but the Roman infantry made such an impression, that the receding cavalry were encouraged to renew the action, and the victory of Lælius was completed by the king's capture¹².

Masinissa hastened to Cirta (where the vanquished prince had lately kept his court), and easily gained possession of that city. Sophonisba, who had originally been betrothed to him, threw herself at his feet, and conjured him to take her under his care, and not suffer her to endure the insulting tyranny of a Roman master. Being still enamoured of the beautiful Carthaginian, he promised compliance; and, to secure her from Roman servitude, he immediately married her. When Syphax was brought

11 This is Livy's calculation. Appian says, that the victims were almost 30,000 in number, and the prisoners 2400; but it must be observed, that he confines the conflagration to the camp of Asdrubal. Syphax, according to this author, when he saw the flames, merely sent some cavalry to assist his father-in-law, and fled with the bulk of his army, leaving his camp to Masinissa, who had already cut off the equestrian detachment.

12 Liv. lib. xxx. cap. 8, 11, 12.—App. de Bellis Punicis,

before Scipio, the general asked him what could be his inducement to make war upon that nation to which he had allied himself. He answered, that his Carthaginian wife was his evil genius, who, from an hereditary hatred to the Romans, had seduced him into a violation of his faith and honor ; and he advised Scipio to prevent her from practising the same arts upon the prince to whom she had since surrendered herself. The proconsul, in a private interview, reproached Masinissa for his clandestine proceedings, and desired him to deliver up the lady, as a part of the spoils. A refusal having produced a repetition of the demand, the Numidian sent a faithful servant with poison to Sophonisba, leaving it to her option, to take the deadly draught, or yield herself to a haughty enemy. Preferring death to ignominy, she took the poison with an unaltered countenance, and died in the arms of her nurse¹³. Scipio, apprehending the effects of Masinissa's grief and indignation, soothed him with flattering expressions, and, in an assembly of the troops, honored him with pompous praises, and presented him with a golden crown and other *insignia* of honor, which some, however, would call empty baubles.

After the conflagration of the two camps, a strong party in the senate of Carthage had proposed peace ; but a stronger faction (that which Asdrubal headed) then voted for a continuance of the war. The defeat and captivity of Syphax, and the dread of ulterior calamities from the vigor of Scipio, now prompted the majority to agree to a negotiation. Before this resolution was adopted, Asdrubal bribed many of the Spaniards in Scipio's army to set fire to the Roman camp ; but the plot was discovered, and the traitors were put to death¹⁴. Thirty deputies were sent to the Roman general, to sue for peace. The terms dic-

13 Liv. lib. xxx. cap. 12—15.—App. de Bellis Punicis.—Excerpt. à Diod. lib. xxvi.

14 App. de Bellis Punicis.—Livy has not mentioned this plot,

tated by Scipio were arbitrary and unreasonable, but were not rejected; and, a truce being proclaimed, envoys repaired to Rome for the final adjustment of all disputes.

Some incidents of the war, in Italy, require notice. The consul Servilius Cæpio reclaimed various towns and communities in the south, and is said (but this is a doubtful point) to have been victorious over Hannibal himself near Croton. In the north, the proconsul Cethegus defeated Mago, who was soon after recalled to Carthage, but died (during the voyage) of a wound which he had received in the battle. A message of revocation was likewise sent to Hannibal, who exclaimed, "Those who have so long withholden supplies, have long since indirectly recalled me. I am conquered, not by the Roman people, but by the envy and malice of the Carthaginian senate." Before his departure, he pillaged many towns, and perpetrated various enormities. He wished to carry off his Italian auxiliaries; and the greater part consented to accompany him: the rest were surrounded by his African troops, and (with the exception of some who were detained as slaves) were transfixed with javelins¹⁵.

When his fleet sailed away, he frequently looked back to the coast of Italy, and seemed to feel as much regret as if the country which he left had given him birth, and had been the seat of his early youth. The frustration of his hopes of conquest he bitterly lamented.

His departure seemed at first to excite little joy; but, when some of the senators had noticed the importance of the event, supplications for five days were decreed. That religious spirit which dictated these ceremonies, ought to have inclined the assembly to peace: yet the envoys from Carthage were treated as spies, and dismissed with a haughty answer. At the same time, a laudable clemency was shown to those Italian communities which had re-

15 Liv. lib. xxx. cap. 18—20.—Appian. de Bellis Hannibalis.

volted to the enemy ; but the amnesty was not universal ; for, in the greater part of the Brutian territory, the people were disarmed, and portions of land were seized by the government. For the restoration of order in the reclaimed districts, the dictator Sulpicius traversed them with the usual retinue of that dignity, attended to complaints, and decided causes.

The hostile spirit of the Carthaginians broke out even during the time allowed for a suspension of arms. A storm having dispersed a Roman fleet, within view of Carthage, Asdrubal was desired by the people to take possession of as many of the vessels as he could collect along the shore. Some of these, laden with supplies for the army, were seized and dragged into the port. Scipio remonstrated against this breach of faith ; but his deputies were insulted by the populace at Carthage, and attacked on their return by some ships stationed near Utica, so that they reached the shore with great difficulty. The war was now renewed by the Romans, who wrested several towns from the faithless enemy ¹⁶.

Hannibal, who had landed with his troops at Leptis, was desired to take the command of the whole Carthaginian army. Even the chief author of the war, however, was now willing to make an attempt for the restoration of peace. He knew that his country was involved in severe distress by the long continuance of the war ; that its resources were nearly exhausted ; and that peace, even if it should not be permanent, would be highly desirable. He therefore sent an officer to Scipio, to propose a conference. The meeting of the two greatest generals of the age fixed the attention of both armies. Each in silence viewed his adversary with respectful admiration, before the subject of peace was mentioned. Hannibal consented to confine the Carthaginian power to Africa ;

¹⁶ Excerpt. è Polyb. lib. xv.—Liv. lib. xxx.—Appian says, that some of the deputies were killed.

but Scipio declared, that he would not recede from any one of the terms which he had already proposed ¹⁷.

Both parties then prepared for the decision of arms. Hannibal placed eighty elephants in the front of his army: behind these quadruped combatants, Gauls, Spaniards, Balearic islanders, and Mauritians, constituted the first line of human warriors; the Carthaginians, the troops of some other African nations, and also a Macedonian legion, composed the second line; the Italian auxiliaries were stationed in the rear; and cavalry formed the wings. Scipio also drew up his army in three lines; not in thronged cohorts, but in small bodies, with intervening spaces, through which the elephants might pass without disordering the battalions. His wings were conducted by Lælius and Masinissa, who were equally alert and intrepid.

The elephants commenced the engagement by rushing against the first line, but chiefly into the spaces, where they made some havock among the light-armed combatants, who had been particularly ordered to harass them. Being thrown into confusion by volleys of darts and thrusts of spears, many of them turned upon the Mauritanian and Numidian cavalry in Hannibal's left wing, and others upon the Carthaginian horse. Masinissa and Lælius, profiting by the disorder thus produced, chased the equestrian divisions from the field. The Gauls and their associates fought with spirit; but Roman vigor compelled them to retreat with great loss; and, when they found that the second line, instead of supporting them, indignantly pushed them away, they slew many of those who treated them so unfeelingly, and retired from the field. Scipio then ordered the battalions which had so far proved victorious, to desist; and, placing in the wings the troops of the second and third lines, while the first occupied the

middle station, he renewed the battle. The Romans and their auxiliaries, thus arranged and disposed, were more numerous than the hostile troops that remained unbroken, although, in the aggregate, Hannibal's force, when first brought into action, considerably out-numbered the army of Scipio¹⁸. The enemy's second line, for some time, resisted all the efforts of the Romans: but the latter at length manifestly gained the advantage over that division, and also, with the aid of Lælius and Masinissa (who had opportunely returned into the field), repelled and routed the third line. Above 20,000 of the vanquished fell on the ensanguined field, and about 15,000 became captives. On the side of the victors, 2500 of the Italians were slain, beside an equal or greater number of Numidians¹⁹.

By this memorable engagement was the great contest decided. The fortune of Rome prevailed over the tutelar deities of Carthage. Hannibal, yielding the palm to Scipio, acknowledged the necessity of suing for peace. The victorious general, after plundering the camp, sent Octavius with the army to invest Carthage; and, hastening to the coast, where he added to his navy a well-stored fleet which had lately arrived, he advanced to block up the capital by sea. Being met in the voyage by ten persons of distinction, whom the senate had deputed to offer submission and implore mercy, he desired them to meet him at Tunis. In his way to that town after his disembarkation, he was informed of the approach of a Numidian army under Vermina, who had taken possession of the greater part of the dominions of his father, the captive Syphax²⁰, while Masinissa, with the consent of Scipio,

18 It may be presumed, from a comparison of accounts, that the army of Hannibal exceeded 45,000 men, and that of Scipio nearly amounted to 30,000: but no certainty can be attained on this head.

19 Liv. lib. xxx. cap. 33—35.—Excerpt. è Polyb. lib. xv.—App. de Bellis Punicis.

20 This prince died in confinement, his misfortunes having hastened his dissolution. *Appian*.

had seised the remaining portion. The Romans quickly defeated the African prince, who escaped with only a small part of his force.

The terms offered by Scipio at Tunis were referred to the rulers of Carthage, whom Hannibal advised to accept them. When the subject was discussed by the Roman senate, the consul Lentulus, offended at the continuance of Scipio's command, which, he thought, would better have been transferred to himself, in vain opposed the general inclination of the assembly for peace. It was voted, both by the senate and the people, that the conqueror of Hannibal should adjust the pacification upon his own terms.

That the stipulations were offensive and rigorous, few will deny. The Carthaginians, indeed, were graciously allowed to enjoy the ordinary benefit of their own laws and constitution: but they were ordered to cede all European possessions; to give up all their ships of war, except ten small vessels; not only to restore all prisoners, but to surrender every fugitive and deserter; to give up all their elephants, and not tame any in future; to pay an annual tribute of 200 talents for fifty years; and not to wage war, either in or out of Africa, without permission from Rome. The ships were not brought away, but were consigned to the flames, within view of the indignant people, who would scarcely have been more affected, if they had seen Carthage burning. The deserters were cruelly treated: those who bore the Roman name were crucified, while the allies and dependents of the republic were decapitated²¹.

²¹ Liv. lib. xxx. cap. 37, 43.

LETTER XVII.

Combined History of ROME and GREECE, to the Defeat and Humiliation of ANTIOCHUS the Great.

Ante Chr. 201. WHEN the success of the second war with the Carthaginians had confirmed the power and elevated the hopes of the Romans, they aimed at a more decisive concern in the affairs of Macedon and Greece, than they had before assumed ; and, as Philip had assisted their most determined enemy, they had a plausible pretence for watching his movements. They seemed to wish for his renewed hostility, that they might have an opportunity of crushing him ; and, for the future, Rome resolved to act as a guiding star to the Grecian planet.

Soon after the restoration of peace, the senate sent three ambassadors to Alexandria, to thank the court for it's observance of neutrality in the late contest, and offer protection to Ptolemy Epiphanes, who, at an immature age, had lately succeeded his father Philopator. A friendly answer was given by the ministers of the young king ; and it was intimated, that the Athenians had solicited his aid against Philip, but that he would not take an active part in the affairs of Greece, without the consent of the Roman people.

Ante Chr. 200. The murder of two young Acarnanians, who, unconscious of offence, had merely entered the temple of Ceres, in whose mysteries they were not initiated, had excited such a warmth of indignation, that the rulers of the state to which they belonged, urged Philip to send troops without delay, for the chastisement of the Athenians. He readily complied with the request ; and Attica was furiously ravaged. The king of Pergamus, arriving at Athens, while the minds of the people were in-

flamed at this affront, exhorted them to declare war against the Macedonians, who, he said, would also have the Romans for their enemies. Envoys from Rhodes eagerly joined in the solicitation; and a confederacy was quickly formed for the ruin of Philip¹.

The consul, Sulpicius Galba, had already used his influence, at the desire of the senate, for the excitation of new hostilities. The people, in a centuriate assembly, condemned the proposed war; and the tribune Bæbius accused the senators of a determined repugnance to peace. The zealots of war reviled him for his humanity; and when Sulpicius, haranguing the people, had endeavoured to convince them of the expediency of hostilities, they recalled their pacific vote; whence we may infer, not that his rhodomontade had the force of persuasion, but that the popular branch of the government was nearly annihilated by the despotic arrogance and power of the patri-cians.

Amidst the preparations for the Macedonian war, an alarm was excited by Gallic hostility. The Insubres and other Gauls, led by Hamilcar, one of Mago's officers, pillaged Placentia, and destroyed a great part of the town by fire. They found Cremona less unprepared for defence, and therefore besieged it in form. The prætor Furius advanced against them; and such was their eagerness to engage, that they scarcely allowed him sufficient time to arrange his force. He ably baffled all their attempts to surround and overwhelm him; wearied his men with the work of slaughter; and gratified the senate by a signal victory.

If Attalus and the Rhodians had acted with determined spirit, they might perhaps have effectually checked the progress of Philip; but, by their dilatory indolence, they suffered the Romans to deprive them of that honor. The

1 Liv. lib. xxxi. cap. 14, 15.

king, marching into the Thracian peninsula, reduced various towns and fortresses, and crossed the Hellespont to Abydos, which Attalus might have relieved from a siege. When a general assault was threatened, the inhabitants proposed a capitulation; but Philip demanded an unconditional surrender. The enraged garrison sallied out, and fought with the utmost fury, until the majority fell. Those who remained in the town massacred their wives and children, and then killed themselves².

Returning into Greece, the king resolved to harass the Athenians, whom the Romans were eager to assist. Claudius Cento had reached the Piræus with an armament; and, unwilling to be idle, he listened to the advice of some exiles from Chalcis, sailed toward that town, slew or drove out the Macedonians by whom it was garrisoned, destroyed the magazines, and left the town in a half-ruined state. Philip hoped for an opportunity of perpetrating similar outrages at Athens. His approach was discerned from a watch-tower; the alarming intelligence was rapidly conveyed to the astonished citizens; and the walls were immediately manned. A part of the garrison rushed out, and boldly encountered the invaders, who, after the destruction of many of their adversaries, retreated, and wantonly set fire to a part of the suburbs. The arrival of succours from Ægina, and the march of the Romans from the Piræus, saved the menaced city. Philip repaired to the isthmus, and thence proceeded to Argos, where the Achæians were then in council. Having endeavoured, without effect, to involve that republic in a war with the Romans, he returned into Attica, made a fruitless attack upon the Piræus and the city itself, ravaged the country, and burned even the religious structures³.

The campaign in Macedonia was not deficient in importance of incident. Sulpicius detached one of his

² Liv. lib. xxxi. cap. 16—18.—Polyb.

³ Liv. lib. xxxi. cap. 24—26.

lieutenants to seize towns and commit depredations ; and success attended the expedition. He then led his army to meet Philip, whom he repeatedly encountered ; but the conflicts were merely partial, being confined to the cavalry and light-armed troops. In one of the actions, the Macedonians had the advantage, but lost it by eagerness of pursuit ; and it was with great difficulty that the king escaped death. Unwilling to risque a general engagement, he decamped in the night, and fortified a narrow pass, which, however, the consul forced.

Roman influence, and Athenian exhortations, had drawn the Ætolians into the war, in the hope of frustrating the ambitious schemes of Philip. They invaded Macedonia and Thessaly, but were surprised by the enemy, and driven back with loss into their own territories, as were also the Dardanians, who still took every opportunity of harassing the Macedonians.

A Roman fleet from Corcyra having joined Attalus, a descent was made on the isle of Andros, and the capital was reduced. After other exploits, the strong town of Oreus, in Eubœa, was attacked, and obliged to surrender to the king, the Romans contenting themselves with the captivity of it's defenders. The allies then separated ; and Apustius, the republican commander, left a squadron for the security of the port of Athens.

The campaign of the next year, in Macedon, was unimportant. The consul Villius made his appearance in that kingdom ; but so little did he perform, that history is silent on the subject ; for the account of a great victory, given by Valerius of Antium, is treated by well-informed authors as fabulous. In Cis-Alpine Gaul, a great loss was sustained ; for the Romans, having invaded the territories of the Insubres, were nearly surrounded, and lost, by death or capture, 6600 of their number ⁴.

Ante Chr.
199.

Philip began to affect a desire of peace; but he was not yet sufficiently humbled to grant such terms as would satisfy the Romans. Quintius Flaminius⁵, who had an interview with him on the banks of the Aous, insisted on his renunciation of all authority over Thessaly. He replied, that such a demand could only be imposed on a vanquished prince; and abruptly closed the conference. Some skirmishes followed; after which the Macedonians retired to a mountainous post of difficult access. A detachment being guided by a peasant to a spot which commanded the hostile station, the consul had an opportunity of approaching in front with little danger. He slew or captured 2000 men: the rest, with the king, escaped into Thessaly, and thence, under an apprehension of Ætolian hostilities, returned into Macedon.

The unfortunate Thessalians were exposed to grievous calamities. Philip, who professed himself to be their friend, plundered many of their towns, that his enemies might not be benefited by the spoils, and carried off the men who were fit for service. The Ætolians and the Athamanes committed ravages and depredations among them from hostile motives; and the consul, while he received some towns into favor, pillaged and burned Phaleria, but failed in the siege of Æginium. His brother, in the mean time, conducted a fleet to Eubœa, and, with the aid of Attalus and the Rhodians, besieged Eretria. While the king was treating with the garrison for a surrender, the Roman admiral, not acting very honorably, took the town by scalade. To a man of refined taste, the spoils would have been interesting; for many valuable pictures and statues, with scarcely any gold or silver, were found in the place. A liberal man would have left them to the inhabitants; but it does not appear that they were suffered to remain in the spot which they had long embellished.

⁵ Not Flaminius, the son of that consul who fell in a battle with Hannibal.

After the reduction of some towns in Phocis, the consul threatened Corinth with a siege; and, to draw the Achæians into a confederacy, he promised that he would give up that city, as a convenient place for their national council. In a meeting at Sicyon, they declared their assent to an immediate alliance with Attalus and the Rhodians, and soon after extended it, so as to comprehend the Romans. Corinth was attacked, but was saved by the arrival of Philocles with a body of Macedonians, who also gained possession of Argos.

At Rome, an alarm arose from a conspiracy of slaves to release the hostages, given up by the Carthaginians at the conclusion of the pacific treaty. The plot being disclosed by two of those who had outwardly concurred in it, the prætor Merula seised some of the conspirators at Setia, and apprehended others in different places; and the capital punishment of 500 of these offenders removed the fears of the citizens.

The general opinion of the courage and ability of Quintius Flamininus induced the senate, after the election of new consuls, to continue him in his command. At the close of the late campaign, he Ante Chr.
197. had, in another interview with the king of Macedon, demanded a restitution of the Illyrian towns which that prince had seised, and a recall of his garrisons from the Grecian cities. At the same conference, demands of redress were also made by Attalus and the Grecian allies of the Romans: but Philip objected to the terms, and, promising to send ambassadors to negotiate at Rome, requested an armistice for two months. It was argued before the senate by the Achæian and Ætolian envoys, that Greece could not be free, while the king retained Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias; and, when his representatives, questioned on that subject, had replied, that they had no instructions to cede any one of those towns, they were instantly dismissed. At the conference he had declared

himself willing to surrender Argos : he now requested the Spartan tyrant to take that city under his care, and restore it to him in case of his being victorious over the Romans. Nabis, having thus obtained temporary possession, shamefully plundered the male inhabitants, and sent his wife to rob the principal women of their ornaments, and even of their apparel ⁶.

Having adjusted a league with Nabis, and also with the Bœotians, who were over-awed by the sudden appearance of an armed body of Romans in their capital, Quintius made preparations for a vigorous campaign. When the Ætolians and other allies had joined him, he found himself at the head of about 25,000 men ; and his royal antagonist had an equal number. The two armies met in Thessaly, near some rocky hills called Cynoscephalæ⁷. The king's chief strength was in his right wing, which he had drawn up in compact order : but, when his left wing, impeded by broken ground, and unable to close it's ranks, had been repelled, and while the centre seemed to have lost it's power of action, the Romans fiercely attacked the first division both in front and rear, and obtained the victory. About 8000 of the enemy were slain, and 5000 captured.

Philip was so depressed by this defeat, that he humbly sued for peace, offering to agree to all the demands which had been brought forward at the late conference. The Ætolian prætor advised the seisure of the Macedonian realm, as, unless the allies should proceed to that extremity, the Romans would not long remain at peace, or the freedom of Greece be secured. Flamininus replied, that such an act of violence was unjustifiable ; and that, if the power of Macedon should be annihilated, there would be an opening for the Thracians, the Illyrians, and the Gauls, to spread their ferocious hordes over Greece.

6 Excerpt. è Polyb. lib. xvii.—Liv. lib. xxxii.

7 From their resemblance to a dog's head.

The terms of peace being referred to the senate, that assembly, for some months, delayed the confirmation of the treaty, and, when it was settled, imperious additions were made to the articles proposed by the proconsul. It was required, that Philip should surrender all his vessels, pay 1000 talents, not keep up above 500 armed men, and not make war out of Macedon, unless the Roman senate should permit⁸. With regard to Corinth, it was provided, that the city should be given up to the Achæians, but that the citadel should be garrisoned by Romans, under whose protection Chalcis and Demetrias should also remain, while any apprehensions were entertained of the hostilities of Antiochus, who was suspected of maintaining a correspondence with Hannibal, the determined and inveterate enemy of Rome. This prince had excited the jealousy of the Romans, by concurring with Philip in a treaty for the partition of the dominions of Ptolemy Epiphanes, the minor king of Egypt, and by invading the territories of Attalus; and he confirmed that jealousy by giving a friendly reception to the Punic general, who, when ambassadors had been sent from Rome to Carthage to complain of his conduct⁹, escaped from Africa, and arrived safely in the Syrian kingdom.

The Ætolians claimed the chief honor of the late victory: but all who knew the particulars of the engagement, considered their pretension as an empty boast. Their efforts certainly contributed to the success of the day; yet not so materially, as to supersede the prior claims of the Romans. They were so greedy of plunder, as to carry off a great part of the spoils of Philip's camp,

⁸ Liv. lib. xxxiii. cap. 30.—Polyb.

⁹ Justin says, that a secret order was given to the ambassador Servilius, to procure the assassination of Hannibal by one of his rivals or enemies: but this does not appear from Livy; and, if the Romans had been murderously disposed, they would not have been ashamed of making an open demand of his person.

before the legionaries rushed into it. Alleging that the captured towns ought to be delivered up to them, they desired Quintius to put them in possession of Thebes; and his refusal inflamed their indignation. To him it was evident, that they wished to exercise the principal sway over Greece: but the Romans would suffer none, except their own senate or their consuls and generals, to domineer in that country.

About the time of Philip's defeat, the Achæians distinguished themselves by routing a superior number of his troops near Corinth. The king's enemies were also successful in Acarnania, where the proconsul's brother took Leucas by storm, and received the submissions of the different communities. Thus did the Romans augment their influence in Greece, and pave the way to future dominion.

They now proceeded to what they called the deliverance of Greece. The victorious antagonist of Philip passed the winter at Athens, conciliating the people by courtesy, and recommending the Roman name by dignified moderation. The Bœotians, however, having
Ante Chr. 196. been unwillingly drawn into the alliance, chose for their governor one who was more inclined to serve Philip than promote the interest of Rome. The sudden murder of this chief magistrate, by some promoters of the confederacy, so inflamed the minds of the populace, that it was unsafe for a Roman to pass through the country; and many soldiers of that nation were robbed and assassinated. Quintius was preparing to avenge these outrages by military execution, when the intercession of the Achæians induced him to content himself with pecuniary exaction.

A remarkable and interesting scene attended the celebration of the Isthmian games, when Corinth was thronged with visitants from every part of Greece. A crier came forward, and silence was ordered. The spectators supposed that he was merely on the point of announcing

some game or sport. How great was their surprise, when he delivered the following proclamation! “The Roman senate, and Titus Quintius, general of the republic, having subdued king Philip and the Macedonians, order the Corinthians, Phocians, Locrians, the people of the island of Eubœa, the Magnesians, Thessalians, Perrhæbians, and Phthiotes, to be free and independent, and to reap the benefit of their own laws¹⁰.” The crier was desired to repeat the pleasing sounds. Every heart was full of rapture; every voice and gesture indicated joy. Thanks and praises were showered upon the proconsul; he was hailed as the friend of liberty, the dispenser of the greatest blessing that mankind could enjoy!

While the Greeks exulted in the idea of that liberty which their arbitrary friends did not intend to allow them, the Romans were alarmed with commotions in Cis-Alpine Gaul and in Spain. The Insubres had engaged a consular army in the preceding year, and a great part of their force had been cut off; and the Boii, intimidated by the overthrow of their confederates, had dispersed themselves, but were obliged to witness the devastation of their territories. Re-taking arms in the spring, they were victorious over Claudius Marcellus, who, in his turn, defeated their Insubrian friends. Both consuls afterward attacked a multitude of Boian marauders, and left few survivors. In Spain, the prætor Sempronius was defeated and mortally wounded by an army of revolters; but the proconsul Minucius attacked some of the warlike chieftains, and convinced them of the superiority of the Roman arms.

The extension of revolt in Spain prompted the senate to send one of the next consuls into the peninsula. The person to whom the management of

Ante Chr.
195.

10 Liv. lib. xxxiii. cap. 32.—The states and communities here specified were those which Philip had long holden in subjection; and it was understood, that the Athenians, Ætolians, and other Grecian states not mentioned, were included in the grant.

this war was allotted was Marcus Porcius Cato, an object of high praise among the admirers of the "hardihood of antiquity." He had served under Fabius, and was quæstor or treasurer to Scipio, whom he accused of wantonly dissipating the public money, and of encouraging the soldiers in luxury and in frequency of sport. In Sardinia he had acted as prætor, and obtained the character of a just judge. He was distinguished by his temperance and self-denial, his contempt of what others called pleasure, and his invincible perseverance in what he considered as right: he was also an able orator, and a man of learning; but his manners were stern and harsh, and his want of feeling led him into acts of inhumanity. His general strictness did not prevent him from being sometimes unchaste; and his public disinterestedness was relaxed by an usurious spirit.

A proposal for the abrogation of a law¹¹ against female extravagance in ornaments, dress, and equipage, furnished the new consul with an opportunity for the exercise of his eloquence. It was natural to suppose that a man of his character would deem such a law salutary, and strenuously resist its repeal: but neither his invectives against the fair sex, nor his arguments, had the effect which he desired. Not only the women of Rome, but those of the neighbouring towns, thronged all the avenues to the place of meeting, and used their blandishments to influence the men of weight and interest; and their persuasions, reinforced by the consideration of the inapplicability of the law to the flourishing state of the republic, induced the majority to repeal the obnoxious regulation.

Disappointed in this respect, Cato hastened into Spain to signalise his courage. He attacked the insurgents near Emporiæ; and, when his men began to give way, he rallied them by his exhortations and example. Having

¹¹ Enacted under the auspices of the tribune Oppius, at a time of public distress, soon after the battle of Cannæ.

gained the advantage in the field, he assaulted the camp, forced it, and made great havock. Many towns were overawed into submission: the people were disarmed, and the walls demolished. The order for disarming was so severely felt, that many of the Spaniards killed themselves from indignation and despair; and the injunction for dismantling the towns would probably have been disobeyed, if the inhabitants of every place had not separately received it, without knowing that it comprehended others. Having met with farther success, the consul entitled himself to the honor of a triumph¹².

A short war arose in the Peloponnesus from the refusal of Nabis to surrender Argos. A numerous army of Romans and Greeks advanced to that city, and, finding the garrison intent on defence, proceeded to Sparta to attack the *tyrant* himself, who proved himself so worthy of the name, that, when he had apprehended eighty young men of respectable families, whom, he declared, he would only detain in custody while the danger of war continued, he privately ordered the whole number to be put to death. Alarmed at the approach of the allies, and at the seizure of Gytheum and other maritime towns, he requested a conference with Quintius, and promised to withdraw his garrison from Argos. The proconsul demanded additional marks of submission, with hostages and a tribute; which Nabis refused to grant. Hostilities ensued near the walls; and the city was invested in form. The higher parts were not walled, but were only defended by armed parties. At one of these openings, the Romans rushed in with the retreating guard, and would have taken the town, if some buildings had not been suddenly fired near the spot; which so terrified those who had entered, that they quickly fled back to the besieging army. Repeated attacks induced the tyrant to solicit a truce; and he afterward agreed

¹² App. de Bellis Hispanicis.

to the terms which he had rejected. The people of Argos had already expelled his garrison, which he had weakened by calling off a considerable part to the defence of his capital. The Nemean games were now solemnised in the presence of Quintius; and, with joyful shouts, the restoration of liberty was proclaimed¹³.

The Gallic war was not yet terminated. Valerius, when he was the colleague of Cato, had obtained a victory over the Boii; and, when proconsul, he defeated them after they had joined the Insubres. Ante Chr. 194. Sempronius, who was now promoted to the consulate with the celebrated Scipio, engaged the same enemy, with only a partial advantage. His associate, at this time, performed nothing answerable to his former fame, whether (as one author says) he had Spain for his province, or (as another asserts) he acted in Cis-Alpine Gaul.

Quintius still employed himself in settling the affairs of Greece. In an assembly at Corinth, he gave judicious advice to the representatives of the different states, exhorting them to make a proper use of the liberty which they had regained. He heard complaints, and redressed grievances. He procured the release of all the Italian prisoners who had been sold by Hannibal; and the rulers of the Grecian communities, who purchased these slaves from their masters to give them to the proconsul, were gratified with the recall of the Roman troops from the three towns which he had garrisoned.

The disgust of the Ætolians at the Roman ascendancy Ante Chr. 193. in Greece, induced them to court the friendship, not only of Philip and Nabis, but also of the Syrian king. While they waited the result of their intrigues, success attended the Roman arms in the western peninsula. Scipio Nasica prevailed over the Spaniards in the field, and reduced towns and fortresses with great

rapidity. He also triumphed over an army of Lusitanians, who had plundered the neighbouring territories. Fulvius afterward routed the Celtiberians, and the troops of other states, near Toletum. In Cis-Alpine Gaul, the consul Merula encountered the Boii, and, with a considerable loss of his men, slew a much greater number of the enemy.

Influenced by ambition, and by the persuasions of Hannibal and the Ætolians, Antiochus resolved to enter into a war with the Romans, whose ambassadors, suspecting his intentions, urged him to abstain from all interference in the affairs of Europe, unless he wished them to espouse the cause of the Asiatic communities that were harassed by his arms. In defiance of former remonstrances, he had kept possession of Lysimachia, which he had rebuilt, and continued to encroach upon Thrace; and he had deprived the young Ptolemy of a part of his possessions in Asia, although he knew that this prince was under Roman protection: but he condescended to make a partial restitution of his conquests, on the marriage of his daughter to the Egyptian monarch. He then made preparations for a war in Greece, rather than in Italy; disregarding in this instance the advice of Hannibal, on whose judgement he ought to have relied. “I am well acquainted with Italy (said the Carthaginian exile to the king); and, if you will put 10,000 men under my command, I will harass the Romans with diligence and effect. I will also instigate my countrymen to a renewal of the war, to which, I have reason to think, they are not disinclined¹⁴.”

The Romans were ready to meet the storm with which they were threatened; but their Grecian allies did not wait for their assistance. Nabis, expecting support from Antiochus, first took arms. He invested Gytheum, and ravaged the lands of the Achaians, because they had sent

aid to the besieged. The prætor of that republic was Philopœmen, who was eager to crush the tyrant. Not being conversant in naval affairs, he sent out, among other cruisers, an old weather-beaten vessel, which, on the first shock from a Spartan ship, became leaky and fell to pieces. The Lacedæmonians captured the crew, while the prætor escaped with the rest of the fleet. He had better success by land ; for he set fire to the camp of Nabis, and few of the occupants escaped the flames or the sword. He drew another body of the foe into an ambuscade, slew and captured many ; and had the advantage in two subsequent conflicts¹⁵. The discouraged tyrant took refuge within the walls of Sparta, while his active antagonist diffused severe devastation over Laconia. Quintius was not displeased at the depression of Nabis ; but he was disgusted at the praise that was bestowed upon Philopœmen. This meanness of jealousy detracted from the general excellence of his character.

All the endeavours of Quintius to conciliate the Ætolians proved abortive. Thoas, one of their chiefs, had returned from the court of Antiochus with a promise of the speedy appearance of that monarch in Greece ; and he proposed to commence the deliverance of the country by the seisure of Demetrias, Chalcis, and Sparta. Into the first of these cities, a party of horse gained admission, on pretence of doing honor to Eurylochus, the exiled chief magistrate, who was urged by his partisans to return. Chalcis was secured from the attempts of Thoas by the assistance of troops from other Eubœan towns. Alexamenus, who led the Ætolians to Sparta, called out Nabis, as an ally, to a conference and to military exercise, and threw him from his horse by piercing the quadruped : others rushed forward, and slew him as he lay prostrate. The tyrant died unlamented : but the treachery by which he fell was

condemned by men of honor. While the Ætolians were dispersed about the town in quest of spoil, the people cut off many of the intruders, and did not spare their commander. Philopœmen soon after entered the city, while a Roman squadron arrived at Gytheum; and the Lacedæmonians were persuaded to accede to the Achaian confederacy¹⁶.

Antiochus landed in Eubœa with a smaller force than might have been expected from his power and resources. His infantry did not exceed 10,000, and his cavalry only amounted to 500. With this army, however, he soon overawed the people of Chalcis into submission; and the rest of Eubœa followed the fate of the capital. The first hostilities of his troops against the Romans took place on the coast opposite to that island. Many soldiers, who were quietly taking a survey of the Delian temple, or wandering along the shore, were surprised and put to the sword; and others were carried off as prisoners. A declaration of war against the Syrian king was no longer delayed, as this wanton aggression gave it
Ante Chr. 191.
 an appearance of justice. The kings of Macedon and Egypt promised to assist the Romans in this war, both with money and troops. Masinissa and the Carthaginians offered a large quantity of corn, as a present; but the senate insisted upon paying for all supplies of that kind¹⁷.

After the reduction of some towns in Thessaly, the royal invader retired on the approach of a small force, which he supposed to be a great army of Romans and Macedonians. He then espoused a young lady of Chalcis, and exchanged the labors and dangers of a campaign for amorous gratifications and festive pleasures. His soldiers were induced, by his example, to prefer amusement to military duties and discipline.

The consul Acilius, joined by Philip, acted against

16 Liv. lib. xxxv. cap. 32—38.

17 Liv. lib. xxxv. cap. 43, 51; xxxvi. 4.—App. de Bellis Syriacis.

Amynder, who had relinquished his alliance with Rome. His territories were quickly subdued ; but he opportunely escaped with his family to Ambracia. Acilius afterward marched toward the pass of Thermopylæ, of which Antiochus had taken possession, while the Ætolians occupied some of the commanding heights. Cato, after a perplexed, laborious, and hazardous march, dislodged them from one of these posts ; and his appearance so intimidated the king's troops, that they desisted from the defence of the pass, which they had for some time maintained with spirit, fled in confusion, and were pursued with sanguinary effect, only their leader and 500 horsemen escaping death or capture. The consul now prepared to chastise the Ætolians, whom he considered as far more culpable than the Phocians or Bœotians, because they had been the ardent instigators of hostility and invasion, while the other states only gave inconsiderable aid to the Asiatic prince. He attacked them at Heraclea, which they had strongly garrisoned. The walls were furiously battered for above three weeks ; the town was then taken, and given up to pillage ; and the citadel was yielded at the first assault¹⁸.

Dreading the rigors of Roman vengeance, the Ætolians solicited peace, but refused to comply with the conditions annexed to the grant by the consul, who demanded a surrender of Amynder and other advisers of the war. Encouraged by a promise of speedy succour from their Syrian ally, they resolved to defend Naupactus with vigor. For two months they withstood every assault ; but then despair arose. The influence of Quintius Flamininus, however, rescued the besieged from military execution. He interceded with Acilius in their behalf, and procured a truce for them, until the will of the senate should be known. Demetrias was re-taken from the Ætolians by Philip, whose conduct in the campaign was so agreeable

to the Romans, that his son, who had been given as an hostage, was restored.

Defeated by land, Antiochus was willing to try his fortune by sea. His admiral, Polyxenidas, who, being a native of Rhodes, was conversant in naval affairs, engaged the Roman fleet and that of Eumenes¹⁹, near the Asiatic coast; but his skill did not render him victorious. He lost twenty-three vessels, and fled to Ephesus. In the following spring, he deluded a Rhodian commander, by promising to betray to him the whole or the greater part of the king's fleet, on condition of pardon and recall from exile; and, surprising the enemy near Samos, he captured twenty ships. In the summer, a conflict occurred near the coast of Pamphylia, which was rendered more memorable, than it otherwise would have been, by the personal efforts of Hannibal. The Rhodians, under Eudamus, opposed him with a smaller fleet; and he was on the point of prevailing over that division with which he particularly contended, when other ships, which had been successful, came to the relief of the retiring vessels. He then fled with his shattered squadron, and did not take the least concern in a subsequent engagement near Myonnesus; in which fifty-eight Roman and twenty-two Rhodian ships encountered eighty-nine, that were commanded by Polyxenidas. The display of iron pans full of fire, at the end of long poles, in the Rhodian vessels, so terrified the enemy, as to facilitate that victory which Æmilius Regillus obtained. Twenty-nine of the ships of Antiochus (or, as some say, forty-two) were taken, sunk, or burned.

When the conduct of the Ætolians came under consideration at Rome, resentment, rather than lenity, influenced the deliberations. At length this alternative was proposed;—either that they should leave to the senate a

19 The son and successor of Attalus, king of Pergamus.

discretionary power with regard to them, or should pay 1000 talents, and have the same friends and enemies with the Romans. No explanation being given on the former head, their deputies were dissatisfied ; and, being ordered to quit Italy, they announced the expiration of the truce. Lamia was now besieged by the Romans, and taken by storm ; and Amphissa was in danger of reduction, when the consul Lucius Scipio arrived in the camp with his brother Africanus, who condescended to act as his lieutenant. Envoys from Athens soon after arrived, for the humane purpose of allaying the indignation of the Romans against the *Ætolians*. The consul gave an unfavorable answer ; but, on a renewal of solicitation, he granted an armistice for six months²⁰.

So discouraged was Antiochus by the ill success of his admiral in the last engagement, that he abandoned the defence of the Hellespont, and retired into Lydia. The two brothers were thus gratified with an opportunity, which they did not expect, of transporting their army from Europe into Asia without the least opposition. An envoy presented himself in their camp, expressing, in the king's name, a wish for peace. If he had offered to treat while the Romans were yet in Thrace, doubtful of the practicability of that passage which he might have strenuously opposed, honorable terms would probably have been granted to him ; but the conditions now dictated by Africanus were imperious and degrading. That general was privately courted, and tempted (as Fabricius had been by Pyrrhus) with offers of money and of exalted dignity ; but, like a Roman of the old school, he disdainfully rejected every overture that wounded his honor or his patriotism²¹.

Finding himself already treated by Roman arrogance as a vanquished prince, the king broke off the negotiation, and renewed his preparations for defence. The consular

20 App. de Bellis Syr.—Liv. lib. xxxvi.—vii.

21 Liv. lib. xxxvii. cap. 1, 4—7. —Excerpt. è Polyb.

army proceeded to Ilium (a town built on the spot where Troy formerly stood) ; and the soldiers were immediately reminded of the origin of their nation. The inhabitants were pleased at the arrival of those whom they regarded as the descendants of Æneas, and exulted in the renewal of the auspicious connexion.

When the consul approached the enemy (near Magnesia in Lydia) he resolved to storm the entrenchments, if Antiochus would not bring out his troops to battle. The king's reluctance gave way to a sense of shame, and to the hope of prevailing by a great superiority of number²². His followers were, for the most part, Asiatics, unfit to contend with the more resolute and disciplined troops of Italy. He had placed scythed chariots in front, to spread confusion among his adversaries : but Eumenes sent forward a body of Cretans, who, by their harsh shouts, and by volleys of missiles, terrified and drove off the horses. The left wing did not long resist the efforts of the warriors of Latium ; and even the main body, in which were 16,000 men armed in the Macedonian mode, forming a close phalanx, soon began to retreat, being severely harassed by arrows and javelins, and afraid to break its ranks. Antiochus, at the head of the right wing, attacked the opposite division in front and flank, and repelled both the cavalry and infantry. Æmilius Lepidus, who guarded the camp, ordered his men to stop all who retreated, and attack them as if they were enemies ; and this menace drove them back to meet their pursuers, over whom they finally became victorious²³.

²² Florus, with extravagant absurdity, says, that Antiochus had 300,000 infantry, and a proportional number of cavalry. Appian, however (and his calculation is sufficiently high), does not extend the amount beyond 70,000 ; while the Roman army, according to him, did not exceed 30,000.—Florus has also fallen into an error with regard to the place. It was not Magnesia on the Mæander, but a town of the same name near Mount Sipylus.

²³ Liv. lib. xxxvii. cap. 40—44.—Just. lib. xxxi. cap. 8. —App.—The ancient accounts of the loss of lives, in this battle, cannot easily be credited. In

From this success the consul derived the epithet of *Asiaticus*. His brother, on that day, did not reap any additional laurels, being prevented by indisposition from attending the army. The chief merit of the victory was due to Domitius, Æmilius, Eumenes, and his brother Attalus. The rejected terms were now re-offered to the king, on his suing for peace. It was proposed, that he should relinquish all his possessions in Asia Minor, desist from encroaching on Europe, give up nearly his whole fleet, pay 15,000 talents in twelve years, surrender Hannibal and Thoas, and leave twenty hostages in the power of the Romans. These conditions, which were accepted without hesitation by the royal envoys, were sanctioned by the

Ante Chr.
189. senate. Eumenes was rewarded for his fidelity to the Romans with a grant of the Thracian peninsula, Lydia, Ionia, Phrygia, Mysia, and other portions of the territorial spoils, with an exception of the cities that were entitled to freedom; and Lycia and Caria were almost wholly given to the Rhodians for their services. The triumph of the fortunate general was particularly splendid. Representations of towns to the amount of 134, an abundance of gold and silver, and 32 officers of high rank, were among the trophies of success²⁴.

speaking of the slaughter of 53,000, on the part of Antiochus, Livy hints a doubt of the truth of that statement, by the use of the qualifying term *dicuntur*; but he adds, in a positive tone, that only 349 were slain in the victorious army. If this account be true, the Asiatics could scarcely have resisted for a moment: yet we find, that a spirited resistance was made, at least, in one part of the field, and also in front of the camp. Appian reduces the king's loss to 50,000, the prisoners (1400, according to Livy) being included.—Antiochus died three years afterward, being either murdered by some of his domestics, to whom, when intoxicated, he had given offence, or (which is more probable) slain by armed enemies, in an attempt to rob a temple.

24 Liv. lib. xxxvii. cap. 45, 56, 59.

LETTER XVIII.

History of ROME and GREECE, to the Conquest of Macedon.

THE annihilation of the power of Antiochus in Asia Minor did not, in the opinion of the Romans, sufficiently establish their influence in that peninsula, while the Gauls remained unchecked. Of the expedition of a numerous Gallic army into Greece, and of its calamitous result, you have already been informed¹. A part of the great body of emigrants, instead of entering Greece, marched into Thrace; and a considerable number, being tempted to visit Asia, took possession not only of some territories bordering on the Archipelago, but also of inland countries, and intimidated several princes and states, even the potent king of Syria, into the payment of tribute. Alleging that these barbarians were dangerous neighbours to the Asiatic allies of Rome, and that they had assisted Antiochus against the Romans, the consul Manlius ventured to attack them, without permission from the senate. *Ante Chr.* Upon Mount Olympus, he assaulted one army, ^{189.} slew about 10,000 men, and captured a much greater number. Near Ancyra, he put another army to flight by a volley of missiles. When he granted peace to the Gallic chieftains, he insisted on their discontinuance of the practice of wandering in arms beyond their territorial boundaries. After he had re-passed the Hellespont, he lost a great part of the spoils, and many of his bravest soldiers, by the hostilities of Thracian marauders².

The Ætolian enemies of Rome were reduced to submission by the consul Fulvius. They assisted Amynder

¹ See the SEVENTH LETTER.

² Liv. lib. xxxviii. cap. 16—27, 40.—App. de Bellis Syriacis.

in expelling the Macedonians from his kingdom; took possession of the Amphilochian territory, of which they had formerly been masters; and prevailed upon the Dolopians to revolt from Philip. But their career was stopped by the Romans and Epirots, who invested Ambracia with a force which the garrison could not permanently withstand. Peace was again solicited, and finally granted, on terms of pecuniary payment, of a constant association with the Romans in their wars, and the cession of some towns which had been taken by force, or voluntarily yielded by the inhabitants. Having thus prevailed on the continent, Fulvius resolved to subdue Cephallenia. One town sustained a siege of four months: the whole island was then added, not very justly, to the dominions of Rome.

From this conquest, the consul's attention was called to the affairs of Lacedæmon. The principal citizens wished to recover the maritime towns which the Romans had seised, and to secure the persons of those exiles who were hostile to Spartan independence. With that view they surprised a place called Lan, but were soon driven from it. Philopœmen, accusing them of an infringement of the treaty with the Achæians, demanded a surrender of the authors of this aggression; a seeming insult, which so offended the Spartan leaders, that they sacrificed to their vengeance thirty individuals who favored the exiles, and, renouncing the Achæian league, solicited an alliance with the Romans, without considering that the former confederacy, in a great measure, included the latter.

In a council of the allied states, war was declared against the Spartans for their revolt. Fulvius, taking cognisance of the dispute, did not avowedly side with either party, but ordered a cessation of hostilities, until the senate should give an answer on the subject. The opinion of that assembly being indecisive, Philopœmen acted by his own authority and that of the Achæians. He led an army to Sparta, seised sixty-three of the citizens,

whom, after a pretended trial, he delivered up to execution; dismantled the town; ordered the reinstatement of the exiles; and substituted, for the institutions of Lycurgus, those of the republic to which he belonged. Nothing (says an historian) was so detrimental to the state, as the abolition of that system which had been established for so many centuries; but the truth is, that the institutions of the stern legislator, long before this time, had been *virtually* abolished³.

Fulvius was accused, by deputies sent from Ambracia, of arbitrary and tyrannical proceedings—of having carried off many of the inhabitants as slaves, seised private property, and stripped even the temples of their valuable ornaments. He was, in his absence, ordered to make restitution; but, when he returned to Rome, his vindication and his interest procured him the honor of a triumph.

An accusation that excited more general notice, had Scipio Africanus for its object. He was charged by a plebeian tribune with having received a bribe from Antiochus, to induce him to favor that prince in the adjustment of the terms of peace, and with embezzling a part of the spoils after the battle of Magnesia. Appearing with a long train of friends and dependents, he smiled with scorn at his accuser; and, without condescending to answer a charge which he thought his character would refute, he mentioned his various services; adding, “As this is the anniversary of the day on which I defeated the Carthaginians, the dreaded enemies of Rome, I will immediately go to the Capitol, to thank the Gods for having enabled me so essentially to serve my country; and I trust that all who hear me will join me in so good a cause.” The admiring senators, knights, and people, readily followed

3 Liv. lib. xxxviii. cap. 30—33.—Plutarch says, that the laws of Lycurgus were restored by the Romans; but, if they were, a strict observance did not follow the re-enactment.

him ; and, although the charge was renewed, it was neither substantiated nor refuted, but was relinquished. Disgusted at the attempt to disgrace him, he passed the few remaining years of his life in rural retirement ⁴.

Scipio was regarded, by his countrymen, as the most accomplished warrior of the age in which he lived ; and, if a conversation on the subject be truly reported, his great antagonist had the same opinion of him. Meeting Hannibal at Ephesus, he had some discourse with that general, who, being requested to name the greatest of all military commanders, referred to Alexander ; mentioned Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, as the second, and himself as the third. The Roman then said, with a smile, " In what rank " would you be disposed to place yourself, if you had con- " quered me ? " " Before even the Macedonian hero," was the answer ⁵.

The great qualities of Scipio entitled him to high respect. A high and undaunted spirit, fortitude, magnanimity, liberality, and patriotic zeal, dignified his character ; and, if a tincture of ferocity sometimes betrayed itself in his treatment of the adversaries of Rome, it may be palliated by a consideration which will probably occur to every reader ; it was the prevailing feature of the age.

Lucius was less liable to envy than his brother, being far less distinguished, although he had acquired an honorable surname : but he did not escape censure and impeachment. Being accused of having received, from the Syrian king, a much greater quantity of gold and silver than he had brought into the treasury, he was pronounced guilty, and ordered to refund ; but a sum equal to the demand was not found in his possession, after an estimate had been taken of his whole property. His quæstor, and one of his lieutenants, were stigmatised with a similar process.

Only a short respite from war was allowed to the peo-

⁴ Liv. lib. xxxviii. cap. 43, 50—53. — Valer. Max. lib. iii. cap. 7.

⁵ App. de Bellis Syriacis.

ple. The Ligurians had suffered severely in several campaigns, and had been for some years at peace; but the senate did not think that they were sufficiently quelled. The consul Flaminius harassed them with repeated attacks, and disarmed those whom he conquered. Æmilius turned his arms against other communities of the same warlike nation, and met with that success which he desired. From two victories which he obtained, Juno and Diana derived the honor of additional temples, erected in consequence of previous vows. Before he resigned his consular dignity, he decided a dispute between Furius and the Cenomani; and he manifested a sense of justice, by commanding the prætor to make full restitution to an unoffending community, arbitrarily deprived by him of those weapons which, amidst the prevalence of war and the frequency of personal violence, every male wished to possess.

The spoils of the Asiatic war, and the example of the soldiers who had returned from it, tended to the propagation of a taste for luxury at Rome, and new seeds of vice arose from that taste: but the profligate enormities which were detected and punished by the consul Posthumus Albinus, originated in Etruria, and were Ante Chr. 186. perpetrated under the veil of religion. On pretence of doing honor to Bacchus, a great number of persons of both sexes are said to have had nocturnal meetings, in which intemperance, debauchery, lust, and murder, were more prevalent than religious exercises or pious contemplations. Persons who wished to shake off any part of their family as an encumbrance, would entice the obnoxious individual to an initiation in the mysteries, and thus lead the victim to secret destruction. The members of the vile cabal were not only vicious and criminal at their orgies, but were guilty of rapine, fraud, perjury, and other offences against society. A woman who had attended her mistress to the scene of vice, cautioned her lover against all connexion with the Bacchanalian herd; and he disclosed to Posthu-

mius such particulars as she had stated to him. After a farther inquiry, a considerable number of the initiated were taken into custody; but only those who had been guilty of positive acts of criminality were punished. The women who were condemned were given up to the head of each family to be privately put to death; or, if they had no relatives fit to execute the sanguinary mandate, they were publicly beheaded. All Bacchanalian meetings of more than five persons were prohibited; and even those few were not allowed to assemble in future without the particular permission of the senate⁶.

Ante Chr. 184. The censorship of Cato was less sanguinary than the judicial consulate of Posthumius; but

it was marked with austerity and rigor. I have already given you a sketch of his character; and what I now relate will not be found inconsistent with that summary view. His severity was so impartial, that he exercised it upon friends and foes, the high and the low, the rich and the poor. He discountenanced every species of vice and immorality, and sharply animadverted even upon trivial faults. Some of the senators were justly degraded by him, particularly Lucius (brother of the celebrated Flamininus), who, when a young companion expressed his wish to see a man killed, sent for a condemned prisoner, and coolly ordered his head to be stricken off. On the other hand, he disgraced some members upon insufficient grounds: one being expelled for having merely given his wife an affectionate salute when his daughter was present. He could not *suppress* the rising spirit of luxury; but he *checked* it with all the weight of his authority. In estimating property, he rated the effects of the gay and luxurious very far beyond their real worth, and taxed them in proportion to that extravagant valuation. He exacted a great advance of contribution from the farmers of the revenue; and, at the

⁶ Liv. lib. xxxix. cap. 8—18.—Valer. Max. lib. vi. cap. 3.

same time, he obliged all who were employed in public works to take much less for their labor than they had been accustomed to receive ⁷.

Some remains of war yet agitated Liguria; and, in the Spanish peninsula, the spirit of independence was not subdued. Marcius had injured the honor of Rome by a disorderly flight, attended with great loss; but the Ligurian revolvers were afterward defeated, and forty-three of the most incorrigible rebels (as the Romans thought them) were beheaded for their opposition to arbitrary power. The Lusitanians, remembering the calamitous consequences of a battle which they had risked against Æmilius Paulus, were for some years quiet; but they now broke out into re-action, and were again routed. The Celtiberians resisted with great courage, and maintained their high character among the Spanish states, even when they were obliged to resign the honor of victory. In the Carpetanian territory, the Romans sustained a serious loss; for which, under Calpurnius, they took ample revenge, in another conflict, by a long-continued and horrible slaughter.

Philip of Macedon, not having relinquished his thirst of dominion, could not patiently submit to Roman dictation or control. He was sometimes indulged by the senate or the consuls with the freedom of military enterprise; but they studiously prevented him from becoming much more powerful than he was when the articles of peace were carried into effect. They compelled him to withdraw his garrisons from various towns which he had seised in Thrace and Thessaly; an act of authority at which he was so incensed, that he ordered the massacre of the chief inhabitants of Maronea, who were not devoted to his interest, and took every opportunity of augmenting his resources for the prosecution of a new war.

The tranquillity of southern Greece was disturbed by a
 Ante Chr. revolt of the Messenians from the Achaian con-
 183. federacy. Philopœmen, in endeavouring to re-
 claim them by arms, had the misfortune to fall from his
 horse, and was led by his exulting captors to Messene,
 where the people insisted on his being brought into the
 theatre, that every eye might view him at leisure. He
 was then consigned to the obscurity of a dungeon; and,
 after a consultation respecting his fate, the chief advisers
 of the revolt sent him a cup of poison. Having asked
 whether Lycortas⁸ had escaped, he received an affirmative
 answer; and, expressing his joy at the safety of his col-
 league, he took the fatal draught with an air of indiffer-
 ence. His fellow-magistrate was preparing to chastise the
 Messenians, when they sent deputies to implore peace.
 He promised to grant their request, if they would admit
 a garrison into the city, and deliver up the murderous con-
 spirators. They accepted these conditions; and the guilty
 individuals were ordered to put an end to their own lives⁹.

Philopœmen united two characters which do not always
 meet in the same person, being a bold and skilful general
 and an intelligent statesman. He was a friend to the in-
 dependence of Greece; but, with all his efforts, he could
 not maintain it effectually against the superior power of
 the Romans. His manners were simple and unsophisti-
 cated; he had a dignified frankness of demeanor; and by
 his disinterestedness he merited esteem: but he was prone
 to anger, self-willed, severe, and even cruel.

Ante Chr. A more distinguished general died, not long
 182. afterward, in the person of Hannibal. On the
 defeat of Antiochus, he had retired into Crete for safety,
 and lived some years in the southern part of that island.
 Thinking that he might be more secure in Bithynia, he

⁸ Father of the historian Polybius.

⁹ Excerpt, è Polyb.—Liv. lib. xxxix.—Just. lib. xxxii.—Plut. Vit. Philo-
 pœm.

returned to the continent, and found protection at the court of Prusias. He assisted this prince in a war with Eumenes; and, when Flamininus was sent into Bithynia to remonstrate against the king's conduct in attacking an ally of Rome, he expressed the wish of the senate for the surrender of the Carthaginian exile, who was formidable even in adverse fortune, and whose enmity to the Roman name was inextinguishable. Prusias would not actually give him up; but (which was the same thing in effect) he said, that the envoy might seize him. His house being surrounded, Hannibal took poison, which he privately kept under the gem of a ring; and died, calling down the vengeance of the guardian gods of hospitality upon the mean and treacherous prince ¹⁰.

The Macedonian king still cherished ambitious hopes, and was at the same time harassed with anxious doubts and fears. He had experienced the superiority of Roman power, and yet was willing to expose himself to its renewed effects. His younger son, Demetrius, offended him by recommending peace with Rome, while Perseus, the elder, stimulated him to a revival of hostility. Dreading the rivalry of a popular prince, who had a more legitimate claim to the crown than one who was born of a concubine, Perseus accused him of conspiring against his life, and of endeavouring by Roman favor to secure the succession. These falsehoods influenced the suspicious tyrant to order the private murder of an amiable and promising youth. When he had discovered the villany of Perseus, he declared Antigonus (a prince of his family) heir to the throne. His death was accelerated by his regret Ante Chr. 179. for the loss of one son; and his dread of the ambitious atrocity of the other. He was a man of courage and talent, but did not display the virtues of a just or beneficent sovereign. Perseus obtained the crown by the

support of the army, and secured his acquisition (as he thought) by the murder of Antigonus. He was very desirous of a Roman war; but many years elapsed before his preparations were completed¹¹.

Occasional hostilities in Spain and Liguria marked the resolute spirit of the contending nations. Æmilius acquired additional fame in the latter country: Fulvius and Gracchus horribly thinned the numbers of the Celtiberians. Manlius carried the Roman arms into Istria, and Claudius accomplished it's subjugation. Gracchus also obtained laurels by quelling a revolt in Sardinia; but he could not perform the task in a single campaign.

A war between the Basternæ and the Dardanians preceded the rupture between Perseus and the Romans. The former had been invited by Philip to transfer their residence to the country of the latter, whom the tyrant wished to expel or enslave. The Basternæ, he thought, would be very useful associates in a war with the Romans. They endeavoured, after his death, to establish themselves by force, and proved too powerful to be effectually resisted. In addition to these warlike auxiliaries, Perseus reckoned the Thracians among his assistants, and also the Bœotian state. He formed an alliance with Seleucus, king of Syria, by espousing his daughter; and, when this prince had fallen a sacrifice to the ambition of one of his ministers, Antiochus Epiphanes was courted to an association with the Macedonian king; but his views were chiefly directed toward Egypt and it's Asiatic dependencies. Prusias, having married the sister of Perseus, was inclined to assist him; and the Rhodians were not unfriendly to his interest.

Ante Chr. Eumenes repaired to Rome to complain of the
^{172.} conduct of Perseus, and intimate the magnitude of his preparations. He mentioned his subjugation of the

¹¹ Liv. lib. xl. cap. 3, 5, 24, 54.—Just. lib. xxxii. cap. 2, 3.—Pausan. lib. ii.

Dolopian territory, his encroachments upon Thessaly, his attempts to unite all Greece against the Romans; and urged the expediency of checking a prince whose power and ambition might prove dangerous to the allies of the republic. The Macedonian ambassadors were also introduced to the senate; but their excuses and allegations were disregarded, and the menaces of one of the number were treated with contempt. A Cretan and other villainous emissaries were employed by Perseus to take away the life of Eumenes; who escaped, however, without permanent injury.

When satisfaction had been in vain demanded for infractions of that treaty which Perseus had renewed with the Romans, the consul Licinius Crassus Ante Chr. 171. opened the campaign in Thessaly. He might have been severely harassed in his progress through the rugged territory and dangerous passes of Athamania; but the Macedonians seemed unconscious of their advantages in this respect. The armies met near Sycurium; and a conflict arose, which was confined to the cavalry and light-armed infantry. The king made a personal attack upon the Greek auxiliaries in the consular army, and soon threw them into confusion. He was exhorted by some of his officers to improve the advantage; but his fears of danger induced him to desist; and he suffered his adversaries to cross the Peneus in the night without molestation. With very small loss on the part of the Macedonians, 2200 men fell on the side of the Romans; and the disgrace was more afflictive than the loss ¹².

Perseus exulted in his victory; but he wished to testify his moderation by proposing peace, on the same terms which had been adjusted with his father. Licinius haughtily replied, that he would grant peace, if the king would consent to leave to the senate a full freedom of decision respecting himself and his realm. This arbitrary demand

¹² Liv. lib. xlii. cap. 53. 59, 60.

was rejected; and the renewal of hostilities produced a conflict favorable to the Romans, who also chastised the Bœotians at Haliartus by the massacre of many and the enforced servitude of the rest, and suffered only the partisans of Rome to possess property at Thebes, the other inhabitants being sold as slaves.

As some of the commanders took advantage of the war to harass the Grecian towns with profligate rapine and cruel oppression, the tribunes of the people adduced for-
Ante Chr. 170. mal charges against Caius Lucretius and others, for thus disgracing their country, and violating the laws of honor and humanity. Some were reprimanded by the senate; and Lucretius was heavily fined. Complaints were made by the Spaniards of similar oppressions, which the senate did not take proper care to check.

No fame was acquired by the Romans in the second Macedonian campaign. Appius Claudius, having received intelligence, which stated the readiness of the people of Uscana to open their gates to him, hastily marched to take possession of the place. He was punished for his credulity by a vigorous *sortie*, which instantly put his men to flight; and the pursuers slew a multitude of their de-luded foes.

Ante Chr. 169. Perseus opened the next campaign, before the usual time, with an expedition into Illyria, where he reduced some towns with difficulty and loss. Marcus endangered his army by a march through a woody and mountainous country, guarded in various parts by considerable detachments: but he penetrated into Macedonia with small loss, and so terrified the king by his unexpected arrival, that he started up, exclaiming, "I am con-
 " quered without a battle. All the avenues into my realm
 " have been betrayed to the enemy!" He suffered the Romans to wrest from him some of his towns; but they did not at this time do him any remarkable injury.

Ambassadors were sent to the Grecian states, to inform them of a decree of the senate for securing them from on-

pression, and to conciliate their future submission. The Ætolians were in a state of division and disorder, their republic being torn by faction, which had occasioned much bloodshed. They were sharply reprov'd by the envoys for their folly and madness; but they seemed to be almost incorrigible. The different states expressed their wish to remain on amicable terms with Rome. In a council of the Achaian league, it was voted that auxiliary troops should be sent to the consular army; but Marcius declined the offer, alleging that he did not wish to put such friendly allies to any unnecessary trouble or expence.

Thinking that the war ought to have been already terminated, the people called for the appointment of a more active and resolute warrior than any of those who had for some years past been consuls. Æmilius Paulus was therefore chosen; and his character augured success. He sent troops into Illyria to prevent the execution of a treaty of alliance, which Gentius, king of a considerable portion of that country, had concluded with Perseus, in consideration of a pecuniary grant. The prætor Anicius was employed in this service. He rapidly reduced the inferior Illyrian towns, and then attacked Scodra, which Gentius occupied as his capital. It might have been long defended; but, the garrison having made a sally, and being repelled with loss, such consternation arose, that the king requested a truce, and (after an attempt to escape, in which he did not persist) threw himself at the feet of Anicius, imploring mercy and protection. Two Roman envoys, who had been arrested and detained by Gentius, were now released, and ordered by the prætor to seise all the relatives of that prince. Thus Illyrian hostilities were checked *in embryo*¹³.

Near Pydna, the king of Macedon had taken his station with 44,000 men, the cavalry forming an eleventh part of

13 Liv. lib. xlv. cap. 30, 31.

the number. As the consul had a smaller force, Perseus was advised to give battle to the Romans, many of whom were encouraged, by a preceding eclipse of the moon, to believe that the ruin of the Macedonian kingdom was portended. The tribune Sulpicius had predicted this eclipse, and cautioned the soldiers against superstitious feelings or fancies upon the subject; but, while they admired his prophetic skill, they resolved to interpret the phænomenon in their own favor.

The main body of the enemy, forming a close phalanx, would have suggested, to the timid, the idea of impenetrability: yet, when the Romans had defeated the wings, which they found an easy task, they assailed the compact centre, not only in the front, but also in the flanks and rear, and soon broke it's continuity. The slaughter was so excessive on one side, and so trivial on the other, that the collision was a massacre, rather than a battle. About 20,000 of the vanquished are said to have been slain; and the number of captives amounted to 11,000¹⁴.

Perseus, who merely witnessed the action, fled to Amphipolis, embarked on the Strymon with some Cretans and his treasure, and reached the isle of Samothrace, where he entered a sanctuary, "as if (says Florus) temples and altars could secure a prince, whom neither his own mountains, nor arms, could defend." Being pursued by the victors, and disappointed in the hope of escaping to the court or camp of Cotys, his Thracian ally, he surrendered himself and his eldest son to Octavius, the Roman commander, who had drawn off the rest of his family. His capital and other towns were already under the power of Æmilius, who acted as sovereign of the whole state. No hope remained of the king's restoration; it was foreseen, that the realm would become an appendage to the Roman dominions, and would be absorbed in provincial subjection.

¹⁴ Liv. lib. xliv. cap. 41, 42.—Eutrop. lib. iv.

After this decisive victory, the terror of the Roman name saved Egypt from the grasp of the Syrian king. He had nearly completed the reduction of that kingdom, when two ambassadors (Popilius and Decimius) arrived at Alexandria. The inhabitants of that city had conferred the honor of royalty on the brother of the reigning prince; and both at this time ruled in apparent concert. The wish of the senate was announced to Antiochus, for a cessation of all hostilities against princes who were in alliance with Rome; and, on his requesting time to consult his friends and ministers, Popilius, marking a circle on the floor with a staff which he held in his hand, sternly said, "Before you move out of this circle, give me an answer to the declared will of the senate." The authoritative firmness of the bold envoy appalled the Asiatic prince; who, as if he had been conquered, replied, after a short pause, "I will give the desired satisfaction"¹⁵. Egypt was soon evacuated by the enemy; and Popilius acquired, by this display of Roman spirit in a political audience, a fame nearly equal to that which Æmilius had derived from his valor and conduct in the field.

Perseus died in confinement, some years after he had attended in chains the triumph of his conqueror. It is said, that, having given offence to his brutal keepers, he was studiously precluded from necessary repose, until death released him from his sufferings¹⁶. But even the numerous instances of Roman cruelty do not so strengthen this account, as to entitle it, without better support, to full credit¹⁷.

15 Liv. lib. xlv. cap. 12.—Valer. Max. lib. vi.

16 Excerpt. è Diod. Sic. lib. xxxi.

17 Velleius Paterculus does not give the least hint of it. He says, that Perseus died at Alba, in easy confinement, four years after his defeat. Plutarch reports, from various authors, that the captive prince destroyed himself by abstaining from food.

LETTER XIX.

History of the ROMAN Republic and of GREECE, to the complete Reduction of the latter Country under the Yoke of the former State.

THE subjugation of the Macedonians promised farther success. It was easy to foresee, that the independence of a neighbouring country, at a period not very distant, would be subverted ; that dissensions, artfully fomented, would aid the progress of an enemy ; and that the corrupt and degenerate Greeks would not effectually withstand the arms of Rome.

At the close of the first Macedonian war, ten persons of distinction had been appointed by the senate to regulate the concerns of Greece, in co-operation with Flamininus. A similar course was now pursued. Posthumius Luscus, and nine other commissioners, were sent to adjust the affairs of Macedon, in concurrence with Æmilius ^{Ante Chr. 167.} Paulus ; and five were deputed to Illyria, to act with Anicius. Instructions were given to these delegates, to direct their conduct. The preamble is worthy of notice. “ In the first place, it is the particular wish of the “ senate, that the Macedonians and Illyrians should be “ free ¹.” This was an insult to the conquered nations, whose doom, on the contrary, was to be a rigorous and servile subjection. Such falsehoods are common in every age. The people are declared to be free, when they are known to be slaves : wars are affirmed to be just and necessary, which deserve epithets diametrically opposite ; and the grossest deceptions are practised with the most abandoned effrontery.

1 Liv. lib. xlv. cap. 18.

The conquerors of Macedon and Illyria prosecuted their fortunate career. The republic of Epirus having manifested an attachment to Perseus, Anicius marched into that country, and brought many towns under the Roman yoke, without the trouble of a siege. He then returned into the Illyrian territory, and, from his tribunal at Scodra, proclaimed liberty to all parts of the subdued country, an exemption from imposts to those communities which had been the most forward to submit to the Romans, and, to the rest, a remission of one half of the duties paid to the late government. Æmilius, in the mean time, visited Greece with the eyes of an antiquary and a man of taste, conversing with ingenious and learned natives on points of art and curiosity, avoiding all reference to modern politics, and forbearing all inquiry into the inclinations of the people respecting the war with Perseus. On his return to Demetrias, he met a mourning party of Ætolians, whose account of recent occurrences convinced him of the melancholy continuance of factious dissensions among them; for he found that 550 persons of the higher class had been put to death, with the connivance of a detachment of Roman soldiers sent by Bæbius. After an investigation of this serious complaint, he acquitted the authors of the multiplied murders, because they were of the Roman faction, and only punished the officer who had given his countenance to such acts².

By Æmilius and the delegates, Macedon was divided into four parts, and the inhabitants of each were precluded from intermarriage or commerce with the other three portions;—a separation of interest which gave great disgust. One moiety of contribution was remitted;—a favor which was thankfully received. A republican assembly was allowed to each division, for the administration of political and civil affairs; and new laws, not of an offensive com-

plexion, were added to the existing code. The friends of the deposed king, the nobles, the chief officers of state, of the army and navy, and almost all who had served the crown in any employment, were sent into Italy; and, as many of these had behaved with arrogance and acted tyrannically, their removal did not excite complaint. It was apprehended by the Romans, that the loss of their power and emoluments might exasperate some of them into intrigues and insurrections; but it was outwardly alleged, that their continuance in Macedon would be injurious to the freedom of the people.

The treasures of Perseus not being distributed among the soldiers, and few of the Macedonian towns being given up to pillage, disgust and murmurs arose in the army: but the severe treatment of the Epirots checked the progress of discontent. Æmilius sent centurions to the towns of Epirus, holding out promises of protection and freedom, and desiring that all the gold and silver might be brought forward. Troops were then dispatched to each town, to collect the spoils, and demolish the walls³; and 150,000 persons were carried off as slaves⁴. These predatory exploits procured a valuable gratuity for every common soldier; but the proconsul did not enrich himself amidst the profusion of plunder.

It might have been expected, that the temple of Janus would now be shut: but this was far from being the result of the late success. The rulers of the republic seemed to be happy only in war, and to rejoice in the diffusion of calamity. They considered war as a dignified exercise of strength and skill, without adverting to its true nature or its horrible and impious effects. They pretended, that the Ligurians were in motion, and that the majesty of

³ About seventy towns, according to Livy, were thus pillaged and dismantled.

⁴ So many "human heads," says the same historian, quaintly and contemptuously.

Rome required the chastisement of those daring delinquents, those restless barbarians. But, when Ælius and Junius had marched into Liguria, no enemy appeared; and after a course of mere devastation, the disappointed consuls returned to Rome without the honor of a laurel wreath. Their successors, Sulpicius and Marcellus, gained some advantages over the Ligurians, and the Gal-
Ante Chr.
166.
lic tribes near the Alps.

During the two following years, we do not hear of any military expeditions. Negotiations then constituted the prominent features of public interest. The Galatians sent deputies to Rome, in the hope of profiting by the decline of that favor which their adversary Eumenes had formerly enjoyed among the senatorial leaders. This prince had landed in Italy, when his progress to Rome was stopped by an order for the exclusion of all kings from that city. The senate thought him too indifferent in the late contest with Perseus; but, as he could not be pronounced hostile, he was merely treated with disrespect, not with severity; and the Galatian envoys received intimations of good-will, without being able to procure any violent decree against him. Prusias also sent an ambassador to accuse him of harassing his neighbours, and of conspiring with the Syrian king against the Romans: yet no offensive resolutions were adopted in consequence of these charges⁵.

The representatives of the Achaian confederacy likewise appeared at Rome. Above 1000 persons, accused by Callicrates and other betrayers of their country, of having favored the views of Perseus, had been ordered to repair to that capital; and, although they were not positively punished, they were dispersed among the towns of Italy. The deputies requested the dismissal of these exiles, if there was no intention of trying them, or if, after

⁵ Liv. Epit. lib. xlv. — Excerpt. à Polyb.

a fair trial, their innocence should be manifested ; but the senate imperiously rejected the application ⁶.

The Rhodians made repeated attempts to conciliate the senators, professing their sorrow for having offended the Romans by a seeming disregard to their interests, and promising future submission. They had already been deprived of all authority over the provinces of Caria and Lycia ; and, as they patiently acquiesced in these and other usurpations, they were admitted to the honor of an alliance, when a favorable testimony had been given of the behaviour of their rulers by Tiberius Gracchus, who had been sent into Asia Minor and Syria to examine the state of affairs, and to ascertain the inclinations of the princes and communities.

Ante Chr. To scenes of war the Romans soon reverted.

163. The consul Juventius, attacking the Corsicans, met with that success which pleased the senate ; and, when his services were acknowledged by a decree for a supplication, he died, it is said, from excess of joy ⁷. In Liguria also, and in Lusitania, the Romans found military employment ; but, if they sometimes had the advantage, they were at other times less successful.

The death of the king of Syria recalled the attention of the senate to Asiatic concerns. He was succeeded by his son Antiochus, who was surnamed *Eupator*, in compliment to the father's merit. Demetrius, nephew of the defunct prince, then a hostage at Rome, represented himself, in an address to the senatorial body, as better entitled to the crown, by descent and by his adult age, than the boy who had been enthroned ; but, as the reign of a mi-

⁶ Polybius was one of these Peloponnesians : but, as his abilities and wisdom commanded the esteem of the Romans, he was released from that custody to which the others were subjected.

⁷ Vuler. Max. lib. ix. cap. 12.—Pliny says [lib. vii. 53.], that he died suddenly, while he was sacrificing.

nor gave a greater scope to the authoritative interference of Rome, the claim of the exile was disregarded; and three delegates received instructions to domineer at the court of the young king. Octavius, the chief of these envoys, so highly offended the Syrians; by ordering the destruction of ships and the slaughter of elephants (kept up beyond the limited number), that he was assassinated in the *gymnasium* of Laodicea. Demetrius now made another attempt to interest the Romans in his behalf; but, while they expressed their indignation at the murder of the deputy, which was generally imputed to Lysias, the guardian of Antiochus, they would not permit the ambitious youth to aim at the deposition of his cousin or the ruin of the minister. Dissembling his disgust at this treatment, he resolved to make his escape, and found the desired opportunity. Having landed in Syria, he assembled troops, and, being received at Antioch with general acclamations, slew the king and Lysias, and as-
Ante Chr. 162.
 sumed the sovereignty ⁸.

Demetrius would not so easily have gratified the chief wish of his heart, if he had not publicly affirmed, that the Romans had sent him to assert his claim. The senate denied the assertion, but did not chastise the offender. During a respite from war, that assembly endeavoured to check the progress of intemperance, luxury, and dissipation, which had risen to such a height, that Ti-
Ante Chr. 161.
 tius, a senatorial orator, affected to prognosticate the speedy ruin of the state, unless the citizens should return to the ancient system of moderation and frugality. By a new law, the use of foreign wine was prohibited, and limits were assigned to entertainments and social parties. At the same time, the resort of philosophers and rhetori-

⁸ App. de Bellis Syriacis.—Excerpt. à Polyb.—Josephi Antiq. lib. xii.—Justin says, that Demetrius was uncle to Eupator; but, being indisputably the son of Seleucus, who was the brother of Antiochus Epiphanes, he was *patruelis* to the minor, not *patruus*.

cians to Rome shocked the sober-minded part of the community, as it was apprehended that these mercenary professors would introduce a spirit of dispute and scepticism, unfriendly to the religion and morals of the nation. The prætor Pomponius was therefore ordered to watch the growing evil, and exercise his remedial authority whenever he might deem it expedient⁹.

After some hesitation, the Romans admitted the claim of Demetrius, and gave him the benefit of their alliance. But his subsequent conduct did not, in their opinion, exhibit a due sense of gratitude. They had confirmed the succession of Ariarathes to the Cappadocian royalty : yet he ventured to depose and expel this prince, and to en-
 Ante Chr. throne his pretended brother. The senate re-
 157. stored the lawful king, but not to a plenitude of authority ; for the pretender was associated with him. So flagrant, however, was the misconduct of the intruder, that Ariarathes resolved to deprive him of all power. With this view, he courted the assistance of Attalus, who, after the death of Eumenes, administered the affairs of the Pergamene realm, in the name of a minor prince. There was little difficulty in the accomplishment of a scheme which was favored by the generality of the Cappadocians. The king prevailed over his unworthy associate, who fled to the court of his Syrian friend.

The senate frequently interfered in the concerns of Egypt. Ptolemy Philometor, being harassed by the discontent and malignity of his brother Physcon, had repaired to Rome to state the difficulties and dangers to which he was exposed ; and the result of his application for aid was a regular treaty of partition, assigning the Cyrenaic territory to the younger, while the elder was allowed to possess Egypt and the island of Cyprus, each being declared independent in his peculiar territories.

Physcon afterward demanded a transfer of Cyprus; and the Romans, from a desire of weakening the power of Philometor, desired him to surrender the island. The offended king refused compliance; and, landing in Cyprus, he defeated his brother's troops, and obliged that prince to submit to his mercy. He generously released the mischievous captive, suffered him to retain his former territory, and made some additions to it, in return for the dereliction of his present claim. In this settlement the Romans condescended to acquiesce¹⁰.

The authority of Rome over Illyria gave occasion for a war with the Dalmatians, who, after the decease of Pleuratus, had revolted from Gentius, and endeavoured, on the deposition of this prince, to extend their power even over the allies of the potent republic. The consul Marcius Figulus being sent against them, they compelled him Ante Chr. 156. to retreat in disorder: but he rallied his men and advanced to Dalminium, into which he threw lighted stakes, so as to set fire to a part of the town. Many of the inhabitants having perished in the conflagration, the rest admitted the besiegers within the walls. In the next campaign, a new siege of that town was thought necessary by Scipio Nasica, as Marcius had resigned his acquisition. It was well defended by troops drawn from all parts of the country: but, when Scipio menaced other towns, such draughts from the garrison followed, that the consul, quickly retracing his steps, had an opportunity of seizing the city.

The complaints of the people of Massilia¹¹ occasioned a spirited renewal of the war with the Ligurians. That city was the seat of a polished community. It owed its origin to emigrants from Phocæa (a town of Ionia), who, after stopping at the mouth of the Tiber, to form an alliance with the Romans¹², sailed to Gaul, and, with the consent of a barbarian prince, established a colony. Notwithstanding

10 Excerpt. è Polyb.

11 Now Marseilles.

12 In the reign of the elder Tarquin.

ing frequent molestation from the Ligurians, they kept their little state unsubdued, and occasionally extended it's limits. Their government was republican: their laws were well digested; the arts flourished, and industry remarkably prevailed among them. Being seriously endangered by the attacks of their old enemies, they earnestly requested Roman aid, which, on the failure of negotiation, was readily granted. The Ligurians having

Ante Chr. 154. wounded an ambassador, the consul Opimius seised Ægitna (where the outrage took place), enslaved the male inhabitants, and sent the aggressors to Rome. He routed the troops of two of the Ligurian states, disarmed them, and presented a part of their territories to the Massilians, to whom he obliged them to give hostages.

In the western peninsula, the arms of Rome were less prosperous. The prætor Calpurnius Piso was defeated with great loss by the Lusitanians, who were commanded by a Carthaginian; and the victory tended to rouse various tribes to arms. This intelligence hastened the entrance of the new consuls upon their functions; and Fulvius Nobilior erected his standard in Celtiberia. With

Ante Chr. 153. about 30,000 men, he encountered 25,000 revoltors; but their efforts were so resolute and vigorous, that his army fled in confusion. The exertions of his cavalry, however, checked the impetuosity of the pursuers; and the approach of night saved the bulk of his force, after the loss of 6000 men. Carus (the hostile general) having lost his life, two chieftains were immediately chosen to supply his place. They were repelled by Fulvius, in the next conflict, and driven to the walls of Numantia, principally by the unexpected appearance of ten elephants, sent by Masinissa: but those animals, not being well disciplined, spread confusion among the Roman ranks; and the Numantians took such advantage of this disorder, as to make great havock among their foes,

who also sustained farther loss, not only by the sword, but by the severity of the ensuing winter¹³. In the mean time, the prætor was employed against the Lusitanians. He was successful in one battle, so unfortunate in another as to lose 9000 men, and so victorious, in a third, as to destroy a much greater number of his adversaries¹⁴.

After a campaign which was not distinguished by memorable incidents, the Celtiberians sued for peace. The senate gave an indecisive answer; but the people, wishing for a discontinuance of this dangerous war, refused to enlist. The tribunes encouraged them in their re-
luctance, and imprisoned the consuls, Licinius Ante Chr. 151.

Lucullus and Posthumius Albinus, for their arbitrary endeavours to recruit the army¹⁵. Amidst the confusion which this act of power produced, Scipio Æmilianus, a patrician of great courage and talents, offered his personal services in the peninsula, in defiance of every danger which the known valor of the enemy might create. He urged the citizens to attend to the interest of their country, and maintain the reputation of the Roman arms. His exhortations had a speedy and general effect; and, when the legions were amply renovated, Lucullus repaired to Spain to gratify his avarice and cruelty. As the Celtiberians had already been pacified by the proconsul Marcellus, the new commander thought himself obliged to look out for an enemy. He turned his attention to the Cantabrians, and other nations yet unmolested by the invaders, and disgraced himself and his country by flagrant injustice and execrable perfidy. After a conflict with the Vaccæi near the Tagus,

13 This was the origin of the Numantian war, to which Strabo assigns a duration of twenty years; but it appears to have languished into forbearance for one half of that time. Florus acknowledges the great injustice of the Romans, in treating the Numantians as determined foes, for protecting their fugitive friends after the defeat of Carus, and not resigning their arms at the desire of the invaders.

14 App. de Bellis Hispanicis.

15 Liv. Epit. lib. xlviii.

he compelled them to give money and hostages, and demanded permission to garrison Cauca. He then murdered all the males who had arrived at the age of puberty, reduced the rest of the inhabitants to a state of slavery, and pillaged the town with the most sordid rapacity¹⁶. What must we think of a government which could countenance such atrocities? As this assassin was not punished, the prætor Galba was encouraged to pursue a similar course. He had suffered the Lusitanians to triumph over him in the field; but, upon the submission of many of their tribes, he promised to receive them among the allies of Rome. Having taken an opportunity of disarming Ante Chr. them, he massacred 9000, or (as some say) a far 150. greater number, and sold the rest as slaves¹⁷.

In a war which had been carried on for some years between Prusias and the king of Pergamus, the Romans, with unusual moderation, only interfered as mediators; and it was not without a repetition of remonstrances, that they prevailed upon the Bithynian prince to relinquish hostilities. When Demetrius was harassed by the pretensions of an impostor, they also evinced their forbearance, by not taking an active part in the war which the kings of Egypt, Pergamus, and Cappadocia, prosecuted against the Syrian potentate, who lost his life in the contest. The pretender reigned under the name of Alexander; and his success was, perhaps, the chief *stimulus* to the ambition of Andriscus, an adventurer of low birth, who claimed the crown of Macedon as the son of Perseus. This impostor had been sent prisoner to Rome; but he escaped into Macedon, where, by his plausible address and promises of advantage, he levied a considerable force, and obtained the honors of royalty. He augmented his army by accessions from Thrace, and, marching to the southward, took possession of a portion of Thessaly.

Scipio Nasica was sent to quell this insurrection ; and, with an army principally raised in Greece, he dislodged the Thessalian garrisons of king Philip (as the bold adventurer styled himself) : but Juventius, who entered Macedon with fresh troops, lost his life in a battle with the partisans of the new king, who slew a great number of the republicans, before night saved the fugitives. Metellus avenged this disgrace by two victories, which, it is said, were attended with the destruction of 25,000 of the enemy. Andriscus retired into Thrace, but could not escape captivity, being delivered up to the Romans by a chieftain who had promised to protect him. The Macedonians were punished for their encouragement of this upstart, by the annihilation of that small degree of liberty which they had retained since the defeat of Perseus. Other pretenders offered themselves to public notice ; but their efforts were nugatory and abortive ; and the Roman authority was firmly established over the country¹⁸.

As the moderation of Rome was not very frequently displayed, it is surprising that peace so long subsisted with the Carthaginians. From the termination of the second Punic war, to the consulate of Marcius Censorinus and Manilius, when war was declared by the Romans, fifty-two years had elapsed. Even in this long interval of peace, their animosity had not subsided into cordiality of regard : but the remains of malevolence would not have urged them to action, if their ambition had not been inordinate and insatiable. On the other hand, the effects of two wars had not so humbled Carthage, as to dispose her to be, in every instance, an obsequious slave to an Italian senate. She wished for peace, but was still able to act with some degree of vigor in defence of her dignity and her rights.

The Romans of all ranks were eager to crush the Carthaginians, and annihilate a state which had yet some re-

¹⁸ Supplem. Liv. lib. xlix. et l.

mains of power. The stern Cato, with malignant policy, frequently exclaimed, "Carthage must be destroyed"¹⁹.—"Her existence (said other senators) is incompatible with the security of Rome. Let us, therefore, strain every nerve for the subversion of such a state." Scipio Nasica in vain alleged, that Carthage ought to be preserved, as her ruin, by removing the fear of rivalry, would tend to relax the discipline and manners of the Romans. The flame spread through the assembly; and a new war was destined to arise, more from ambition or malignity, than from the impulse of necessity or from motives of justifiable policy.

The treaty between Masinissa and the Carthaginians, who had ceded to him a part of their territory at the close of the second war between them and the Romans, had been faithfully observed for a long course of time. The republicans, it is said, were it's first violators; but, as they knew that the Numidian king would be supported by the Romans, with whom they did not wish for a rupture, it is not so probable that they were the aggressors, as that Masinissa infringed the treaty. On this head, we have only the accounts of writers who may be expected to be partial to the Romans, no histories written by Carthaginians being extant. It is affirmed, that Carthalo, one of the leaders of the popular party, attacked the king's troops in the ceded territory, and encouraged the neighbouring rustics to harass the Numidians; that Masinissa, being thus provoked to hostilities, besieged Oroscopa; and that this siege led to a general engagement, in which the Carthaginians were defeated. A negotiation followed; but, as the vanquished refused to agree to all the terms proposed by the haughty victor, he formed a blockade around their camp. Reduced to extremities by famine and pestilence, they submitted to every demand; sent back deserters, received ari-

¹⁹ *Delenda est Carthago.*

stocratic exiles, and engaged to pay a large annual sum for fifty years. Notwithstanding this convention, the king's son Gulussa, whose retinue (as he declared) had been attacked before the battle, when he went to plead in favor of the exiles, sent a body of horse to harass the Carthaginians in their retreat from the camp. Thus assaulted, almost all the unhappy men whom famine and disease had spared, fell by the perfidy of the Numidian prince²⁰.

It was alleged against the Carthaginians, that they had more ships of war than the treaty allowed them, and that they had passed beyond their boundaries to make war upon a friend and ally of the Romans, whose son they had also insulted, when he attended a Roman deputation²¹. These imputations were declared to be just grounds of war²²; and preparations were made for the ruin of Carthage. Alarmed at this denunciation, the inhabitants of Utica sent deputies to surrender them-
Ante Chr. 149.
 selves and their town to an enemy whom they dreaded. This beginning of success encouraged the senate to expedite the departure of a consular army, to the great joy of the *wisest man* in the Roman state, as Cato was sometimes termed. If this distinguished citizen had not been too old for the military service of his country, he would probably have been re-chosen consul, and have obtained the honor of conducting that war which he so strenuously promoted: but, being in the eighty-fifth year of his age, he had lost his martial vigor; and he died before the expiration of the year. How happy would he have been, if he had lived to witness the completion of his hopes! Another enemy of the Carthaginians died about the same time. This was Masinissa, the brave and politic Numi-

20 Excerpt. è Polyb.—App. de Bellis Punicis. 21 Liv. Epit. lib. xlix.

22 Paterculus, however, acknowledges that the war arose from Roman jealousy, rather than from any particular offence or injury on the part of the Carthaginians; and Florus is sufficiently candid, in stating the pretences for hostility, to admit that the Romans were not impartial arbitrators, but were too ready to listen to the king's allegations, and to favor the cause of an old ally.

dian, whose age is said to have extended to ninety years. He was succeeded by his son Micipsa, whose brother Gulussa was allowed to preside over military affairs, while Manastabal, the only other legitimate son of the deceased king, managed the judicial concerns of the nation.

Ambassadors were sent from Carthage to request a continuance of peace. The reply of the senate was inconsistent with itself. It imported, that the people should enjoy their freedom, laws, and territory, if they would give up three hundred sons of their principal men, as hostages for their obedience to the orders of the consuls. Was such submission compatible with freedom? The demand was arrogant and unjustifiable: yet the Carthaginians acquiesced in it, and sent off the boys and young men to Sicily, amidst the lamentations of their mothers, some of whom even swam a considerable way after the ships, gazing with tearful eyes at their exiled and endangered sons.

When Marcius and Manilius had arrived with a numerous army at Utica, an intimation of their will was anxiously expected. They first demanded a delivery of arms, both public and private; and, after the production of these, the Carthaginians were insulted with a requisition for the abandonment of their chief city, and the removal of it's inhabitants to a spot distant at least ten miles from the sea. "Your present capital (said Marcius) must be demolished, and your new one must not be fortified." The feelings of every auditor were shocked at this instance of Roman tyranny; and Hanno Gillas eloquently remonstrated against such an indignity. The consul urged the demand; alleging that the sight of the sea, by reminding the Carthaginians of their former power, served only to stimulate them to mischievous attempts and ruinous enterprises; and that they would be more happy in an inland situation and an agricultural life²³.

No sooner was the requisition of removal announced at Carthage, than the most violent emotions of rage marked the popular sense of the insult. Invectives were lavished upon those senators who had advised the late acts of subserviency : they were assailed with personal outrage, and almost torn in pieces. The deputies who brought the intelligence narrowly escaped destruction. The city resounded with clamor, lamentation, and menace. Arms of all kinds were rapidly constructed ; war was declared ; and slaves were enfranchised, that a strong army might be immediately formed.

The consuls hoped to gain speedy possession of the capital : but their incipient attempts were baffled. Asdrubal, having been pardoned and recalled, had arrived with a considerable force, and acted with vigor ; and the walls were defended with a spirit which surprised the besiegers. An open part being discovered, a body of Romans entered ; but they were warmly received, and driven out with loss. The tribune Æmilianus, who would not suffer any of his men to enter, protected those who fled back in confusion.

This officer, who was destined to act the most conspicuous part in the war that now arose, was the son of Æmilius Paulus, and, having been adopted by the son of Africanus, bore the illustrious name of Scipio. His courage was tempered with that prudence, which some censorious officers represented as bordering on timidity : but, when he had repeatedly and fortunately counter-acted the ill effects of the rashness of others, their calumnies were changed into applause.

A discontinuance of the siege, and the absence of Scipio, gave the rulers of Carthage an opportunity of Ante Chr. 148. strengthening the garrisons of various towns, and of providing more comprehensively for the general defence. The consul Piso relaxed the discipline of the army, and performed nothing worthy of the reputation of his

country ; and Mancinus, the admiral, having attacked a part of Carthage, where he expected to find an easy entrance, was exposed to great peril in the suburbs, when Scipio, who had been chosen to the consulate, arrived in the harbour with a reinforcement. The endangered troops were rescued ; and the rash commander was superseded by

Ante Chr. Serranus. An assault, ordered by the new consul, ^{147.} threw the enemy into confusion, and led to

the seizure of a suburban station ; but it was not deemed expedient to retain it. Asdrubal, incensed at the boldness of this attack, put out the eyes and cut out the tongues of some prisoners, treated others with different modes of cruelty, and even flayed some : all these unfortunate men were afterward thrown down the rocks which guarded one part of the town, the Punic senators in vain reprobating such wanton barbarity. He then seized several of the remonstrants, and put them to death for their opposition to his will²⁴.

Having dislodged the enemy from the isthmus which joined Carthage to the continent, Scipio subjected the city to a close blockade, and shut up the entrance to the harbour : but the Carthaginians, with extraordinary labor, dug another mouth, and constructed fifty ships of old materials ; then suddenly advancing, they might perhaps have destroyed or captured the unguarded Roman fleet, if they had not been content with making a parade of their navy. They risked an engagement when their adversaries were better prepared, and, in consequence of this rashness, they were obliged to retreat, after losing many of their vessels. A bold attempt was afterward made for the destruction of the Roman engines. A multitude of the enemy passed silently by sea at night, some wading, others swimming ; attacked the Romans on the isthmus ;

and, having set fire to the *apparatus*, returned to the city : but this was only a temporary triumph ; for the loss was soon repaired²⁵.

At Nopheris, on the opposite side of the harbour, a considerable army of Africans took every opportunity of assisting the besieged. Scipio resolved to attack this post, and destroy or disperse the troops. Assisted by Gulussa with a strong body of Numidians, he routed the army²⁶, and, after a siege of three weeks, reduced the town. The report of this success accelerated the surrender of other fortified places.

In the strength of the separate district and citadel of Byrsa, the Carthaginians placed their last hope. The Romans, having forced their way into the city, were employed for six days in overpowering all opposition. Three streets, on a steep ascent, led to the grand fortress. The houses, as well as the streets, were full of combatants, who, thus dispersed, could not at once be attacked, but could only be cut off by gradual exertions. It was occasionally necessary to clear the way by the removal of the dead, and to relieve the fatigued warriors by fresh troops. When the houses had been successively seised, the walls of the citadel were undermined ; and so strong was the dread of a final assault, that the occupants of the endangered fortress suppliantly begged their lives. Scipio granted the request to all except deserters ; and these, to the number of 900, shut themselves up in the temple of *Æsculapius*, with the wife and two children of Asdrubal. The general was, at first, apparently inclined to defend this strong and sacred post ; but he suddenly quitted it, and implored the clemency of Scipio. If his wife had followed his example, she would doubtless have been an object of mercy ; but she resolved to die rather than become a

Ante Chr.
146.

²⁵ App.—Flor. lib. ii.

²⁶ Appian swells the amount of the African victims, in this battle, to 70,000, the peasants being included—a very improbable calculation !

captive. She ordered the place to be fired ; and, stabbing her children, threw herself with them into the flames. The deserters, despairing of safety, also buried themselves amidst the ruins of the temple²⁷.

Not only Carthage was pillaged and destroyed ; but all the towns in which the interest of Rome's proud rival had been maintained, and which were not readily given up to the invaders, were demolished, as if it had been an act of disgraceful meanness to reside on any particular spot which the enemy had inhabited. To the towns which had quickly submitted, grants of territory were assigned ; and a prætor, annually elected, governed the new appendage of the Roman republic.

The triumph of the conqueror of Carthage was unusually splendid. He was considered as pre-eminently entitled to every honor that the government could bestow ; and the modesty with which he comported himself enhanced the lustre of his exploits. His disinterestedness was highly applauded. No part of the spoils did he seize for himself : they were given to the public and to individuals ; and those valuable works of art which had been taken by the Carthaginians from Sicily and southern Italy, were honorably restored to their former possessors.

The overwhelming power of Rome was, at the same time, exercised in Greece. The artful policy of the senate had long fomented divisions in that country, with a view to it's complete subjugation. Such citizens as were advocates of Grecian liberty were studiously discountenanced ; and, in each state, a Roman faction was systematically encouraged. One great object was the separation of the component parts of the Achaian league. While emissaries were promoting this insidious purpose, a territorial dispute was referred by the Spartans to the Roman senate, instead of the Achaian council. The con-

²⁷ App. de Bellis Punicis.—Flor. lib. ii. cap. 15.—About 50,000 persons, of both sexes, surrendered themselves in consequence of Scipio's promise of safety.

script fathers replied, that every subject of litigation or trial, except the cognisance of capital offences, ought to be decided by the confederate convention : but Diæus, the Achaian chief magistrate, pretended that the answer allowed the council even to decide upon the life or death of every accused Lacedæmonian. This falsehood inflamed the indignation of the Spartans, whose freedom of remark Diæus endeavoured to check, by peremptorily requiring the banishment of twenty-four persons, on pretence of their seditious practices. When these citizens had left the country, he went to Rome to plead against them ; while Menalcidas, who had preceded him in office, supported their cause. The senate promised to send delegates into Greece, to determine these disputes : but Damocritus, who succeeded to the magistracy, invaded Laconia, obtained a considerable advantage in the field, and had (as it was thought) an opportunity of taking Sparta. For not having decisively profited by his victory, he was accused of treason ; and, being sentenced to the payment of a heavy fine, avoided the penalty by exile. The re-election of Diæus was followed by a truce ; which Menalcidas, on his appointment to the command of the Lacedæmonian army, violated by suddenly seising and plundering a town that belonged to the league. Finding himself exposed to the severity of censure for this outrage, he poisoned himself in a fit of despair²⁸.

When the Roman delegates had arrived at the isthmus, they intimated to the Achaian council, that Corinth, Sparta, Argos, and other cities, ought to be disjoined from the confederacy, because they did not originally belong to it ; and farther declared, that every community ought to be governed by it's own laws, as it was an arbitrary practice to draw all within one pale, and preclude that variety of privilege which suited the ideas of different

states. This attempt to dissolve the league excited at Corinth the flame of commotion. The Achaian leaders would not hear the close of such an offensive harangue, but rushed out of the hall, and called a meeting of the people; who, enraged at the insult offered by the delegates, wreaked their vengeance upon all the Lacedæmonians whom they could find, putting some to death, and imprisoning others, for their subserviency to the Romans. The authority of the commissioners could not give safety to those who solicited their protection; and, finding all remonstrances useless, they fled from personal danger²⁹.

The Romans would have immediately proceeded to extremities against the refractory Corinthians, if they had not then been engaged in the African war. Carthage was yet unsubdued; and it seemed prudent to temporise. A new deputation from Rome appeared at Ægium; and the Achaians were addressed in conciliatory language. Allowance was made for the licentiousness of the populace; and a complete accommodation with Rome, it was said, might be easily effected, if farther irritation should be avoided. Some members of the council, deluded by this dissimulation, expressed their satisfaction at the prospect of concord: but the new chief magistrate Critolaus, Diæus, and others of the anti-Roman party, ridiculed the affectation of lenity on the part of the delegates, and hinted, that nothing but the temporary embarrassments of the haughty republic delayed the explosion of sanguinary vengeance. The next meeting of the council being fixed at Tegea, the commissioners went thither with their Spartan friends, with whom the last assembly had proposed a negotiation; but Critolaus had privately dissuaded the members from attending; and, when he met the delegates, he stated the necessity of waiting for the next regular council, that the people might have an opportunity

of full discussion. The offended Romans returned to Italy ; while Critolaus made preparations for a renewal of the war with Sparta³⁰.

In the inflamed state of the public mind at Corinth, the appearance of Roman deputies, sent from Macedon by Metellus, brought affairs to a crisis. They spoke with affected mildness to the members of the confederacy ; but their hints of the expediency of cultivating the friendship of Rome, irritated the people, who insulted the intruders, and drove them from the assembly, not reflecting on that ferocity of vengeance with which the arrogant and resentful Romans would assuredly treat both the guilty and the innocent. Critolaus, pleased with the spirit of the Corinthians, enlisted many of them under his standard, with Arcadians and other Peloponnesians ; and, having received an auxiliary force from the Bæotians (who were displeased at a sentence pronounced against them by Metellus, for an injury offered to the Phocians), he formed the siege of Heraclea, a city on the borders of Thessaly, because the inhabitants had seceded from the Achaian league. Hearing of the approach of Metellus, he retired into Locris, but was overtaken near Scarphia, and, being defeated, was neither seen in the act of retiring, nor found among the dead³¹.

Diæus, having resumed the magistracy, sent troops to defend Megara against the Romans, and made great exertions to procure a powerful army. Metellus, in the mean time, advanced to Thebes, from which almost every inhabitant had retired. The terror of his name also put to flight the new garrison of Megara. Wishing for the honor of closing the war, he sent proposals of peace ; but the influence of Diæus counter-acted his overtures.

The success of Metellus hastened the arrival of the

³⁰ Excerpt. è Polyb.

³¹ Pausan. lib. vii. cap. 14, 15.—The epitomist of Livy says, that he took poison in his flight.

consul Mummius Nepos, who was eagerly desirous of the splendor of a triumph. When he had assembled his force at the isthmus, the Corinthians and their allies assaulted his advanced guard, and obtained a temporary advantage, which gave them an excess of confidence. Instead of endeavouring to procure favorable conditions by the defence of a well-fortified city, they risked a general engagement. Their cavalry, being flanked by ambushed troops, quickly retired from the field; and the rest of the army did not long withstand the energy of Roman valor. Diæus, in the consternation of despair, fled into Arcadia, stabbed his wife, and poisoned himself. While the vanquished troops were seeking refuge in dispersion, the consular army entered Corinth, which a great number of the citizens had left as soon as they heard of the defeat. Licensed by an imperious senate and an unfeeling general, the brutal soldiers slew all the male adults, and, when they had pillaged the city, reduced it to ashes. The boys, and the females of all ages, were publicly sold; and the rich spoils were sent to Rome³². While we execrate the cruelty of the conquerors on this occasion, we may smile at the tasteless ignorance of Mummius, who, when he sent off valuable pictures and statues, warned the persons, to whom he gave them in charge, to keep them free from all injury, on pain of being obliged to purchase or procure others³³. He thought that they could be as easily replaced as military weapons, or the produce of vulgar mechanism.

The destruction of Corinth terminated the commotions of Greece, and finally dissolved the Achaian confederacy. The vindictive spirit of Rome, not content with this exercise of severity, put to death many of the inhabitants of Chalcis for their concert with the Achaians, and demolished the fortifications of all the towns which had favored

32 Pausan. lib. vii. cap. 16.

33 Paterc. lib. i. cap. 13.

the insurgents. Commissioners were sent to arrange the Grecian governments in such a mode as might best secure the dependency of the whole country. In lieu of the aristocratic or democratic councils, new magistrates were established ; and a governor, called the prætor of Achaia, was authorised to act in Greece, under the direction of the Roman senate. In preparing the minds of the people (more particularly in the Peloponnesus) for the new arrangements, the historian Polybius was very instrumental. He found that it was useless to contend with Rome, and therefore zealously recommended a quiet submission to the will of the potent republic. His influence was remarkably operative ; and both the conquerors and the conquered acknowledged his merit and services.

LETTER XX.

A Survey of the Philosophy, Literature, and Arts of the GREEKS, from the Time of PHILIP the Macedonian, to the Conquest of their Country by the Arms of ROME.

THE vigor of genius was not only promoted in Greece by the prevalence of constitutional freedom, but was, in some degree, cherished and maintained by the emulation and honorable rivalry which naturally arose among the different states. The citizens of Corinth and of Argos thought themselves equal to those of Athens in talent and ability ; and, as even Thebes had produced a Pindar, the Bœotians were not disposed to think so unfavorably of themselves, as to attribute any hebetating influence to the grossness of their climate. This rivalry would have been less conspicuous and less operative, if the whole Grecian territory had been consolidated under one government.

The public spirit of the Greeks declined after the Peloponnesian war. Among the Athenians, in particular, it was weakened by that luxury which Pericles had fostered, and by those dissensions which had arisen amidst the misfortunes and disgrace of the republic. The wealth introduced into Laconia by the Asiatic war tended to sap the foundations of the Lysurgic system, and to relax the hardness of Spartan virtue. An extraordinary increase of trade, in the Corinthian state, had an ill effect upon the morals of the people, by encouraging a taste for luxurious enjoyments, which led to the formation of licentious habits.

Notwithstanding the decline of morality and patriotism, the genius of the Greeks for literature and science, and for the polite arts, continued unimpaired during the reigns of Philip and Alexander. Both monarchs professed an inclination to promote philosophy and the arts in their peculiar kingdom, and to patronise merit among the Grecian states; and, if they did not in every instance display the most refined taste, they did not crush the energy of genius.

In the reigns of those princes, the Platonists or Academics bore the chief sway as philosophers: but Pyrrho, the Elean, seduced many persons of that sect, and of other schools, into his absurd sentiments. He was originally a painter, not wholly destitute of skill. Turning his attention to philosophy, he became a follower of Anaxarchus, whom he accompanied into Persia and India; but his travels, instead of enlarging his comprehension, terminated in absolute and universal scepticism. He denied that any thing could be ascertained or properly understood. Truth, he said, might be eagerly sought, but could never be found; and, whatever approaches might seemingly be made to certainty, the wise would still hesitate upon the subject, and not pretend to decide it. Nothing was intrinsically just or unjust; nor was any one act

better than another. Law and custom might make distinctions in these respects; but true philosophy did not authorise or admit them.—He pretended to treat danger as if it did not exist; and, therefore, if a carriage came near him, or a precipice menaced him in his progress, he did not endeavour to secure himself. Once, however, he beat off a dog that was rushing upon him; and he excused his caution by saying, “It is very difficult entirely to “shake off the man.” His coolness and indifference so estranged him from social feelings, that, when his old master had fallen into a ditch, he passed onward, without making the least effort for his extrication¹.

When Crantor and Crates had filled the Platonic chair without adding to the lustre of the sect, Arcesilaus introduced some supposed novelties of doctrine, so as to procure the appellation of founder of the Middle Academy. His opinions, however, like those of Pyrrho, were rather intimations of doubt, than positive tenets²; for, while he admitted a certainty in the nature of things, he said that every thing appeared uncertain to the human mind. No point, he thought, could be confidently asserted without the risque of delusion: truth did not so fully display itself as to be accurately distinguished from error, by our limited powers; and, in every question, opposite arguments seemed to have such an equality of weight, that it was proper to suspend our judgement. He encouraged his disciples to dispute before him, that he might controvert their reasoning, and leave the case undecided. His propagation of doubt alarmed the magistrates, who apprehended that great confusion might arise from doctrines which tended to subvert morality, and to unhinge every establishment; but it does not appear that he was silenced³.

1 Diogen. Laert. lib. ix.

2 Cicer. de Nat. Deorum, lib. i.—Laert:

3 It was said of him, that he was at first Plato, secondly Diodorus, and at last Pyrrho. Diodorus was a professor of no great fame, who introduced a confused and ambiguous mode of philosophising.

Arcesilaus was succeeded by Lacydes, who, for no other apparent cause than his removal of the philosophic school to the garden of Attalus, has been called the founder of the New Academy. This professor was grave in his demeanor, and very studious ; but was as much addicted to drinking, as his predecessor was disposed to amorous enjoyment⁴. Even to Carneades, whom some consider as the first philosopher of the New Academy, no opinions, sufficient to justify his pretensions to the honor of founding a new sect or school, are attributed by ancient writers. His sentiments scarcely differed from those of Arcesilaus ; but, by allowing greater weight to probability than that philosopher had assigned to it, he showed himself less hostile to morals, or to those good principles which ought to influence human conduct.

Reverting to the time of Alexander, I must take particular notice of a celebrated philosopher, who, separating from the Platonic sect, established the school of the Peripatetics⁵. Aristotle of Stagira was distinguished by a very acute and comprehensive mind, which, in endeavouring to embrace the whole circle of instruction, acquired an extraordinary fund of learning and knowledge. When he had thus opened the way to fame, he introduced himself at the court of Philip, who appointed him preceptor to Alexander. After the accession of his pupil to the throne, he presented himself at Athens, where he taught philosophy for thirteen years. Being accused of impiety for having written a hymn in honor of his friend Hermias, he retired to Chalcis, where he soon after died, at the age of sixty-three years⁶.

⁴ Diogen. Laert. lib. iv.

⁵ So called from the practice of *walking about* the grove of the *Lyceum*, pursued by the professor and his pupils, while they were receiving his instructions.

⁶ Suidas and Hesychius affirm, that he poisoned himself: but Diogenes Laertius, upon the preferable authority of Apollodorus, says, that his death was the natural result of disease or indisposition.

The sagacity, talents, and erudition of Aristotle, placed him in the highest rank among the philosophers and *literati* of his time. He was a judicious moralist, a masterly logician and casuist, a perspicacious critic, an intelligent politician, and an able naturalist. He had taken a more comprehensive view of general learning than any of his contemporaries, and examined, with a philosophic eye, the nature of the mind and the course of it's operations. His acuteness and learning gave him such extensive influence, and so forcibly recommended his opinions, that he was enabled to effect, as far as logic was concerned, a scientific revolution. He introduced, into every branch of science, more accurate reasoning than had before been used, and brought all inquiries to a more legitimate and discriminative test. He ably investigated the nature of morality, and, if he did not, like Plato, fully connect it with divine or religious principles, he enforced it by pertinent arguments. His political advice was founded upon the most elaborate examination of all the modes of government, and of every legislative system; and he was as much an enemy to democratic licentiousness, as to aristocratic or monarchic tyranny. Being permitted by Philip to exercise his political knowlege for the benefit of his native town, he composed a judicious code of law, which his royal patron approved and confirmed.

With all his good sense, this philosopher sometimes indulged himself in a spirit of abstraction and refinement, which sophists perverted to the purposes of delusion. Either with wilful misrepresentation, or with careless misconstruction, some of the succeeding philosophers erected upon the Aristotelian basis a system of vain disputation; subtilising the course of ratiocination, and confounding the dictates of common sense. They perplexed the operations of intellect, and trusted to words and forms rather than to substance.

The religion of Aristotle was that which teaches the

immaterial nature of the soul, and the eternal existence of a Supreme Being, who presides over the world with consummate wisdom, and is the source of every thing that human eyes can behold, or that the mind can contemplate. He also thought that the government of the universe was conducted, under the divine control, by a multitude of angelic spirits or intelligences.

Aristotle was succeeded by Theophrastus, who was at first a follower of Plato. So greatly was the new Peripatetic leader admired, that he had, at one time, about 2000 pupils⁷. He discontinued his discourses, when an arbitrary law had rendered it a capital offence to preside in a philosophical school, without the express permission of the senate and people : but he resumed his task with redoubled zeal, after the quick repeal of the odious law. He was a voluminous and multifarious writer : but almost all his works are lost. Of those which we possess, his Characters are the most esteemed.

The next director of the school was Strato, who was distinguished by his eloquence, and whose skill in natural philosophy surpassed that of every contemporary professor. Lycon, his successor, was considered as an excellent instructor of youth. Demetrius the Phalerean was also an able president of the sect ; and Heraclides was not so incompetent as to reflect disgrace upon the institution.

Contemporary with the illustrious Stagirite was Zeno of Citium, who, pretending to carry the fortitude of philosophy to the verge of insensibility, gave a beginning to the *Stoic*⁸ school. There was little originality in his system ; for it was founded upon the basis of Cynicism. He received instructions from Crates the Theban, one of the most distinguished disciples of Diogenes, the rude inhabitant of a cask or tub, who filled the chair of Anti-

⁷ Diogen. Laert. lib. v.

⁸ So denominated from the *portico* at Athens, in which he harangued the people.

sthenes the Cynic, and who, though not deficient in acuteness or good sense, degraded philosophy by coarseness of allusion and vulgarity of behaviour.

Zeno maintained, that the true purpose of life was to follow nature, which, he said, would lead to virtue ; and that it was in the power of every one, by a right use of reason, to make himself easy and content. Qualities or possessions, he observed, were good, bad, or indifferent. Justice, prudence, and all other virtues, belonged to the first order : vices were in the second class ; and life, health, pleasure, personal beauty, strength, opulence, glory, and high birth, with their opposites, were neutral,—that is, neither beneficial nor injurious in themselves. A rational man would pursue the first, avoid the second, and neglect the last. Thus instructed, the Stoics affected to rise superior to the sense of pleasure or the feelings of pain. The idea of their philosophy had a noble and elevated air, as they seemed to despise every thing but virtue, and to hate nothing but vice ; and, if they had invariably adhered to the prescribed system, they would have merited great applause : but the pompous professions of philosophers are not always followed by correspondent acts. Even Zeno did not bear misfortune with the fortitude which he recommended to others ; and his death, if we may believe the account given by his biographer, was not that of a genuine Stoic. In retiring from the portico, he fell, and broke the bone of one of his fingers : shocked at the accident, he immediately strangled himself⁹. He had presided over his school for fifty-eight years, with the reputation of wisdom and moral worth : but the disregard which he expressed for polite learning did not please the generality of the Athenians.

His ideas, in astronomical philosophy, were less correct than those of Pythagoras ; but, in theology, his sentiments

⁹ Diogen. Laert. lib. vii.

were as sublime as those of any of the Grecian sages; for he represented God as a wise, perfect, happy, and immortal being, governing, with providential and paternal care, that world which with admirable skill he had created.

Zeno's successor was Cleanthes, who, from a pugilist and a drawer of water, was converted into a philosopher. He had a small portion of natural genius¹⁰; but, by extraordinary diligence and industry, he acquired a great share of learning, and even distinguished himself as an author.

While Zeno flourished, Epicurus also founded a philosophical sect. He first collected pupils around him at Mitylene and Lampsacus, and afterward opened a garden for the same purpose in the grand seat of arts and erudition. His recommendation of pleasure, as the chief good, was a powerful attraction: it allured numerous disciples, whom it furnished with an excuse for every species of voluptuous enjoyment. But he did not wish to promote gross sensuality: he only referred to bodily easy and comfort, to a temperate gratification of the senses, and mental tranquillity. Pleasure, he said, was not incompatible with virtue; but, to preserve it's consonance with morality, it was necessary that it should be innocent and moderate, even while it enlivened the heart and exhilarated the spirits. Some philosophical critics are of opinion, that the vivacity of bodily sensations cannot harmonise or properly coalesce with the peaceful pleasures of the mind, and that a system dependent upon their union must be fragile and delusive: yet there is apparently nothing very incongruous in such a combination, when we consider the close union between the body and the mind.

In his ideas of the origin of the world, Epicurus favored the atomic doctrine; not, however, entirely excluding Gods from his creed, but denying that they concerned

¹⁰ Being, for his apparent dullness, called an ass even in his own school, he coolly said, "I may yet claim some merit, if I can bear the whole weight of "Zeno."

themselves with the affairs of mankind. Their tranquillity, he thought, was too sacred to be disturbed by the petty interests, contentions, and vices of inferior beings. This was an easy way of shaking off divine control, and resigning every thing to human agency.

The Epicurean system was warmly combated by the Stoics; but it gradually rose into favor. Chrysippus, in the mean time, maintained the reputation of the Stoic sect. He was regarded as an acute logician, and an able writer: but it was remarked by the critics, that he was not an elegant or correct speaker, and that his volumes¹¹ chiefly consisted of quotations. He resolved the Deity of Zeno into mere fate, or an eternal succession or concatenation of things¹². Sometimes, however, he gave a higher character and a more noble designation to the divinity: but, with all his boasted skill in reasoning, he did not impress upon the minds of his auditors any distinct ideas of his own theology. His opinion of fate or necessity did not prevent him from allowing free agency to mankind; nor did his loose and imperfect notions of religion entirely preclude his attention to moral duties.

The growing corruption of the Greeks aided the Epicureans in their contest with the Stoics for superiority of influence; and, when the former had proved successful, the corruption continued to increase, so as to facilitate the progress of the Roman arms.

Amidst the prevalence of philosophy, poetry and elegant literature did not sink into neglect. No rival of Homer, indeed, arose; but some ingenious and pleasing poets exercised their talents. Theocritus, who flourished in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, produced pastorals which are still read with delight, and are regarded as models for that species of poetry. Appropriate simplicity of

11 Which (says Laertius) amounted to 705.

12 Cicer, de Nat. Deorum, lib. i.

diction, and justness of remark, pervade these pieces: they are enlivened by strokes of nature, sentiment, and passion. His contemporary Callimachus was an admired writer of hymns and elegies; but we have scarcely any remains of his Muse. Of this bard Apollonius¹³ was a pupil; from whose poem upon the Argonautic expedition, which some critics have unwarrantably depreciated, Virgil did not disdain to borrow. Lycophron was not only an esteemed tragedian, but wrote a poem called *Alexandra*, detailing the supposed prophesies of that princess, respecting the siege of Troy and many subsequent enterprises and adventures. It is far from being destitute of merit; but it is so obscure, that only a critical knowledge of the language, and a prior acquaintance with the subject, can master the difficulties of perusal. Bion and Moschus were distinguished as pastoral poets, and were united by the strong ties of friendship. In their remaining pieces, a superior portion of delicacy and grace, with more elegant and harmonious versification, than we find in the *idyllia* of Theocritus, may be observed by the attentive reader. Aratus is more known by Cicero's attempt to translate his *Phænomena*, than by any extraordinary merit that can be discovered in his metrical display of astronomic appearances, and his investigation of planetary influence.

Many dramatists appeared in the time to which this survey is appropriated: but the tragic writers were far from being equal to those of the former period; and, of the comic poets, it will be sufficient to mention two,—Menander and Philemon. The former was an Athenian, who studied philosophy under Theophrastus. He was styled the prince of the new comedy, or that stage of the Grecian drama from which all personal imitation was excluded. He faithfully portrayed nature and manners, without pointing his satire or his pleasantry at well-known

13 Called the Rhodian, though he was born in Egypt.

individuals. He is said to have produced 108 pieces; the loss of which (for only fragments and quotations remain) may be seriously lamented. Wit, elegance, urbanity, and delicacy of allusion, marked his productions. Philemon was considered as his rival, and sometimes obtained the prize, in preference to that illustrious competitor, whose superior merit was acknowledged by all good judges. Hence Menander was induced to say, “Do not “you blush, Philemon, when the meed of comic excellence is assigned to you in a contest with me?”

Among the historians who belonged to this period, Polybius bears the highest rank: no others, indeed, claim specific mention. He was a man of learning and talent, and acted as a statesman, negotiator, legislator, and warrior. The far greater part of his history is lost: but this consideration enhances the value of the extant portion. His object was the composition of a general history of his own time, including a particular view of the Roman affairs, which he also carried back to a preceding period. In the course of varied and extensive travels, he procured authentic materials, of which his judgement and veracity qualified him to make a good use. Far from confining himself to mere narration, he introduces a variety of reflexions and remarks, usually pertinent and just; thus rendering his work highly instructive. The third and two following books are worthy of the most attentive perusal, from the important nature of the subject, and the diversity of interesting topics. The author ably maintained the liberties of Greece, particularly of the Achaian confederacy; and, after the subjugation of his country, his high character introduced him to the favor and friendship of the most distinguished citizens of the victorious state.

Oratory was at its zenith in Greece, while Philip and his son reigned. The prevalence of that noble art is usually checked by established despotism: but, while the arbitrary schemes of those princes were yet unaccom-

plished, their attempts served to invigorate the efforts of the Grecian orators. Isocrates had long distinguished himself at Athens by his persuasive eloquence, before that republic lost it's independence; and so strong was his zeal for liberty, that, when he was informed of the triumph of the Macedonians at Chæronea, he put an end to his life by abstinence¹⁴. He had reached the age of ninety-eight years; and his faculties were so little impaired by that extraordinary age, that he was still able to instruct pupils.

The merit of Demosthenes not only soared above that of his veteran contemporary Isocrates, but elevated him to the acknowledged rank of the greatest orator that Greece ever produced. He overcame, by art and perseverance, the disadvantages of nature. He had an impediment in his utterance, which he at length effectually removed¹⁵. He was, at first, harassed by that timidity which seemed to preclude success in public speaking; but he gradually acquired coolness and confidence. In the earlier part of his career, he previously composed his speeches; but this practice was rendered unnecessary, in the sequel, by acquired self-possession and fluency. His harangues were peculiarly forcible and impressive: he inspired his auditors with his own zeal: he seemed to satisfy their judgment, even while he violently affected their feelings.

The *cause of the crown*, as it is called, reflects great honor on his talents, energy, and influence. A golden crown had been proposed as a compliment to his patriotic exertions; but Æschines, a rival speaker of undoubted merit, indicted Ctesiphon, the proposer of this mark of respect, as a citizen who was not a friend to his country, and declaimed against the eloquent statesman who had unmasked the views of the Macedonian court. Demosthenes repelled the charge in a masterly oration, which ensured

¹⁴ Pausan. lib. i. cap. 18.—Philostrat.

¹⁵ Plut. Vit. Demosth.—Cicer. de Oratore, lib. i. sect. 61,

his own triumph and the acquittal of his friend. This speech, although it cannot excite the strong sensations which it produced when it was delivered with all the animation of appropriate gesture, is still read with pleasure and interest.

Another oratorical rival of Demosthenes, not fully equal to him, was Hyperides, who was, at the same time, his political friend. He argued with acuteness, and harangued with dignity and force.

When Greece, enfeebled by luxury and dissension, had become, in a great measure, an appendage to the Macedonian monarchy, a decline of her oratory was observable; but it revived in some degree with the Achaïan confederacy.

While the Greeks continued to cultivate moral philosophy, polite learning, and eloquence, either with a visible declension of excellence, or without any accession of merit, some of the sciences and the mechanic arts received considerable improvement. Astronomy assumed a more systematic form: the planetary movements were more accurately traced; and important observations were diligently multiplied, particularly by the philosophers of the Grecian school established in the new capital of Egypt. Aristarchus, the Samian, distinguished himself by enforcing the Pythagorean opinions respecting the fixed position of the sun and the motion of the earth, which some astronomers were inclined to call in question. Eratosthenes endeavoured to ascertain the dimensions of the earth, and his experiments, if not exact, were ingenious. Archimedes, the Syracusan, was also conversant in astronomy but he will be more particularly mentioned as an improver of the mechanic arts. Hipparchus, the Bithynian, was the greatest astronomer of the age in which he lived¹⁶. He was the first who formed regular solar tables: he investi

¹⁶ He was in high fame from the 160th to the 130th year before the Christian æra.

gated the lunar motions, appearances, and eclipses, with unprecedented accuracy; and he first conceived that the equinoxes had a retrograde motion¹⁷ with respect to the fixed stars;—a discovery which has ever been considered as highly important. He also improved geography by pointing out a mode of determining the latitude and longitude of towns and stations.

Geometry received an useful accession from the labors of Euclid, who dignified the Alexandrian school in the reign of the first Ptolemy. He was acquainted both with pure and mixed mathematics: he gave a more regular form, and a more determinate establishment, to scientific principles; and imparted to geometrical demonstration all the force of which it seemed capable. Archimedes acquired still higher fame, being considered as the greatest mathematician of antiquity. He made the nearest advance to the quadrature of the circle, and solved the most curious problems. Apollonius, the Pamphylian, entitled himself to celebrity by his masterly illustration of conic sections.

Machines and engines, for civil and military purposes, were invented by the genius and skill of Archimedes. A screw-pump for draining marshes or removing water from ships,—a contrivance for drawing the most astonishing weights,—another for launching vessels,—glasses calculated to burn objects at a considerable distance,—and engines so constructed as to give extraordinary force and efficacy to the attack or defence of a town, and to the *manceuvres* of a naval conflict,—are attributed by ancient writers¹⁸ to this wonderful mechanist.

The mathematicians bestowed a part of their attention upon the musical science, which, however, they did not strikingly improve. It seems to have been at it's height in the reign of Alexander the Great, who was so pleased

¹⁷ Amounting to one degree in 75 years.

¹⁸ Polybius, Diodorus, Plutarch, Athenæus, Pappus, and others.

with its attractions, as to patronise its most distinguished professors. Timotheus, a Theban flute-player, was particularly favored by that prince, whose martial spirit he inflamed by his effusions. He could soothe as effectually as he could animate, unless he met with passions as strong as those of his royal master.

A celebrated musical theorist, in that reign, was Aristoxenus, who formed a strong party in opposition to the Pythagorean sect. He loudly declaimed against theatrical music, which, he said, had corrupted the purity and excellence of the art; and, with reference to the calculations and ratios of Pythagoras, he was of opinion, that the philosopher had injured the effect of music by an excess of mathematical refinement. Thinking that the Pythagoreans, for the "perfection of consonance," had trusted more to the eye than to the ear, he maintained that concords were to be taken by the judgement of the ear only, and that other "intervals, of which the ear was less able "to determine the perfection," were to be estimated by the *difference*, or sum total of concords¹⁹." Both these sects seem to have gone too far: one gave too great authority to the ear, the other too little.

Euclid, the mathematician, was also an eminent musical theorist. He rather enforced the doctrine of Pythagoras, than that of Aristoxenus. Didymus, who lived in the time of Nero, is supposed by some modern musicians to have given such hints as led to counterpoint; while others have assigned that merit to Ptolemy, the reputed author of "the best division of the musical scale."

A spirit of philosophy likewise mingled itself with the profession of medicine. Praxagoras, while he assented in a general view to the Hippocratic system, differed in some points of practice. Erasistratus also professed himself a follower of the leading doctrines of the Coan sage; but he trusted more to pharmaceutic preparations than to

diet or regimen ; and he was more particularly observant of the variations of the pulse. Herophilus attended less to rational deduction than to experience : yet he was not avowedly of the sect of empirics, who, rising in opposition to the dogmatists or reasoners, despised or neglected, as useless, all investigation of the latent causes of disease, and all the parade of philosophy and system ²⁰.

There were undoubtedly, among the Greeks, some able physicians ; but they had not the skill or knowledge which many of the moderns have possessed ; and, if, even in the present age, multitudes of patients are prematurely sent to the grave by the ignorance, precipitancy, carelessness, or errors, of the medical fraternity, how much greater may the number of Grecian victims be supposed to have been ! The Greeks, indeed, do not seem to have so zealously attended to their health, or to the improvement of the medical practice, as to the cultivation of the pleasing and elegant arts.

Architecture flourished at this period, both as a polite and an useful art. A more ornamental form was given to public structures ; and private houses were more substantially built. An order, less simple than the Doric, was introduced into Greece from Ionia ; and it quickly prevailed over the former order. The Athenians disdained to copy it exactly ; and they rendered their imitation of it more pleasing than the original, more particularly improving the base. A more beautiful order, called the Corinthian was subsequently brought into use. The story of it's origin may be considered as rather fanciful than true. A sculptor, observing a basket covered with a tile, perceived at the same time an acanthus, which had grown picturesquely about it, and had it's leaves bent downward by the tile ;

²⁰ The empirics (says Pliny) first appeared in Sicily, under the auspices of Acron the Agrigentine, a reputed follower of the philosophy promulgated by Empedocles ; whose system, however, we may conclude, would rather have checked than countenanced the rashness of empiricism.

and the sight, it is said, so struck him, that he applied the hint to the formation of a columnar capital. However that may be, the Corinthian capital became an object of general admiration; and the new columns were appropriated to those buildings in which the architects aimed at an union of elegance with splendor.

Sculpture and painting also continued to be cultivated with success. Lysippus, in the opinion of Alexander, excelled all his contemporaries in one art, and Apelles was equally pre-eminent in the other. Pyrgoteles was esteemed, by the same monarch, as an admirable sculptor of gems. That all good judges concurred with the king in these points of taste, cannot readily be supposed: but there is no doubt of the great merit of each of these artists. Lysippus exhibited the figure of his patron at different ages and in various characters, and represented, with a strong resemblance to the originals, all the friends of that prince. He gratified the Thespians with a fine statue of Cupid: his representations of an intoxicated female flute-player, and of a hunting-scene, were greatly admired. He gave to his figures the most regular proportion, and the most natural appearance and attitudes. Apelles, in the mean time, pourtrayed his royal friend with inimitable skill, and employed his pencil upon a great variety of interesting subjects. In delicacy and grace, he had not a rival. As he did not pass a day without exercising his art, his productions were very numerous. Venus rising from the sea, Castor and Pollux in the exultation of victory, Diana surrounded by sacrificing virgins, a pontifical procession in honor of that goddess, Alexander (like Jove) wielding a thunder-bolt, the same prince in a triumphal car, Antigonus on horseback²⁴, Clitus and his armour-bearer, and a naked hero, were among his most celebrated pieces. For his representation of Campaspe,

21 This picture, says Pliny, was deemed, by *connoisseurs*, his best piece.

the beautiful concubine of the Macedonian king, he received, as the most valuable present, the person of the lady herself, who, when he traced her lineaments, had captivated him by an unreserved display of her charms. But this artist, with all his merit, did not excel in expression. Aristides, his Theban contemporary, surpassed him in that respect, and acquired high fame by his picture of illness, and his delineation of an unfortunate female, who, being mortally wounded at the capture of a town, and seeing her infant creeping to her breast, was apprehensive that the child might suck, instead of milk, the blood of its dying mother²².

Protagenes, the friend of Apelles, shone both as a painter and a sculptor. It is said, that, when he could not please himself in the delineation of the foam issuing from the mouth of a dog, he indignantly threw his sponge at that part of his picture, and thus represented, by chance, what all his skill and labor could not express. The sons of Lysippus cultivated their father's favorite art, without reaching the same point of excellence. Chares, one of his pupils, produced the famed Colossus, which is said to have been 70 cubits high. It was a figure of Apollo, stretching his legs across the entrance of the harbour of Rhodes, so as to leave room for vessels to sail between them. Three Rhodian sculptors (Agesander, Polydorus, and Athenodorus) highly distinguished themselves by a work upon which they labored in concert,—a representation of Laocoön and his two sons, writhing in torture under the attack of serpents. It still exists, and is justly reckoned among the most exquisite monuments of Grecian art. The ingenious fabricator of the equally-admired statue of the goddess of love²³ is unknown.

Being thus attached to the arts and sciences, and ap-

²² Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. xxxiv. cap. 8 ;—xxxv. 10.

²³ Called the Medicean Venus, from the illustrious family in whose possession it remained for ages.

plying to every pursuit the operations of a strong intellect, the Greeks still remained, at the time of their subjugation, a highly-civilised people ; and, by the superiority of their cultivated genius, they were enabled to instruct and polish their conquerors.

*Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit, et artes
Intulit agresti Latio.*²⁴

LETTER XXI.

*History of ROME, and its Dependencies, to the Sedition of the
elder GRACCHUS.*

YOU will find, my dear son, that national prosperity is usually accompanied with excessive luxury, relaxation of morals, and the prevalence of vice in varied forms. These effects, as occurring among the Romans, are more particularly ascribed by some of their writers¹ to the extinction of the independent power of Carthage : but, from the progress of such degeneracy before the eruption of the third Punic war, it may be presumed that the career of vice, of political depravity and moral turpitude, would not have been less rapid, if the Carthaginian republic had continued to subsist. The Roman connexions with Asia seem to have given the first wound to the ancient simplicity of manners and integrity of principle ; and the pernicious change, not being sufficiently restrained by the good sense or spirit of the people, was alarmingly progressive.

The settlement of the affairs of Carthage and of Greece left the Romans at full liberty to prosecute the subjugation

²⁴ Horat, Epist. lib. ii.

¹ Sallust and Paterculus.

Ante Chr. tion of the western peninsula. The injured
 145. Lusitanians were still in arms, defying the government that could protect such unfeeling and unprincipled men as Galba and Lucullus. Viriathus stimulated their animosity, and inflamed the zeal of vengeance. He was originally a shepherd, hardened by the mountain breeze, and habituated to the coarsest fare. He signalled his courage, first against wild beasts, and afterward against thieves. He is accused of having been himself a robber²; but, probably, he only plundered the Romans and their partisans. Leading a gallant band against the oppressors of his country, he defeated the first detachment which he attacked³, and was thus encouraged to a continuance of hostilities. When the prætor Vetilius had assaulted with success the troops of this bold adventurer, and had driven them into a disadvantageous situation, they sent deputies to propose peace, and to solicit a grant of land for the relief of their poverty. A convention was on the point of adjustment, when Viriathus, remonstrating against the imprudence of trusting to a perfidious enemy, advised an immediate attempt to escape from the unfavorable position. While Vetilius waited the effect of the negotiation, the Lusitanians quietly retreated, their leader keeping the Romans in check by the artful movements of a select *corps*. The prætor, enraged at his disappointment, pursued Viriathus; who, drawing his incautious adversaries into woods and morasses, slew or captured about 4000 men. Vetilius, being made prisoner, was killed by one who was ignorant of his rank. The quæstor of his army immediately levied troops among the allies of Rome, and attacked the Lusitanian general, by whom he was defeated with very great loss. Plautius, likewise, was so unfortunate in two engagements, that, in

² The epitomist of Livy says, he was successively a shepherd, a hunter, a robber, and a general ——— *pastor, venator, latro, et dux*.

³ About the 150th year before the Christian æra.

the midst of summer, he confined the small remains of his army to their quarters, as if the rigor of winter had prevailed. Claudius, another prætor, received a signal defeat from the vigor of the same opponent. Fabius Æmilianus, son of the celebrated Paulus Æmilius, then prepared to finish the dangerous war; but, while he was employed in religious solemnities at Gades, his lieutenant was defeated. Having suffered the ^{Ante Chr. 145.} time of his consulate to expire without bringing Viriathus to a general engagement, he showed, by two victories which he afterward obtained, that his men had not neglected their discipline or duty⁴. For this success, Lælius, surnamed the Wise, is said to have paved the way, by greatly weakening the Lusitanian force⁵.

When the eloquence and interest of Galba, notwithstanding his infamous character, had procured for him the consulate, he probably was not desirous of opposing his old enemies in person, because he dreaded their vengeance⁶. Quintius was sent against them; but, after a favorable opening of the campaign, he was disgraced by disaster and defeat. Metellus, both in his consular year, and after its expiration, made war with great spirit upon the Celtiberians, who were roused to arms by Roman arrogance: but he did not personally act against the Lusitanians. Fabius Servilianus, one of the next consuls, undertook the task of subduing Viriathus. He had 19,600 men under his command, beside a supply of elephants

⁴ App. de Bellis Hispanicis.

⁵ Cicer. de Offic. lib. ii.

⁶ Valerius Maximus, indeed, speaks of a contest between Galba and Cotta for the direction of this war, and represents the senate as divided on the subject. The advice of Scipio Æmilianus, he adds, prevailed for the exclusion of both from the command. "One (said the general) has nothing: the other thinks nothing enough for him." He alluded to the known insolvency of Cotta and the shameful avarice of his colleague. Such men were unfit for the consular magistracy, or for any office attended with that power which might lead to extortion and rapine.

Ante Chr. 142. from Numidia; and, engaging the Lusitanians, he chased them from the field; but, by a disorderly pursuit, he gave the enemy an opportunity of rallying, and of cutting off 3000 of his men. He consoled himself for this disgrace by the reduction of several towns, and gratified the cruelty of his disposition by ordering the decapitation of 500 prisoners.

The Celtiberian war being nearly brought to a close by the exertions of Metellus, the consul Pompeius was sent to succeed that commander; who was so enraged at being thus superseded by an intriguing adversary, that he injured both his own reputation and the public service. He diminished the army by frequent permissions of absence, connived at disorder and negligence, left the granaries open to robbery, ordered the arrows of the Cretans to be broken and thrown into a river, and endeavoured, by other irregular acts, to embarrass the early operations of his successor⁷. This conduct evinced, that he who could conquer an armed enemy could not curb his own passions.

While Pompeius was preparing for the extension of Roman authority in Spain, he received a deputation from the Arevaci, promising full submission, and offering to surrender Numantia. He insisted on their being disarmed; but this was a disgrace to which they would not submit. The women declared that they would disown their husbands, and the boys said, that they would no longer acknowledge their fathers, if they should thus relinquish their dignity and degrade their characters. The siege of Numantia was instantly formed. This town was ill-fortified; but it derived strength from its situation, being nearly encompassed by thick woods, and having only one way to it, which was barricaded by art. The defenders of the place scarcely exceeded the amount of 8000; while the consular army consisted of

30,000 foot-soldiers and 2000 horse. The besiegers were severely harassed, and sustained considerable loss; and Pompeius had so little hope of reducing the town, that he offered terms of peace, which were accepted. Hostages were given by the Numantians for their future forbearance: they surrendered all prisoners and deserters, and gratified the consul with pecuniary contribution⁸.

A treaty was also adjusted between Servilianus and Viriathus, when the Lusitanian chief had driven his opponent into a situation which precluded the facility of escape. It was agreed, that the adventurous warrior and his confederates should retain the territories which they possessed, and be considered as the friends of Rome. The citizens confirmed the convention; but it was rendered nugatory by the opposition of the consul Cæpio, who, after his assumption of the command in Lusitania, so strongly and repeatedly stated his objections ^{Ante Chr.} to the dishonorable compact, that the conscript ^{140.} fathers annulled it, and gave him full permission to renew the war. As he could not bring the Lusitanians to a general engagement, he ravaged the territories of their allies, the Gallæci and the Vettones. Viriathus, sensible of his danger, as his force was greatly diminished by desertion, proposed a negotiation. Cæpio refused to grant peace, unless the leading men of those states which had revolted from the Romans, should be delivered up to him. To this offensive demand assent was given, and the chieftains were punished with the amputation of their hands: but Viriathus would not submit to the next requisition, which tended to disarm the whole body of warriors. This arbitrary demand was consonant with the habitual severity of the consul's disposition; and he soon after manifested the baseness of treachery⁹.

8 App. de Bellis Hispanicis.—Flor. lib. ii.

9 App. de Bellis Hispanicis.—Excerpt. à Diod.

Three officers whom Viriathus considered as his friends, and who were employed in negotiatory conferences, were induced by the bribes of Cæpio to promise that they would murder the unsubmitting Lusitanian. Having entered his tent in the night (for his friends had liberty of access at all hours), they found him sleeping, and deprived him of life without noise or tumult. His troops were surprised at his not appearing in the morning; and, when they discovered the cause, sorrow pervaded the camp. If the assassins had been found, they would have been instantly sacrificed to the just vengeance of their countrymen: but they had escaped to the Roman station¹⁰.

Viriathus possessed the great qualities of a hero. Courage, fortitude, equity, liberality, and self-denial, marked his character: he displayed talent, skill, and judgement; and was enabled, by his address and influence, to exercise unbounded authority in Lusitania, without dignity of birth or the weight of high connexion¹¹. The general who ventured to succeed him was very unequal to the murdered chief; and, after some petty hostilities, surrendered himself and his followers to the discretion of Cæpio. The consul disarmed all who submitted, and encouraged them to peaceful habits by ample grants of land. His success gave great joy to the senate; but the honor of a triumph was not allowed to him, because he had disgraced himself by a treacherous murder.

The compact with the Numantians did not receive senatorial sanction. Even Pompeius disclaimed it, and persisted in denying that a treaty had been adjusted under his auspices. It was proposed that he should be delivered

¹⁰ Liv. Epit. lib. liv.—App.

¹¹ The abbreviator of Livy says, that he commanded against the Romans for fourteen years; but Appian limits his career to eight years. If (as is probable) he took the field soon after his escape from the massacre that was perpetrated by Galba, he must have acted as general about ten years.

up to the enemy, who might punish him if he Ante Chr. 139. had been guilty of falsehood or breach of faith : but this motion was over-ruled. He saved himself by the most abject supplications ; and it was voted that he did not appear to have concluded a regular agreement.

In recruiting the army for the Spanish war, Nasica and Brutus were involved in a contest with the plebeian tribunes, each of whom demanded the privilege of exempting ten individuals from the service. For re- Ante Chr. 138. fusing to grant this indulgence, the consuls were imprisoned ; but they were soon released, without yielding to a requisition which they deemed unreasonable. Brutus distinguished his consulate by carrying the Roman arms to the north-western extremity of Spain, and by enforcing the submission of many of the boldest tribes. Among his opponents were many women, whose courage was not inferior to that which the men displayed : for, when mortally wounded in the fierceness of conflict, they seemed to banish all sense of pain by stoical apathy ; and some of them, from a dread of captivity, killed themselves and their children¹².

The Numantians, exasperated at the disavowal of the treaty, vented their indignation upon the proconsul Popilius, whom, by pretending fear, they enticed to a scalade : then, suddenly rushing forward, they drove the intruders from the walls, slew a great number, and chased the rest to a considerable distance. Various prodigies seemed sufficient, in the opinion of the Romans, to deter the consul Mancinus from attacking the same enemy. He approached Numantia, however, and, in many skirmishes, tried the spirit of the garrison. Being invariably Ante Chr. 137. unsuccessful, and terrified by a false report of the advance of the Cantabrians against him, he decamped in the night, and sought a secluded spot. Hearing of his

retreat, the Spaniards pursued him, brought his rear-guard to action, and reduced him, entangled in a very disadvantageous situation, to the alternative of peace or destruction. On this occasion, if credit may be given to the epitomised narrative, borrowed from an able historian, 30,000 Romans were defeated by 4000 Numantians¹³. They negotiated on the basis of equality; but the haughty senate considered a fair treaty with barbarians as disgraceful. The officer by whom it was adjusted on the part of the consul, was Tiberius Gracchus, son of a general who had formerly distinguished himself in Spain. He was constrained to agree, that peace, friendship, and alliance, should subsist between the Roman republic and the Numantian community¹⁴. Of the character and conduct of this eminent citizen, I shall soon have occasion to speak more fully.

The very idea of an equality, in any point of view, between Rome and Numantia, shocked the pride of the great nation. The people called for vengeance upon the betrayers of Roman dignity; and Mancinus scarcely had time to congratulate himself and his troops on their escape from ruin, when he was recalled to answer the charges of misconduct and criminality. If his defence had been more forcible than it really was, it would not have allayed the general indignation. When the senate had voted against the treaty, it was referred to the deliberation of the people, who were requested not only

Ante Chr. 136. to annul it, but to deliver up its authors to the enemy. Gracchus protested against the injustice of punishing those officers who had saved the army; and his eloquence and popularity procured an exemption of all but the consul from the proposed surrender. Mancinus, being

13 Liv. Epit. lib. lv.—Among the 30,000, the numerous attendants of the camp appear to have been included.

14 Plut. Vit. Tiberii Gracchi.—App. de Bellis Hisp.—The epitomist of Livy stigmatises this pacification as ignominious; and Paternulus, after a severe reprobation of the agreement concluded by Pompeius, exclaims against the treaty of Mancinus as not less *base* and *detestable*.

disarmed, stripped, and bound, was left as a criminal at the gates of Numantia. The inhabitants had no wish to injure him ; and, as they refused to receive him, he was re-admitted into the Roman camp, and restored to all the privileges of a citizen¹⁵.

Æmilius Lepidus, the colleague of the disgraced consul, had been sent into Spain to command the rescued army ; and, to avoid the imputation of inactivity, he wantonly attacked the Vaccæi. He continued to harass them, even after the senate had commanded him to desist ; but, being reduced to a great scarcity of provisions, he raised the siege of Pallantia, and suffered severely in his retreat from the hostilities of the enraged pursuers. By famine and the sword, he lost about 6000 of his men. He deserved death for the mischief which his aggression had produced : but he was merely fined for his disobedience and injustice. The proconsul Brutus, in the mean time, propagated the terror of the Roman arms along the western side of the peninsula. The Gallæci were defeated with great slaughter ; and his activity and vigor quelled the insurrections of the Lusitanians.

To crush the small force of the injured Numantians, the greatest warrior of the republic was at length re-chosen consul. Scipio did not solicit the appointment : it was offered to him by the general wish both of patricians and plebeians. His first object was the re-establishment of military discipline, which had for many years been grossly neglected. He diminished the number of atten- Ante Chr. dants of the camp¹⁶, checked the spirit of intem- 134. perance and luxury, and strictly enforced obedience. He chastised the idle ; and, that some employment might be

15 Paterc. lib. ii. cap. 1.—Liv. Epit. lib. lvi.—Aurel. Vict. de Viris Illust.

16 He not only greatly reduced the number of sutlers, but dismissed all the petty traders, fortune-tellers, and prostitutes. About 2000 individuals of the last description were found in the camp, on his arrival.

constantly found, he ordered trenches to be dug, and immediately filled up—ramparts to be raised, and then demolished,—a camp to be fortified, and soon after dismantled. By these operations, by marches and counter-marches, he kept his troops in activity, and accustomed them to the rigors of duty. Although he thus prepared them for action, he resolved not to assault Numantia, but to subdue the garrison by famine. The blockade was of long duration; and, as the town was not taken when his year of magistracy expired, he was allowed to retain the command

Ante Chr. as proconsul. The enemy, before the circum-
133.

vallation was completed, placed an ambuscade for the chastisement of the ravaging intruders : but, when a body of Romans had been repelled on this occasion, their general advanced in person, and drove back the Spaniards within the walls. The retreat of men who hitherto had never turned their backs to their foes, inspirited the blockading army. When some of the elder Numantians reprimanded the fugitives for their pusillanimity, in thus giving way to those whom they had so often put to flight, it was said, in excuse, “The sheep are the same; but they have “another shepherd.”

The circuit of Numantia was three miles; the fortifications which were raised round it doubled that extent. To prevent the conveyance of supplies by the Douro, booms were stretched across the river, both above and below the town; so constructed as to obstruct the passage of a boat, and to preclude swimming and diving. The Numantians frequently endeavoured to provoke an engagement; but, as Scipio would not give them any opportunity, they deputed five of their principal citizens to inquire whether the proconsul would grant honorable terms, on their immediate submission. Without giving any promise of personal safety, he coolly replied, “All the inhabitants must “surrender themselves, their arms, and the city.” The report of this harsh answer so exasperated the Numan-

tians, that they put their envoys to death, as messengers of ill news; perhaps suspecting them of having privately negotiated their own security¹⁷.

When the ordinary articles of subsistence had entirely failed, the wretched objects of vindictive animosity supported life by feeding upon the skins of beasts; and, in the progress of famine, they devoured the flesh of their companions who were dying of disease. This unpleasing fare they soon exchanged for the flesh of their healthy fellow-citizens, whom others attacked and murdered. In this dreadful exigency, many of the survivors submitted to the mercy of the Roman general, who ordered them to deposit their arms in a particular spot, and to meet him on the following day, that they might receive his farther commands. A prolongation of the time was desired; and, during that interval, the more high-spirited part of the community rushed into suicide. The rest appeared before the conqueror, with wild aspects, meagre, squalid, and half-naked. He sold, as slaves, all except fifty, whom he reserved for his triumphal procession¹⁸. The city was destroyed, and the territory divided among the neighbouring people.

Scipio's success was loudly applauded; but there was little merit in subduing a small and almost unpeopled town with a very numerous army; for he had added such a number of Spaniards to his force, that the aggregate amount, according to the historian of the famed siege, comprehended 60,000 men.

If Scipio had not been thus employed, he would have zealously supported the aristocracy against the democratic attempts of Tiberius Gracchus. The various seditions which had occurred at Rome from the foundation of the republic, had not proceeded so far, as to be attended with

17 App. de Bellis Hispan.

18 This account, borrowed from Appian, is more probable than the statement of Florus, who affirms, that not one Numantian was led into captivity.

sanguinary violence¹⁹; but, in the degeneracy of Roman morals, political commotions could not be expected to be bloodless. To the law of Licinius, which prohibited any citizen from possessing above 500 *jugera*, a due regard was not long paid: it was first evaded by many landholders, under borrowed names, and at length openly violated; insomuch that, by purchase or encroachment, the rich gradually procured a great portion of those lands, which formerly, in consequence of public distribution, belonged to inferior individuals; and these were almost entirely cultivated by slaves. So poor were the free plebeians, at the time when the spirit and accomplishments of Gracchus excited general attention, that they were induced to complain of the unjustifiable neglect of their interests, and to call for the patronage of some eloquent and powerful citizen. He was particularly desired by many who professed a zealous regard for equity, to plead the cause of his indigent countrymen; and bills were fixed upon walls, in porches, and on tombs, conjuring him to undertake that patriotic and glorious enterprise. He was then tribune of the people: and, having maturely reflected on the expediency of granting the desired relief, he resolved to exert his power for a purpose which he conceived to be laudable. He did not act without consulting some eminent and able men of the patrician order. The law which he proposed tended to enforce a resignation, not of all the lands which any one possessed beyond the legal number of *jugera*, but only of one moiety of the supernumerary portion, the other half being left to the children. Such gross violations of law, he said, ought to draw down punishment upon the offenders: but, in consideration of long possession, he advised the grant of a recompence out of the treasury to those who should be obliged to surrender any part of their estates²⁰.

19 App. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. i.—Paterc. lib. ii. cap. 3.

20 Plut. Vit. Tib. Gracchi.—App. de Bellis Civilibus.

The patricians did not resist this proposition by weight of argument ; but they eluded it's force by imploring the interference of the tribune Octavius, a prudent and moderate young man, who, being the friend of Gracchus, at first refused to counter-act the scheme, but yielded to the eagerness of importunity. His opposition alone being sufficient to prevent the enactment, his incensed colleague exhorted the popular assembly to enforce, by a new law, the unconditional surrender of all lands not legally enjoyed. As Octavius more strongly withstood this suggestion, Gracchus proposed, that all public business should be suspended, until the people had regularly voted for or against this motion ; and he immediately put his seal upon the door of the treasury. When the votes were demanded, the opulent landholders obstructed the process by clamor and violence. The populace, however, would have prevailed in the contest, if some men of high respectability had not, by earnest supplications, obtained the consent of Gracchus to refer the dispute to the judgement of the senate. Being sharply reprov'd in that assembly for disturbing the peace of the city, he resolved to trust only to the people, whom he advised to degrade Octavius, if that magistrate should persist in his opposition to the agrarian scheme. They followed his advice ; and the incomplicant tribune, being deprived of his official dignity, with difficulty escaped from the rude hands of the multitude. Without farther delay, the citizens gave their sanction to the proposed law, and assigned to it's author, to his brother Caius, and his father-in-law Appius Claudius, the task of dividing the lands²¹.

The dejection of the rich, on this occasion, kept pace with the joy of the poor : but the former had not resigned all hopes of an ultimate triumph, and the latter began to fear, that the lands intended for distribution would only

21 App. de Bellis Civ. lib. i.—Plut.—Epit. Liv.

allow a very small share for each applicant. With a view of increasing the divisible stock, Gracchus procured the enactment of a law which authorised the three commissioners to determine, with regard to any land, whether it was public or private property. Still farther to gratify the people, he promised to bring forward a law for the distribution of such sums of money, among the persons to whom lands were assigned, as might be received out of the inheritance of Attalus, the opulent king of Pergamus. He also intimated, that the people, without the concurrence of the senate, had a right to dispose of the towns which formed the bequeathed kingdom. He promised to diminish the term during which the citizens were liable to be called into military service: to the knights, he offered an equality of privilege with senators: for all the Italian towns, he would procure, he said, the freedom of Rome; and, by other allurements, he hoped to extend and establish his influence.

The re-election of tribunes afforded an opportunity of deciding the contest. All the efforts of the senatorial party were exerted for the choice of such citizens as were hostile to the schemes of Gracchus; and his adherents were equally strenuous in promoting his re-appointment. He dissolved one assembly, because a sufficient number of his partisans could not conveniently attend to support him. Before the next meeting, unfavorable auspices and ominous accidents alarmed many of his friends, and even shook his fortitude: but Blossius, a philosopher of Cumæ, his constant companion and principal adviser, ridiculed such apprehensions, and urged him to continue his career. He advanced to the Capitol with a numerous train, and took his seat amidst loud acclamations. The senate met at the same time in the temple of Faith. Mutius Scævola, the presiding consul, was desired to defend the republic by arms against the machinations of seditious citizens; but he did not think himself justified in making use of

force, or in acting arbitrarily, when legal and moderate measures seemed to be fully adequate to the emergency. The aristocratic zealots reproached him for his want of vigor, and, declaring that other steps must be taken, ordered their dependents and slaves to attend them with weapons. Fulvius, a friend of Gracchus, hastened to inform him, that many of the senators had conspired against his life;—an intimation which kindled such a flame among the plebeians, that they denounced vengeance against the tyrants of the republic, and marched forward to check the fury of the enemies of their patron. As the increasing clamor and confusion rendered the words of Gracchus inaudible, he put his hands to his head, to indicate the danger to which he was exposed, and to request aid and protection. Some of his adversaries instantly exclaimed, “He is asking for a diadem!” The high-priest Scipio Nasica, grandson of that senator who had the honor of being pronounced the best man in Rome, appeared on this occasion as the champion of the aristocracy. He conjured the consul to save the endangered state, by destroying the demagogue. Scævola admitted, that Gracchus had been hurried by political zeal into gross irregularities, and acts bordering on sedition; but he would not consent that a tribune, or indeed any citizen, should be murdered for mere rashness, without a legal cognisance of his guilt. Nasica, conceiving that no time was to be lost, desired all the friends of the existing government to follow him, and advanced with hasty steps to the place of popular meeting. Many of the senators and knights followed him; and the over-awed multitude fled before those dignified personages, whose attendants struck many with clubs or staves, and with fragments of stools which they found in their way. A great number of the fugitives were killed; and Gracchus, in running to avoid the same fate, fell over some of the prostrate citizens. He quickly rose, but soon fell again, being assailed by one of the tribunes with a

broken stool, and wounded by other adversaries. His body was thrown into the Tiber, without regard to the earnest solicitations of his brother, who wished to pay funeral honors to his remains. The triumphant senators, not content with the vengeance which they had already taken, ordered some of the partisans of Gracchus to be put to death without trial, and sent others into exile. Blossius was merely reprimanded for his concern in the seditious conspiracy, and was suffered to escape into Asia; but Diophanes, a Greek orator, who had likewise been a confidential counsellor of the unfortunate tribune, was not deemed a proper object of mercy²².

The merit and good qualities of Gracchus were acknowledged even by his enemies. His probity and integrity were undisputed: his morals were uncontaminated by vice: he was humane, liberal, and philanthropic. His eloquence was remarkable for dignified simplicity: his capacity had been improved by a better education than was usual in that age, under the eye of Cornelia, the celebrated daughter of the elder Scipio Africanus. In that conduct which led to his destruction, his intentions were good; but his endeavours for their accomplishment were culpably precipitate and violent.

²² Plut. Vit. Tib. Gracchi.—App. de Bellis Civ. lib. i.—Paterc. lib. ii.—Plutarch affirms, that, beside those who were deliberately sacrificed to aristocratic vengeance after the restoration of tranquillity, 300 of the plebeians lost their lives in the tumult. As no swords or other sharp weapons were used, this statement is probably an exaggeration.

When the younger Africanus, who had married the sister of Gracchus, heard of the tribune's fate, he exclaimed,

Ως απολοιτο και αλλος, οτις τοιαυτα γε ρεζοι—

which may be thus translated:

May all bold leaders meet with Gracchus' fate,

Who rudely touch the fabric of the state.

The stern warrior, who had no compassion for the brave Numantians, could not be expected to feel for the commons of Rome, impoverished by the rapacity of the rich, and oppressed by the tyranny of the senate,

LETTER XXII.

*Sequel of the ROMAN History, to the Death of the Younger
GRACCHUS.*

THE merciless treatment of the popular party by the senators cannot be justified or excused, because it is more than probable that they might have quelled the incipient sedition without the effusion of blood. But they were inflamed with the intemperance of passion, and actuated by a thirst of revenge; and perhaps thought, that nothing but a massacre could prevent future commotions of the same kind. It would, however, have been more rational to suppose, that such cruelty would provoke vengeance.

Their severity may have been stimulated by the dread of a general insurrection of the slaves. In various parts of Italy, those oppressed individuals were evidently discontented, and seemed ready to rise against their masters. In Sicily, where they were very numerous, they had taken arms some years before the death of Gracchus. They had long groaned under a rigorous yoke; and, as patience did not promise the desired relief, many were inclined to try the effect of an insurrection. A Syrian, named Eunus, the slave of Antigenes, hoped to turn their discontent to his own advantage. He pretended to be acquainted with the divine will, and to prognosticate future events; and, in delivering his supposed oracles, he seemed, by an artful contrivance, to emit flames. His master smiled at his tricks, and encouraged his buffoonry. Damophilus, an opulent citizen of Enna, by his cruel treatment of his slaves, had roused their keen resentment; and, as other slaves had equal reason to complain, they applied to Eunus to know whether the Gods would permit them to wreak vengeance upon their tyrants. He gave them such

an answer as coincided with their feelings; and 400 of these mal-contents, having procured arms, rushed under his guidance into the town. They dishonored matrons and virgins, and murdered a great number of families, not sparing even infants; and, soon procuring a considerable accession of force, they invested their leader with the royal dignity¹.

Eunus commenced his reign with the murder of many of the inhabitants of Enna, whom the slaves had carried off as prisoners. He employed the rest in the fabrication of arms; but, for want of a sufficient number of the genuine weapons of war, some of his followers had scythes, spits, and stakes. Trusting to the force of number, he ventured to attack the prætor Manilius, whom he totally defeated. His success encouraged Cleon, another adventurer of the same stamp, to assemble a numerous body of slaves in the neighbourhood of Agrigentum; but this leader did not aim at independence; for, on the first invitation from Eunus, he joined him without hesitation. Hypsæus, being sent from Rome to chastise these audacious insurgents, marched against them with 8000 men. As the confederate chiefs had 20,000 to meet him, they chased his men from the field, and seized his camp. Their number soon rose to 70,000; and they kept the whole island in alarm. The prætor Piso was disgraced by a defeat; and Fulvius, the colleague of Scipio in the consulate, was unable to quell the revolt. By the vigor of the consul Piso, however, the slaves were routed with great loss near Messina; and his successor Rupilius was still more successful against them. They had many garrisons: but their chief places of strength were Enna and Tauromenium. The Romans blocked up the latter town both by sea and

Ante Chr.
132. land, and reduced the wretched occupants to such an extremity of famine, that they were supported for

¹ Excerpt. à Diod. lib. xxxiv.—Flor. lib. iii. cap. 19.

a time by actual cannibalism. When the town had been recovered by treachery, Rupilius first tortured the remains of the garrison, and then threw them down a precipice. During the siege of Enna, Cleon made a fierce sally, and fell in the conflict: his men were driven back into the town, and it was soon after betrayed to the Romans by some who bargained for their individual safety, without regard to the interest or preservation of the garrison. Many thousands of the captives were put to death by the consul, chiefly by the horrid torture of crucifixion².

The reduction of these strong towns being followed either by the voluntary retreat or the expulsion of the slaves from all their other stations, the honor of an *ovation* was decreed to Rupilius, not because his exploits were deemed too trivial for a complete *triumph*, but on account of the low rank of the vanquished.

Eunus had escaped with a small party from the captured town; and, while he concealed himself in a cave, his followers, on the approach of the Roman army, slew each other, except four, who were taken with their leader. He was thrown into prison at Morgantia, where the *morbis pedicularis* put an end to his life. For the island which was thus rescued from danger and disgrace, new laws were ordained by ten delegates; and, under the appellation of the Rupilian code, they were long honored with ready observance.

After the Romans had re-established their sway in Sicily, they extended their dominion over an Asiatic kingdom. Attalus, the Pergamene prince, son of Eumenes, after a reign distinguished by the horrible extravagance of tyranny, bequeathed to the Roman people his ample *possessions*; designating, by this term, not only his property, but also his realm, which he had no right to transfer. The legacy was not rejected; but Aristonicus, an

² Excerpt. à Diod.—Oros. lib. v.—Liv. Epit.—Flor.

illegitimate brother of the deceased king, opposed the grant, and procured the acquiescence of the greater part of the nation in his assumption of sovereignty. In some of the towns, the Roman authority was acknowledged; but these were reduced by the new king. War was declared against him by the senate and people; and the consul Licinius Crassus, although he was then high-priest, was Ante Chr. 131. sent into Asia to direct the operations of the army—a strong proof of the disregard with which the Romans treated the sanctity of religion!

Furnished with auxiliaries by the princes of Asia Minor, Licinius commenced the war with alacrity. Aristonicus, to meet the storm, solicited and obtained succours from Thrace and the Peloponnesus, and, as his adversary was not an able warrior, routed the invading army. Licinius, being on the point of capture, pierced the eye of a Thracian with a stick, and was stabbed in return. His Ante Chr. 130. successor Perperna was more successful; for he surprised the enemy, and obtained a decisive victory. He pursued the fugitive prince to Stratonice, and obliged him to surrender at discretion³.

The fruits of the testamentary grant, and of consequent warfare, were truly important. The whole country, from Bithynia and the Propontis to the southern extremity of Caria, became subject to Rome. The contest was sufficiently decided by the activity and valor of Perperna⁴: but Aquilius, one of the next consuls, meanly endeavoured to deprive that commander of the honor of complete success, and pretended that the country was imperfectly subdued. Some of the provinces thus acquired were surrendered to the kings of Pontus and Cappadocia, in return for military assistance; but those princes were expected to be fully subservient to the Romans, whenever

³ Liv. Epit. lib. lix.—Oros. lib. v. cap. 10.

⁴ Strab. lib. xiv.—Pate:c. lib. ii. cap. 4.

the republic demanded their aid. Aristonicus was conveyed to Rome, imprisoned, and strangled.

When the affairs of Pergamus and its dependencies were adjusted, the consuls and the senate more particularly directed their attention to Egypt and Syria. Ptolemy Philometor, being treated with ingratitude by the usurper of the Syrian royalty, withdrew his support from him, and, by force of arms, procured the crown for Demetrius, son of that prince whom the adventurer had dethroned : but the conqueror died of his wounds soon after the battle. He was succeeded by his brother Physcon, whose reign, as all who knew his character foresaw, was a series of the most flagitious tyranny. By his cruelty and rapacity, he excited such terror, that the majority of the citizens left his capital, and retired into other regions. He invited foreigners to re-people the city ; and, at the very time when many adventurers, regardless of the danger which they incurred by putting themselves in the power of such a prince, repaired to Alexandria, Scipio and other senators arrived as delegates, empowered to correct the disorders of the realm. They seemed to be shocked at the king's appearance and manners. His countenance was hideous, his figure contemptible, his corpulence disgusting ; and the transparency of his effeminate dress rendered the disadvantages of his form more strikingly conspicuous⁵. He paid little regard to the counsels of the envoys ; and their suggestions to his oppressed subjects, perhaps, tended to aggravate the odium to which his brutality exposed him. After their departure, he perpetrated a horrible massacre among the young citizens of Alexandria ; and, when the people had set fire to his palace, in the hope of burning the monster, he escaped to Cyprus. He murdered two of his sons, that neither of them might be placed on his

⁵ He had not the appearance of a man, but rather looked like a beast, says Justin—*non homini sed belluæ similis*.

throne, and ordered the remains of one of the princes to be served up at an entertainment to the mother, who was his own sister as well as his wife, and his brother's widow. This princess, acting as sovereign, defended the realm for a time against the attempts of the fugitive tyrant; but she could not ultimately triumph over him, even with the aid of the Syrian king ⁶.

Demetrius was so inattentive to the welfare of his people, that he soon lost their favor. He suffered himself to be governed by an unprincipled and cruel minister, and by a vile prostitute. The mal-administration of the realm excited an insurrection at Antioch; and, although it was quelled (after a great loss of lives) by foreign mercenaries and Jewish auxiliaries, the rebellion of Tryphon, a friend of the late usurper, dispossessed the king of his capital and the neighbouring provinces. In this state of danger, Demetrius accepted an invitation from the mal-content provincial subjects of the Parthian king Mithridates, and rashly undertook an expedition for the dethronement of that prince.

When Antiochus II. filled the Syrian throne, Parthia, situated in the heart of Persia, was a province of his extensive empire. The inhabitants seem to have been principally of Sarmatian descent, with a mixture of Scythians. Arsaces, resenting an insult offered to his brother by the governor, or stimulated only by ambition, collected a body of armed adventurers; and, being favored by the divisions and commotions of the empire, he soon acquired a considerable degree of power ⁷. He defeated the king's troops, and erected a sovereignty for himself. Having reigned with ability and reputation, he left the crown to his family. His son defended Parthia with such spirit, as to extort from Antiochus the Great a treaty of

⁶ Just. lib. xxxviii. cap. 8.—Liv. Epit. lib. lix.—Val. Max. lib. ix.

⁷ This revolt took place in the year 250.

peace and alliance. The kingdom was so extended by conquests, that, when it was invaded by Demetrius, it included almost the whole country between the Euphrates and the Indus. The Syrian prince was at first successful, but, being deluded by a pretence of negotiation, he was seised, and his troops were totally routed. He was detained for many years in confinement, with a promise of restoration to his throne; but the Parthian king, Phraates, hoped to add Syria to his own dominions. Antiochus, brother of Demetrius, had superseded Tryphon; and he made extraordinary exertions for the ruin of the Parthian power. He was victorious in three battles, and almost confined the enemy to the original limits of Arsaces' kingdom: but, Phraates having given orders for an attack upon the invaders, dispersed in their winter-quarters, Antiochus and the majority of his troops were slain or captured. Demetrius had been suffered to return into Syria, that he might divide and distract the attention of his brother; and he easily recovered his royalty, while Phraates was involved in a war with the Scythians⁸.

The restored prince, allured by a promise of the crown of Egypt, personally assisted the wife of Physcon against her husband; but, in his absence, his subjects again revolted from him, and he retired from Egypt with precipitation. The fugitive Egyptian regained his crown, and, in revenge, supported a low-born pretender against Demetrius, who, being defeated, was assassinated at Tyre by order of the governor⁹. After some continuance of commotion, Antiochus, son of the murdered prince, fixed himself on the Syrian throne.

The Romans were rather observers of these wars and contests, than participators in them. They suffered the

8 Just. lib. xxxvi. cap. 1; xxxviii. 9, 10; xli. 4.

9 Just. lib. xxxix. cap. 1.—Appian says, that his wife Cleopatra sacrificed him to her jealousy and revenge, because, during his captivity, he had espoused

a Parthian princess.

different nations to weaken each other, and hoped that each might become hereafter an easy prey. In the mean time, they were threatened with a renewal of internal agitation.

After the death of Tiberius Gracchus, the senate pretended to acquiesce in the agrarian law; and a new commissioner was appointed in lieu of the deceased tribune: but no effectual progress was made in the distribution. Caius resolved to pursue the steps of his brother, and endeavoured to enforce the law; but he and his two associates met with such determined obstruction from the rich, that they could not accomplish the scheme. The land-
 Ante Chr. holders complained of the proceedings of the
 129. commissioners, and solicited the interference of Scipio, who advised the senate to transfer the execution of the law to the consul Sempronius. This suggestion was adopted; and, as the consequence was a total neglect of the measure, the plebeians loudly exclaimed against the arrogant patrician, who had dared to counter-act their wishes. The aristocratic party eagerly defended him; and it seems to have been intended that he should be invested with the dictatorial dignity: but a delay of nine days arose from the supposed necessity of sacred observances, on account of some ominous accidents; and the death of that great man quickly followed. He was attended to his house, from the place of senatorial meeting, by a numerous train, and had the appearance of vigorous health: when the morning dawned, he was found dead. His wife, who neither loved him nor was the object of his permanent love, was suspected of having poisoned or strangled him, at the instigation of her brother Caius: but, as no inquiry was instituted, the cause of his death was not ascertained¹⁰. The suspicion of murder may have

¹⁰ Liv. Epit. lib. lix.—App. de Bellis Civ. lib. i.—Plut. Vit. Caii Gracchi. Paterc. lib. ii. cap. 4.—This writer says, that *some* attributed the death of Scipio to violence, but that the *majority* of writers who had mentioned it pronounced it to be an effect of the visitation of Providence.

been propagated by mere malignity. His dissolution, in all probability, arose from natural causes.

Few of the ancient Romans have been more highly celebrated than the younger Scipio Africanus. He united the characters of the scholar, the statesman, and the warrior: he was liberal, and remarkably disinterested; and he regulated his general conduct by the dictates of prudence, honor, and moral purity. The greatness of his character did not prevent him from descending, in his hours of leisure, to the frivolities even of puerile sport; nor did this practice derogate from the public opinion of his sense, judgement, and worth. But, all his boasted merit cannot rescue him from that censure which is due to harshness and cruelty¹¹.

The agrarian scheme was suspended until Caius Gracchus obtained the dignity of tribune. On this occasion, the field of Mars was so uncommonly thronged, that many of the electors were obliged to give their votes from the tops of houses. Caius was the fourth in the order of election: but his eloquence and reputation gave him the superiority over his fellow-magistrates. He brought forward two subjects of legislation, which were readily adopted. One of these laws ren-
Ante Chr. 123.
 dered every person ineligible to a public function, if he had been removed from any office by the people. This enactment, which was suggested by the case of Octavius, was immediately revoked, at the request of Cornelia. The second law provided for the popular cognisance and determination respecting any edict of banishment, pronounced by a consul or other magistrate against a citizen not regularly accused or tried.

Proceeding to agrarian concerns, Gracchus proposed an

¹¹ The actions of mankind are good, bad, and indifferent. But Patereulus, in the extravagance of encomiastic zeal, excludes the two last species from the character of Scipio, and extends the tribute of praise to every part of his conduct, to all his *acts, speeches, and sentiments*, without considering that such a panegyric transcends the utmost extent of human merit.

enforcement of the law of Licinius, and a division of all the public lands among indigent citizens. He procured from the assembly the desired sanction; and this law was followed by a variety of enactments, equally unpleasing to the patricians. It was decreed, that the Italian allies should be admitted to the same right of suffrage which the citizens of Rome enjoyed; that the cognisance of offences should be transferred from senators to knights; that no person should be obliged to enter into the army under the age of seventeen years; and that corn should be distributed every month among the poor at a low rate. Being re-chosen tribune, he continued his ar-

Ante Chr. rangements for rendering the government more
122. popular. The leaders of the opposite party seemed, for a time, confounded at his progress; but at length they resolved to turn his own arts against him. They enlisted the tribune Livius Drusus in their service, and tutored him to propose such measures as might be still more acceptable to the people than those of Gracchus. While one advised that two colonial establishments should be assigned to the poor citizens, the other, in the name of the senate, proposed that twelve towns should be re-colonised. Caius had imposed a rent on the divided lands: Drusus excused the tenants from such payment. In this race for popularity, even Gracchus was in danger of being vanquished; and, when he had imprudently left Italy for the purpose of planting a colony at Carthage, his influence manifestly declined¹².

Caius, after his return from Africa, was prosecuting his democratic career, and people were flocking to Rome from the provincial towns to promote his views, when Fannius (for whom he had procured the consulate) ordered, by proclamation, the departure of all persons from the city, except those who had their established residence

12 Plut. Vit. Caii Gracchi.—Paterc. lib. ii.—App. de Bellis Civ.

within it's circuit. The indignant tribune declared, on the other hand, that he would protect as many of the allies as wished to remain at Rome: but he did not adhere to his promise; for he suffered the proclamation to be enforced.

On the cessation of his official authority, which was not protracted beyond two years, his adversaries ^{Ante Chr.} resolved to oppose him with vigor. The consul ^{121.}

Opimius was one of his most determined foes; and, as he, in a great measure, infused his own spirit into the senate, it was supposed that the contest would be effectually decided under his administration. The first step of the new consul was an attempt for the revocation of the decree respecting Carthage. He affirmed, that the Gods were hostile to the erection of a city on that spot, as appeared from various portents; but Fulvius declared, that the alleged omens had not occurred, and were invented to disappoint those citizens who wished for a comfortable settlement. An assembly of the people being convoked for the determination of this and other points, one of the consul's attendants rudely insulted the partisans of Caius, and suffered instant death from the fury of the populace¹³. Opimius was not displeased at this incident, as it afforded him a pretence for imputing the most criminal intentions to the adverse party. He called for vengeance upon the assassins, and urged the citizens to secure the republic from the predominance of such ambitious and violent men. No farther contest arose on that day; but the next morning exhibited both parties in a menacing posture. The senate met; the body of the deceased citizen was produced in the *forum*; and the consul's harangue on the

13 Plut. Vit. Caii Gracchi.—Appian, however, says, that this citizen merely took Caius by the hand, and urged him to spare his country; and that he was answered only by a stern look, which, being misinterpreted by one of the party, led to sanguinary violence.

subject drew from the alarmed assembly a decree, authorising him to take such measures as he might deem expedient for the defence of the state. He immediately desired the members to attend in arms, and ordered each of the knights to bring two armed servants on the following day; summoning Gracchus and Fulvius, at the same time, to answer for their conduct.

The two friends passed the evening very differently; Fulvius in carousal and mirth, Caius in sober melancholy. In the morning, the former armed his dependents with the spoils of his consular campaign; for he had distinguished himself against the Gauls beyond the Alps. Gracchus went forth in his robe, as if he intended only to harangue; but he had a dagger at his side. The temple of Diana, on the Aventine hill, was the chosen station of the popular leaders, who, not wishing to proceed to acts of violence, sent the son of Fulvius to the senate to propose an accommodation. Opimius replied, that it was their duty to present themselves unarmed, and submit to the mercy of the venerable assembly; and he particularly desired the young messenger not to re-appear before him, unless he should be authorised to intimate an acquiescence in this reasonable demand. Caius expressed a wish to accede to the requisition; but his friends dissuaded him from such compliance. The youth, being again deputed to the senate, was detained as a prisoner by the inflexible consul, who immediately sent a well-armed force, beside many Cretan archers, to attack the advocates of the plebeian cause. Fulvius defended himself with spirit; but, on the retreat of his party, he was pursued into a house, and killed with the elder of his sons. Gracchus did not attempt to resist; nor did the populace testify any inclination to support him. He fled across the Tiber, and reached a grove, where he was stabbed, at his own desire, by a faithful servant, who instantly pierced himself with

the same weapon. His head was presented to Opimius, who gave for it an equal weight of gold ¹⁴.

Caius Gracchus was worthy of a less severe fate. The zealots of aristocracy will dispute the goodness of his intentions, and will accuse him of treasonable guilt: but moderate politicians will be disposed to allow that he aimed at public benefit, and will merely blame his intemperance and indiscretion. His private character, like that of his brother, was estimable: his talents were splendid; and his eloquence was of the highest order.

A sufficiency of blood was shed on the day of conflict; but the victory was not deemed complete by the vindictive consul without the deliberate sacrifice of an additional number of supposed offenders. It is said ¹⁵, that above 3000 persons lost their lives; either falling in the immediate scene of action, or perishing in prison, without trial, by order of this arbitrary and malignant magistrate, as the reputed abettors of the schemes of plebeian benefit; and, if the amount be considerably reduced, his iniquity will still appear in a strong light. Even the younger son of Fulvius, a modest and innocent youth, was basely murdered ¹⁶.

Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, long survived them. She endured the loss of her chief treasures (for so she called her accomplished sons) with a fortitude which some construed into apathy. It has been doubted whether she encouraged them in their bold schemes: but it does not appear that she did, although she fondly wished that they might acquire eminence and distinction.

¹⁴ Plut. Vit. C. Gracchi.—App. de Bellis Civ. lib. i.—Paterc. lib. ii. cap. 6.—Aurel. Vict. de Viris Illustribus.

¹⁵ By Plutarch.

¹⁶ Sallust condemns the vengeance which was exercised by the patricians, who, by raging against the adherents of the two brothers, rather excited terror and odium, than strengthened their power. He, at the same time, admits, that neither of those chiefs acted with due moderation: *sane Gracchis laudatis animus moderatus fuit.*

LETTER XXIII.

Continuation of the ROMAN History, to the Close of the War with Jugurtha.

WHEN the unfortunate brothers endeavoured to restore that liberty of which the patricians had gradually deprived the Roman plebeians, the public virtue was too degenerate, and the national spirit too feeble, to give success to their attempts. Their patriotic intentions were so far acknowledged, as to be only disputed by the advocates of senatorial tyranny; but this tyranny was so habitual, that the people were over-awed by the mere show of authority, and had not the courage to insist upon a reform.

While Caius Gracchus was in the midst of his career, a foreign war was raging; for civil contests had not such an effect, as to check among the Romans the views of conquest. That motive, rather than any just cause of war, led them beyond the Alps; and their commanders acquired new laurels. The pretence for their first Trans-Alpine expedition was furnished by an application from the inhabitants of Massilia, who complained of the encroachments and insults of the Salyi. These were the Gauls whom Fulvius attacked, and over whom Sextius more effectually prevailed. The Allobroges, by protecting a prince who fled from the Roman arms, exposed themselves to the displeasure of the senate; and it was also alleged against them, that they had ravaged the territories of the Ædui, who were in alliance with Rome. The Arverni, an opulent and powerful nation, supported the Allobroges: but both received a very sanguinary defeat from Domitius. The sovereign of the former state¹, not

¹ Bituitus or Boduac.

discouraged by the loss which he had sustained, again took the field with a numerous army ; and, observing the comparative paucity of the Roman troops, he exclaimed, "They will scarcely furnish a good meal for the dogs "that attend my brave warriors." Fabius Æmilianus, grandson of the celebrated Paulus Æmilius, attacked this prince near the Rhone, and put to the sword, or Ante Chr. 121. drove into the river, the greater part of the Gallic army². Domitius, who remained in Gaul as proconsul, so earnestly wished for the honor of leading the king in triumph, that he invited him to his head-quarters on pretence of negotiation, and sent him as a prisoner to Rome. The senate disapproved his conduct, but detained the prince³. Both commanders were gratified with triumphal honors. The procession of Fabius, being graced with the presence of the royal captive, was more striking than that of Domitius. Another general had recently triumphed over a different enemy. This was Metellus, who had subdued the Balearic islands⁴, by the massacre of a multitude of naked barbarians.

After the submission of the Allobroges and Arverni, an expedition, not unimportant, was undertaken by the consul Marcius Rex, who, when he had reduced the Ante Chr. 118. Stœni, an Alpine community, to submission, or had driven them to the desperate rage of suicide, advanced to a great distance beyond the Alps, and opened a way toward the Pyrenees, planting a colony near the spot where now stands Narbonne. His colleague Cato, grandson of the rigid censor, was ordered to attend to the

² I have mentioned the result of this battle in general terms; for I cannot give credit to the assertions of Appian and the epitomist of Livy, who pretend that 120,000 of the Gauls perished on this occasion. The former adds, that only fifteen of the consul's men fell; but this is probably an error in the manuscript.

³ Valer. Max. lib. ix. cap. 6.

⁴ Majorca and Minorca, called by the Greeks *Gymnesiæ*, because the inhabitants passed the summer without the encumbrance of apparel.

Roman interests in Numidia, where the death of Micipsa had excited commotions.

Two sons of the deceased king remained to share the vacant throne. These were, Adherbal and Hiempsal; with whom Micipsa had associated his nephew Jugurtha as co-heir. Either the pride of the second son prompted him to despise the intruder for his illegitimate birth, or his fears were alarmed at the symptoms of ambition which his cousin had displayed after his return from Numantia, where he had acted under Scipio as the leader of a Numidian *corps*. Jugurtha reflected on the administration of the late king, by proposing that the acts of the last five years should be rescinded, as the offspring of dotage and imbecility. "To that motion I assent (said Hiempsal); "for your adoption was ordained within that time." This remark made a deep impression, and tended to accelerate the execution of Jugurtha's schemes. It was agreed, that, instead of reigning jointly over the whole country, each should have separate treasures and territories: but the arrangements were not completed, when the base-born co-heir treacherously murdered the younger of the legitimate princes, and triumphed in battle over the elder, who was not well supported by his father's subjects⁵.

The contest was referred to the decision of the Roman
 Ante Chr. senate. Adherbal pleaded his cause in person :
 117. Jugurtha defended himself by the medium of a
 deputation, falsely alleging that Hiempsal had been put to death by his countrymen for the cruelty of his disposition, and that Adherbal had commenced hostilities. Many of the degenerate senators, corrupted by Numidian gold, supported the interest of Jugurtha; and all the eloquence of the advocates of justice could not procure a vote for his condemnation. It was resolved, that Micipsa's kingdom should be divided between him and his surviving

⁵ Sallustii Jugurth. seu Bell. Jugurthin.—Liv. Epit. lib. lxii.

cousin, and that the boundaries should be marked out by ten delegates, of whom Opimius was the chief. This senator, who had already shown his sanguinary propensities, now manifested the meanness of corrupt avidity, suffering himself to be bribed by Jugurtha into such a division of territory as the artful prince pointed out⁶.

Encouraged by the moderation and the unwarlike temper of Adherbal, Jugurtha, after several years of peace, renewed hostilities against him, in the hope of acquiring the whole realm, which his Roman friends, he thought, would secure to him in return for new donations. Adherbal, for some time, patiently suffered this injurious treatment; but, being at length roused into arms, he met the enemy near Cirta. In the night, when he did not apprehend an attack, he was furiously assaulted, and, after a considerable loss, constrained to seek refuge within the walls. The town was immediately subjected to a vigorous siege, that it might be taken before the arrival of succour from Rome. Deputies from the republic, in consequence of the solicitations of Adherbal, hastened into Numidia. Jugurtha declared to them, that his royal relative had treacherously aimed at his destruction; and he desired, that the Romans would not prevent him from seeking redress by the law of nations. On their departure, he resumed the siege, and formed a regular circumvallation. Notwithstanding all his vigilance, two messengers found their way in safety out of the town, and, hastening to the sea-side, embarked for Italy. They were the bearers of an epistle from Adherbal, stating his distress and danger, and imploring relief. Scaurus and other citizens of the first distinction were sent to Africa, to remonstrate with Jugurtha, and intimidate him by menaces into forbearance. He met them in the Roman province, and amused them with a show of negotiation.

After fruitless conferences, they returned to Europe ; and he took the opportunity of enforcing a surrender. Not merely humanity, but a specific promise, required him to abstain from offering any personal injury to Adherbal : but he first tortured the captive prince, and then murdered him. He also put to death the Italians who had assisted in the defence of the town, and all the Numidians who were capable of military service⁷.

The indignation of the Romans now burst forth against the brutal barbarian. The corrupt senators, indeed, palliated his conduct ; but the citizens in general called for vengeance. The tribune Memmius exposed the turpitude of many of the patricians ; and the majority of the senate, ashamed of opposing in this instance the sense of the people, voted for war. The consul who was ordered to conduct it, was Calpurnius Bestia. He was brave, and not unqualified for military command : but so inordinate was his avarice, that no confidence could be reposed in his integrity or honor. When he had reduced some
 Ante Chr. towns, he was bribed by the Numidian king into
 111. a pacification. His conduct gave great disgust to the popular party at Rome ; and Memmius peremptorily insisted upon a strict inquiry into these disgraceful connexions with a base tyrant. By his persuasion, the prætor Cassius was sent to Numidia, for the purpose of escorting Jugurtha to Rome : but the king found so strenuous a defender in the tribune Bæbius, whom
 Ante Chr. 110. he had gained over to his interest by considerable presents, that the intended investigation was baffled.

While Jugurtha remained at Rome, he aggravated, by another murder, the odium which he had already excited. Massiva, a grandson of Masinissa, had been persuaded by some Romans to request from the senate a grant of the Numidian sovereignty ; and, as he seemed inclined to

7 Sallust. Bell. Jugurth.

adopt the advice, the reigning prince hired a ruffian to assassinate this competitor. He was not punished for this act, because he had repaired to Rome under a promise of safety ; but the senate ordered his speedy departure⁸.

The late treaty being revoked, the consul Albinus was ordered to attack the Numidian king. He ostensibly made war ; but it was a mere pretence. His brother Aulus, to whom on his departure he assigned the command, aimed at the acquisition of the royal treasure at Suthul ; and the new general was preparing for a vigorous assault, when Jugurtha, by holding out the prospect of a new treaty, drew him from the intended siege into a secluded spot, where his camp was suddenly assaulted, in Ante Chr. a very dark night, by a force much more nume- 109.
rous than that which he commanded. A Ligurian cohort, and two companies of Thracians, had been seduced into desertion by the king's emissaries, and even a Roman centurion was so basely traitorous as to admit the enemy at the post which he was bound to defend. So great was the consternation in the camp, that few ventured to oppose the intruders. The greater part of the army fled to a neighbouring hill, while the Numidians were employed in plundering the camp. In the morning, a conference ensued, which terminated in the assent of Aulus to the ceremony of passing under the yoke, before the army should be suffered to leave Numidia⁹. Thus were the troops rescued, by submitting to indelible ignominy, from the peril in which their commander had rashly involved them.

This disgrace revived the popular zeal for inquiry. The tribune Mamilius demanded the trial of all who had received money from Jugurtha, had encouraged him to dis-

⁸ So says the author last-quoted ; but the epitomist of Livy affirms, that Jugurtha, being required to take his trial for the murder, privately fled from Italy.

⁹ Sallust. Bell. Jugurth.

regard the will of the senate, or had presumed to adjust conventions with that prince. The people would not suffer the patricians to prevent this proposal from passing into a law ; and three judges, of whom Scaurus was one, were appointed to superintend the investigation. Opi-mius, Calpurnius, and other citizens who had passed through the highest offices in the state, were convicted of corruption, fined, and banished. As the odium against the unfeeling enemy of Caius Gracchus was yet unallayed, his punishment gave great joy to the people.

The prosecution of the war in Numidia was now committed to Metellus¹⁰, whose military skill was equal to his courage, and whose integrity was supposed to be incorruptible. He found the army in a state of relaxed discipline, habituated to licentiousness, and immersed in luxurious habits. By prudence and firmness, without the exercise of sanguinary severity, he remedied the evil, and produced a seasonable reform. Jugurtha, dreading a collision with such an adversary, implored peace, and promised full submission : but the consul was aware of his arts and intrigues, and declined negotiation, even though the Numidians brought provisions for the invaders, and assumed the pacific demeanor of friends. Cautiously advancing, Metellus garrisoned Vacca, a flourishing town, where he received a new application for peace. He secretly desired the envoys to bring their master, either alive or dead, to the Roman camp ; but, while they seemed to attend to his treacherous persuasions, they resolved not to betray the king.

10 Not the commander who subjected the Balearic islands to the dominion of Rome, but another member of the same illustrious family. It is remarkable, that Metellus, who derived an honorable surname from the suppression of the Macedonian revolt, was the father of four consuls, all of whom were thought worthy of triumphal honors, in consequence of their respective success in the Balearic territories, in Sardinia, in Dalmatia and Thrace. It ought, however, to be added, that these honors, in the decline of republican virtue, were frequently granted for slight services.

Finding negotiation impracticable, Jugurtha levied as great an army as he could easily procure, and, having fixed upon an advantageous station, studiously disciplined his troops for conflict. Metellus was surprised at the sight of the enemy, posted upon a hill, between which and the river Muthul a plain extended itself over a wide space. The Numidians attacked him with such impetuosity, that his ranks were broken in various parts : but he quickly restored order. Another conflict arose at some distance ; for Rutilius had been detached, with a part of the cavalry and light infantry, to form an encampment near the river, that the convenience of water might be secured for the thirsty troops ; and Bomilcar, with a strong body of men and all the elephants, fiercely assaulted the lieutenant ; but, when the beasts, entangled among branches of trees, became useless in the fight, the Numidians soon fled. Rutilius hastened back to the main body, and found that the general had put Jugurtha to flight. In neither battle was the slaughter great ; for the conflict was desultory in each scene of action ¹¹.

The inutility of such victories induced Metellus to try the effect of devastation and of gradual conquest. He ravaged the country where-ever he marched ; reduced towns and fortresses ; garrisoned some and burned others ; massacred a great number of male adults ; and alarmed the king with the dread of losing all his dominions. Having levied a new army (for the greater part of the troops had dispersed themselves immediately after the last battle), Jugurtha sought every opportunity of harassing the Romans. He or his officers rushed upon detached parties, slew or captured many of the marauders, and escaped as soon as relief was afforded to the rest. Hearing that Zama was menaced with a siege, he strengthened the garrison with a body of deserters ; and, when the city was

11 Sallust, Bell. Jugurth.

assaulted, he suddenly attacked the camp of the besiegers. The foremost of its defenders were put to the sword ; and the important post would have been taken, if the courage of Marius had not been seasonably exerted in baffling the attempt.

The increasing fame of Caius Marius pointed him out to the troops as an officer worthy of high command. Some wished that he might supersede Metellus, being of opinion that he would act more decisively. He was a man of low birth¹², and retained to his death the rough features of his original character. Being bred to labor, he was patient of fatigue, and unaccustomed to luxury ; and, after his enlistment in the Roman ranks, he soon attracted notice by his intrepidity, diligence, and temperate habits. He acquired the good opinion of the discerning Scipio, who, from his conduct at the siege of Numantia, prognosticated that he would be an able commander. In the office of plebeian tribune, he evinced his fearless disposition by threatening a consul with imprisonment, and ordering the seizure of one of the principal senators, who had resisted a proposal which he deemed expedient for enactment. By this boldness of demeanor, he overcame all the opposition of the senate to the law which he recommended. When he had discharged the functions of prætor with greater judgement than eloquence, he was sent to quell the commotions of Lusitania. His service being transferred to Numidia, he particularly aimed at the conciliation of the soldiery, by whose favor he hoped to gratify his ambition ; and, when he had formed a strong party in the camp, and among the Italian traders in the African towns, the admirers of his warlike character advised their friends at Rome to promote his election to the consulate.

¹² Sall.—Plut.—Aurel. Vict.—Paterculus says (according to the extant manuscripts), that he was of equestrian birth,—*equestri loco natus* : but, as this is contrary to the prevailing account, Gerard Vossius conjectures, not without probability, that the author wrote *agrestis*.

A candidate so meanly born had never yet obtained that dignity : but his interest was sufficiently strong to secure his election.

After the fruitless siege of Zama, Metellus had recourse to negotiation. He desired Bomilcar to use all the arts of persuasion in an interview with his sovereign, and to urge in the most forcible manner all the reasons that could recommend submission; and the result was such a promise as the general wished. Jugurtha so far adhered to his declaration, as to give a large sum of money and a quantity of arms : he also surrendered 3000 deserters to the severity of punishment. But, when he was required to attend Metellus for farther commands, he paused at the dread of ruin, and hoped to avert it by renewed hostilities. He now encouraged the inhabitants of Vacca to rise against the Roman garrison. First, the officers were treacherously murdered at a festival; and, soon after, the common soldiers, unarmed and dispersed about the town, were treated with equal cruelty. But Metellus re-took the place with little difficulty, gave it up to pillage, and put many of the inhabitants to death. On the return Ante Chr. 108. of spring, he marched in quest of Jugurtha, whose troops he routed almost as soon as he found them. He passed through a desert to Thala ; whence the king escaped with his children, before the siege was regularly formed. The town was not easily reduced, being vigorously defended not only by the Numidians, but also by a body of deserters. The latter, when they at length despaired of it's preservation, collected the most valuable property in the royal mansion, entertained themselves with luxurious intemperance, and then set fire to the house. Having taken Thala and garrisoned Leptis, Metellus renewed his pursuit of Jugurtha ; who, in the mean time, levied troops among the barbarians of Getulia, and applied for aid to his father-in-law Bocchus, king of Mau-

ritania. This prince, at the beginning of the war, had sought an alliance with Rome; but his overtures were baffled by the senatorial partisans of the Numidian prince. He now promised to assist his harassed neighbour; and the two kings advanced to Cirta, which was then the principal station of Metellus¹³.

Ante Chr. 107. The appointment of the new consul Marius to the command of the army in Africa, at a time when Metellus hoped to bring the war to a speedy conclusion, inflamed the jealousy and indignation of the general, who, unwilling to risque a battle, from which, if he should be victorious, his successor would derive the chief benefit, commenced a negotiation with Bocchus. While he was thus employed, Marius arrived with new legions; and, having incorporated them with the troops of Metellus, he soon, by discipline and practice, rendered the difference between them scarcely perceptible. He began with petty enterprises, and gradually proceeded to exploits of greater moment. After the reduction of feeble fortresses and small towns, and the dispersion of detachments, he proceeded to Capsa, and so well disguised his intention of seizing that important station, that he took by surprise a town which might have been long defended. He murdered all the males who were fit for military service, sold the other inhabitants as slaves, distributed their property among his soldiers, and set fire to the town. Even if the people had not readily surrendered, this conduct would have been atrociously inhuman; but, as they abandoned all thoughts of resistance, it was still more flagitious. Other towns were soon after taken, several by storm, some undefended. Misery and slaughter, says an historian, pervaded the country through which this merciless warrior directed his course¹⁴. A fortress situated upon a rocky

13 Sallust. Bell. Jugurth.

14 *Luctu atque cæde omnia complentur.* Sallust.

hill near the Muluch, checked, for a time, his progress. It's occupants deemed it impregnable : but, when a Ligurian soldier had accidentally discovered a part of the rock where the ascent was practicable, and where the garrison did not keep strict guard, Marius gained possession of the post, and of the treasure which it contained.

Notwithstanding the alliance between Bocchus and Jugurtha, the avidity of the former required the promise of a third part of Numidia, before his reluctance to a rupture with the Romans could be subdued. The associated princes then marched to attack the consul, who was on the point of entering into winter-quarters. He was surprised, but not dismayed, at their appearance. He sustained their irregular attacks with the most resolute courage : and, as their desultory mode of fighting precluded the strictness of order in opposing them, his men were dispersed over the field in every direction. To avoid the danger of being surrounded, he ordered them to fight in circular bodies, each part of the orb presenting a front to the enemy. When the light of day disappeared, the two kings gave additional vigor to their exertions, because they considered the night as less unfavorable to those who well knew the country, than to invaders and foreign troops. But Marius put an end to the conflict, as soon as he could gain possession of two hills. At these stations he enjoyed a respite until day-break ; and then he so fiercely attacked the Africans, that victory soon graced his arms. The most confused flight ensued, and the consequent carnage was dreadful.

Jugurtha resolved to risque another battle, when he and his ally had procured a great accession of force. Near Cirta, the enemy attacked that division which was conducted by Cornelius Sylla, a man of great courage and talent, who was then quæstor to Marius. He routed the assailants ; and when, in another part of the field, the Romans had been constrained to retreat, they were rallied

and supported by the consul and his active associate, who directed the work of slaughter with decisive effect¹⁵.

The Mauritanian king no longer thought of opposition to the Roman power. He intimated, to Marius, a wish for negotiation. Sylla and Manlius were sent to hear his proposals; but he declined the adjustment of a treaty with them, and deputed five plenipotentiaries to the consul's camp. An armistice was granted to him; and the negotiation was transferred to Rome.

Not being fully pardoned for his hostility, or admitted to the honor of an alliance, Bocchus was inclined to pursue security and favor by betraying his fugitive son-in-law. He requested that Sylla might be again sent to his camp: but, when the quæstor was in his power, he was for some time in doubt, whether he should seize and detain this officer, or deliver up Jugurtha to him. His ultimate determination, in which he was influenced by the advice of the politic Roman, was unfavorable to the Numidian prince; whom, intercepted by a detachment, he presented to Sylla as a captive¹⁶.

By boasting of his success on this occasion, and arrogating the chief merit of closing the war, Sylla excited the jealousy and resentment of Marius, who, being of the popular party, was also disgusted at the aristocratic propensities of the quæstor. But the incipient animosity was allayed by considerations of prudence; and the two rivals subsequently served the state with an appearance of amicable concert.

Whatever might have been the merits of Sylla in this war, the honor of a triumph was due, by the established rule, to the commander in chief. Marius, therefore, when he re-appeared at Rome, led Jugurtha in chains to the Capitol, amidst shouts of exultation and the splendor

15 Sallust. Bell. Jugurth.—Flor. lib. iii.—Excerpt. è Diod. lib. xxxvi.

16 Plut. Vit. Marii.—Sallust. Bell. Jugurth.—Epit. Liv. lib. lavi.

of military parade. The captive prince, soon after, died in prison, from a deprivation of sustenance. His acts of atrocious cruelty excluded him from all claim to compassion. But it was probably a sense of indignity, rather than a detestation of inhumanity, that influenced the senate to give orders for his death. He had affronted the Romans by murdering a Numidian prince even in their metropolis and under their protection, and still more by compelling one of their armies to pass under the yoke.

LETTER XXIV.

The ROMAN History, continued to the Sedition of LIVIUS DRUSUS.

SO high was the fame of Marius, that the public attention was principally directed to him, when an able general was required to act against a formidable enemy. The Cimbri, a branch of the Celts, had emerged from their German retreats ; and their progress and success alarmed the Romans. The consul Papirius Carbo, hearing of their invasion of Noricum, threatened them with his vengeance, if they should continue to harass the friends of Rome. They apologised for their intrusion, and promised to quit the Noric territories. Expecting an easy victory, Papirius advanced against them, when they were encamped at Noreia : but they chastised him for his rashness by a sanguinary defeat¹. In the consulate of Silanus, they obtained another victory over the Romans, who, both before the battle, and after it's unfortunate termination, refused to grant lands to these wandering adventurers. Four years afterward, when they were preparing to cross the Alps

¹ Liv. Epit lib. lxxiii.

Ante Chr. from Gaul into Italy, they were met by Aurelius
^{105.} Scaurus, whose detachment they soon put to flight. In a council of war, they consulted that officer (who was their prisoner) on the subject of their advance; and, on his advising them to relinquish their intention, because he was convinced that it would be fruitless, as the Romans were invincible in their own country, he was murdered by a brutal chieftain. Taking advantage of the dissension between the consul Mallius and the proconsul Cæpio, they first routed and even ruined the army commanded by the latter; and, in the sequel, they were gratified with similar success over the ill-conducted troops of the former². To the obstinacy of Cæpio this misfortune was chiefly imputable; for he had peremptorily refused to act in concert with Mallius. He had highly pleased the senate by promoting a law (which, however, was not enacted) for the re-establishment of the privileges of it's members in judicial affairs; but the interest which he had thus acquired did not prompt the senators to aim at his rescue from punishment or disgrace, when the people voted for his removal from command, and decreed the confiscation of his property³.

These were the enemies whom Marius was now desired, by the general voice of the nation, to oppose with the utmost vigor. With that view, he was re-elected to the consular dignity. The retreat and forbearance of the Cimbri gave him full leisure to discipline his army; and he did not take the field against them before he was con-

² The epitomist of Livy says, that 80,000 soldiers and 40,000 attendants of the camp were slain in these two battles; but this statement cannot easily be admitted. It was borrowed from Valerius of Antium, whose amplifications are notorious.—Paterculus, Florus, and Eutropius, speak of the Teutones, as the associates of the victorious Cimbri in these engagements; but, the above-mentioned abbreviator confines the honor to the latter, who (he says) were not joined by the Teutones before their return from an expedition into Spain.

³ As this commander had plundered the temples of Tolosa, one of the richest cities in Gaul, the people would have been better pleased, if he had been capitally punished for his sacrilege.

sul for the fourth time. Leaving him in a state of preparation, I will take a short survey of the other military incidents of this period.

The incursions of the Scordisci into Macedonia and other parts of the Roman dominions, produced loud complaints among the provincials. Those barbarians were of Gothic descent, and were reckoned by the Romans among the Thracian communities. Their ferocity, and their cruel treatment of their prisoners, could not be mentioned without horror by those who witnessed their savage progress. The consul Caius Cato marched against them; but, by suffering them to draw him into a spot where he could not fight to advantage, he gave them an opportunity of destroying or capturing his whole army. By this success they were encouraged to extend their devastations to the Adriatic sea. Didius and Drusus ventured to attack them; and each, by repressing their inroads, obtained the honor of a triumph. Minucius drove them to the banks of the Hebrus; but, in attempting to cross that river when it appeared to be covered with firm ice, many of the Romans were drowned⁴.

Cassius Longinus, who was the colleague of Marius in his first consulate, was extremely unfortunate in a campaign against the Tigurini⁵, whom the Cimbri had encouraged to take arms. He and his lieutenant Piso fell, with the greater part of the army; and, when the rest had fled to the camp, the supposed impossibility of escape induced the chief remaining officer, Popilius, to consent to the surrender of a moiety of military property, and submit to the disgrace of passing under the yoke⁶. This ignominy had ceased to be a novelty among the Romans: it was, therefore, less keenly felt than in the first instance: yet Popilius was menaced with punishment for

⁴ Flor. lib. iii. cap. 4.

⁵ One of the four divisions of the Helvetic nation.

⁶ Liv. Epit. lib. lxx.—Cæs. de Bello Gallico, lib. i.

having purchased safety by such meanness. To avoid capital condemnation, he retired from the Roman territories.

Marius, however displeased he might be at the conduct of the arrogant Sylla in Numidia, continued to employ him as his lieutenant; and this officer had an opportunity of increasing his reputation, by a victory over the Tectosages in Gaul. He also performed other services; but he was not retained in his high station, when the consul put his army in motion against the multiplied hordes of warriors, who had flocked from Germany into Gaul.

Ante Chr.

102. Near Aquæ Sextiæ, the Romans and their allies disposed themselves for action. The first conflict was partial, being confined, on the part of the enemy, to the Ambrones, who, after a short resistance, were driven back to their waggons, which were drawn up like a fortification. Their wives, with such weapons as they could easily find, not only attacked the pursuers, but also the fugitives, whom they branded as cowards. After a day's respite, a general engagement took place. The Teutones, and their associates, ran up several hills to assault the Romans; but, not making any impression; they gradually retreated to an extensive plain. Here the battle raged for some time, the Romans having boldly quitted their advantageous situation. The victory was decided by the opportune exertions of Marcellus, who had been sent at night to seize some woody eminences in the neighbourhood, and whose detachment, suddenly attacking the rear of the foe, put the whole body in confusion. In the two battles, about 100,000 of the vanquished were slain or captured⁷.

Lutatus Catulus, in the mean time, watched the motions of the Cimbri, who had entered that part of Italy which was then called Trans-Padane Gaul. His consulate

⁷ Plut. Vit. Marii.—All readers who have common sense will treat with incredulous contempt the calculation stated in the epitome of Livy,—200,000 slain, 90,000 prisoners.

expired while he was thus employed ; but he was permitted to retain the command of the army. The barbarians so far choked an intervening stream, by Ante Chr. 101. throwing into it great trees, and large masses of rock and of earth, that they were enabled to pass over with little danger ; and their approach intimidated the legionaries into a hasty retreat. Marius, who had left the scene of his great victory, might have entered Rome in triumph ; but he declined the honor while the Cimbri were unsubdued ; and, being re-chosen consul, he drew his army from the Rhone to the Po, and marched to co-operate with Catulus. He placed his own troops on each side, while those of the proconsul occupied the middle station. He so extended the wings, that they projected far beyond the central body ; in the hope (as his adversaries pretended) that he might prevail with the exterior divisions, and deprive Catulus of all concern in the victory. But, if that was his object, he was disappointed. On the approach of 15,000 horsemen such clouds of dust arose, that, in advancing to the attack, his men lost sight of the enemy, and wandered for some time about the field ; but the proconsul's troops, having patiently awaited the assault, first repelled the cavalry, and afterward disordered the great mass of infantry. The sun, shining on the faces of the Cimbri, harassed them, and impeded their operations : and that heat which the Romans bore without inconvenience, greatly relaxed the vigor of their adversaries, who were at length defeated with horrible slaughter. The women who attended them killed themselves to avoid captivity ; and many of the men rushed out of the world with the same violence of desperation. Yet 60,000 are said to have been carried off as prisoners⁸.

Although the troops of Marius had scarcely any con-

⁸ Plut. Vit Marii.—This writer says, that 120,000 men were slain in the battle ; but Paterculus, more credibly, computes the victims and the captives, united, at 100,000.

cern in this engagement, he reaped the chief honor of the victory, and was hailed as the preserver of Rome from the dreaded yoke of the barbarians of Germany, who, if they had not been so seasonably and totally defeated, would soon have been at the gates of Rome. At the festivities which followed the annunciation of the victory, libations were offered to his glory, as the third founder of Rome, as a hero who deserved to be ranked in the next class to the immortal Gods.

The exuberant joy, produced by this success, seemed to absorb that gratification which would otherwise have been derived from the exploits of Aquilius, the colleague of the popular Marius. He had been sent into Sicily to quell an insurrection of the slaves. As it appeared that many of the free-born subjects of allied princes had been enslaved by the collectors of the revenue in the Roman provinces, it was decreed by the senate, that all such individuals should be immediately liberated. In Sicily, about 800 were restored to liberty by the prætor Nerva, in consequence of this ordinance; and he would have enfranchised a greater number, if the principal inhabitants of the island had not requested or bribed him to desist. When many applicants had been dismissed from his presence with frowns and reprimands, great discontent ensued; and schemes of insurrection were entertained. Thirty slaves, belonging to the establishment of two very opulent brothers, were the first who took arms⁹. They treacherously murdered their sleeping masters; and, having drawn many others into a league, fortified a post which was naturally strong. Oarius was their leader; but, when Titinius, a condemned criminal who had escaped from justice, offered himself to their notice, with a party of slaves, he was chosen as a more able general. They had no suspicion of his being a hired emissary of Nerva.

9 In the 106th year before the Christian æra.

He betrayed the fortress to the prætor's troops ; and the authority of the government was restored. But a more alarming combination quickly followed. About eighty slaves commenced their career of assumed freedom by the assassination of a knight named Clonius ; and the number of insurgents soon rose to 2000 ; who, by defeating a body of soldiers sent from Enna, so far strengthened their credit and interest, that above 6000 slaves were enlisted in the cause. To direct the operations of this tumultuary body, a distinguished and dignified leader was requisite ; and therefore Salvius, who was supposed to be skilled in divination, was declared general and proclaimed king¹⁰.

The rebellious confederacy now wore a very serious aspect. The new king acted with spirit, and acquired wealth and importance by incursive expeditions, in which he diffused terror over the country. When he had so reinforced his army, that 22,000 men acknowledged his authority, he formed the siege of Morgantia. The prætor, with 10,000 men, plundered the camp of the besiegers ; but, being fiercely attacked, in his march to the relief of the town, he soon found his ranks disordered ; and, when Salvius proclaimed safety to all who would throw down their arms, the majority followed his advice, and fled. The siege was resumed with a much greater force : yet the garrison disdained the thought of a surrender.

At the same time, the slaves rebelled in the southwestern part of Sicily, at the instigation of Athenio, a Cilician, who allured many to his standard by pretending that he derived useful knowledge from consulting the stars, and that the Gods, by the medium of those heavenly bodies, had promised to him the sovereignty of the island. He assumed the *insignia* of royalty, and exercised arbitrary power¹¹. He besieged Lilybæum, but found the

10 Excerpt. è Diod. lib. xxxvi.

11 Flor. lib. iii. cap. 19.—Diod.

place too strong to be easily reduced ; and, as he was retreating, some Mauritanian cohorts, suddenly arriving, attacked and seriously diminished his force : but, being still at the head of a considerable army, he boldly prosecuted his revolt.

The contagion of disaffection also diffused itself among the free inhabitants of the island : many of whom, involved in the miseries of poverty, hoped to profit by a revolution. Out of the towns, no one was safe from murder or robbery ; for all parts of the country were infested with savage marauders, and law and justice seemed to have taken their flight. Some hope of the speedy extinction of the revolt arose from the expected rivalry of the two kings, who, it was thought, would so warmly oppose each other, as to give the prætor an opportunity of crushing both : but this hope was lost in the union of the leaders ; for Salvius invited Athenio to the fortress of *Tricala*¹², and appointed him to the chief command of the rebel army.

As the revolt thus gained strength, the prætor Lucullus took the field with 14,600 Italian soldiers, beside Grecian and Asiatic warriors. Salvius proposed to remain at *Tricala*, and sustain a siege ; but the advice of his new general induced him to risque an engagement near *Scirthæa*. The insurgents fought with courage, until Athenio had received three wounds : they were then so confounded at his incapability of continuing to direct their efforts, that they fled with precipitation. At the beginning of the conflict, their number amounted to 40,000 : but the victors destroyed one half of this force. The rest fled back to *Tricala*, where Lucullus commenced a fruitless siege. His successor Servilius also left the rebellion unextinguished¹³.

12 So called because it possessed three excellencies—*τρια καλα*—great strength, good springs, and fertile lands near it.

13 Excerpt. é Diod. lib. xxxvi.

Athenio, having recovered from his wounds, resumed his military station ; and, on the death of Salvius, he became the sole sovereign whom the revolters acknowledged. Aquilius undertook the task of restoring subordination and tranquillity : but he could not accomplish his purpose without a prolongation of his command. He defeated and slew Athenio, and so incessantly harassed ^{Ante Chr. 100.} the rebels, that their force, by slaughter, famine, and desertion, at length dwindled to 1000 men. These, having surrendered, were kept for some time in ignorance of their fate ; and, when they found themselves in the Circus at Rome, exposed to wild beasts for the amusement of the senators and the people, they employed against each other those weapons which had been put into their hands for the ignominious contest. Their leader Satyrus coolly witnessed their death, and then slew himself. Their conqueror was brought to trial for acts of rapine and extortion, but was saved from punishment by the pathetic eloquence of Antonius, which even drew tears from the stern Marius.

The warrior who had triumphed over the Germanic hordes did not long suffer Rome to enjoy repose. His ambition was insatiable ; and, that he might more easily gratify it, he formed a confederacy with Apuleius Saturninus, a turbulent demagogue, who hated the senatorial party, and particularly its great champion Metellus, because he had been removed from an office which he did not properly discharge, and had been stigmatised by that illustrious citizen, when censor, for flagrant misconduct. The prætor Glaucias, who had also been publicly censured by Metellus, added his strength to the irregular and dangerous combination ; but, when Apuleius, who had already been a plebeian tribune, again offered himself for that magistracy, all the arts and zeal of the triumvirate could not procure his election. Enraged at this failure, Saturninus hired ruffians to assassinate Nonius, who had

been chosen in preference to him ; and a renewal of the intrigues of the three associates then proved successful¹⁴. Marius, soon after, was elected consul for the sixth time, chiefly by the aid of pecuniary distribution. His colleague was Valerius Flaccus, upon whose subserviency he could depend.

The ruin of Metellus was eagerly promoted by the triumviral faction. A proposal, for a donative of corn to the people, was exploded by the violence of the quæstor Cæpio ; but a law for the grant of land was adopted. The efficacy of the agrarian law, promulgated by Caius Gracchus, had been greatly weakened by the permission of selling particular portions ; and it was at length abrogated, with a proviso that the former land-holders should appropriate a certain revenue to the use of the people : but this payment was soon voted to be unnecessary¹⁵. The law now enacted by the influence of Apuleius and his two friends, and by tumultuary means, provided for the division of conquered lands in Cis-Alpine Gaul, and of various districts in Sicily and in Macedon. All the senators were bound, by an express preliminary, to sanction by oath whatever the general assembly should decree on this occasion : but, when Metellus was desired to take the oath, he peremptorily refused ; and not all the threats of Saturninus and Glaucias, or the clamors of the multitude, could over-awe him into compliance. He was therefore excommunicated by a plebeian vote, and driven into exile¹⁶.

The daring tribune proceeded to the execution of other schemes ; and, having not only procured his own re-election, but also the appointment of a pretended son of Tiberius Gracchus to the tribunate, he resolved to use every effort for the elevation of Glaucias to the consular dignity. Despairing of the success of his endeavours, he

¹⁴ Plut. Vit. Marii.

¹⁵ App. de Bellis Civ. lib. i.

¹⁶ Plut. Vit. Marii.—Liv. Epit. lib. lxi.

ordered Memmius, the prætor's opponent, to be beaten to death with clubs¹⁷. He was no longer supported by any persons of respectability: only Glaucias, the quæstor Saufcius, and the rabble, adhered to him. Even Marius renounced all connexion with him.

Sensible of his danger, Apuleius assembled the plebeians, and assumed a posture of defence. The senate having given directions for the maintenance of public authority, Marius distributed arms among the friends of the government, placed a strong guard at each gate, and drew up troops in the forum. The tribune ventured to meet his patrician foes; but he soon retreated to the Capitol, losing many of his partisans on the ascent. By breaking the pipes which supplied the fortress with water, his adversaries constrained him to surrender. He received a promise of safety; but, as it was not ratified by the senate, he and his principal friends were immediately put to death¹⁸.

The recall of Metellus was a natural consequence of this aristocratic triumph. The proposal was resisted by Marius and zealously counter-acted by the tribune Furius: it was therefore postponed to another year. Furius being required by the new tribunes to answer for his conduct, some friends of the patrician exile, without suffering him even to speak in his own defence, outrageously rushed upon him, and tore him in pieces¹⁹. Thus both parties were guilty of enormities. The character of Furius was not very estimable; but, as he had opposed the fury of Apuleius, he was entitled to less severe treatment from the adherents of the senate.

A greater concourse of people attended the return of Metellus, than had ever been known on a similar occasion. Rome resounded with congratulation Ante Chr. 99.

17 App. de Bellis Civ. lib. i.

18 Plut. Vit. Marii.—Paterc. lib. ii. cap. 12.—Flor. lib. iii. cap. 16.

19 App. de Bellis Civ. lib. i.

and applause. Marius left the city, that he might not witness the reinstatement of an illustrious citizen, to whom his conduct must have rendered him highly obnoxious. He soon after sailed to Asia Minor, and visited Mithridates, the powerful king of Pontus, whose talents and ambition had attracted the notice of the Romans, and whom he wished to draw into hostilities, that he might have an opportunity of employing his active mind, and extending his military fame.

After the late commotions, the Romans enjoyed some years of internal repose; but the animosities of party only subsided for a time, to break out again with greater fury. Of foreign war, at the same time, there was not an absolute cessation; for the senate aimed at the entire reduction of the western peninsula. Dolabella, for quelling some insurrections in Lusitania, received triumphal honors. Didius waged war against the Vaccæi and the Celtiberians. He is said to have killed 20,000 of the former; and, in his treatment of the latter, he seemed desirous of emulating the atrocious perfidy of Lucullus and Galba. To a poor community he promised to assign some lands which he had conquered. Ordering his soldiers to retire from his entrenchments, he desired the Spaniards to enter with their wives and children; and, as soon as they were thus enclosed, he recalled his troops, and the deluded strangers were massacred²⁰. He alleged that they lived by depredation; but, if he had given lands for their subsistence, they might have been reclaimed and reformed. Flaccus afterward contributed, by his vigorous exertions, to the pacification of the Celtiberians, who severely felt the effects of the murderous sword. In one instance, he performed an act of justice. At Belgedæ, the people were so enraged at the unwillingness of the ruling council to revolt from the Romans, that they burned the members to

death in the hall where they were deliberating; an outrage which Flaccus avenged by the sacrifice of its chief authors. From that time to the calamitous rise of a civil war at Rome, the tranquillity of Spain met with little interruption; but the country was not fully subdued, or systematically oppressed in a provincial form.

By the friendship of an Egyptian prince, the Romans had an opportunity of acquiring a considerable territory in Africa. Ptolemy, a natural son of Physcon, bequeathed the Cyrenaic kingdom to the senate and people: but the offer was not then accepted; and ^{Ante Chr.} the towns were graciously permitted to enjoy ^{96.} their own laws. The same indulgence was offered to an Asiatic nation. The king of Cappadocia being murdered by his brother-in-law Mithridates, the Romans, instead of suffering either this potentate, or Nicomedes the Bithynian, to place a vassal prince on the vacant throne, proclaimed republican liberty to the people; but the proposal was rejected, in consequence of an habitual attachment to royalty²¹; and Ariobarzanes, with the concurrence of the senate, was invested with regal authority. The expulsion of the new king by Tigranes the Armenian, son-in-law to the Pontic tyrant, gave occasion for ^{Ante Chr.} the renewed display of Sylla's courage and ad- ^{92.} dress. Being sent into Asia Minor to maintain the honor of Rome, he defeated Gordius, the competitor of Ariobarzanes, and was also victorious over the Armenians. When he had reinstated the exile, he advanced toward the Euphrates, and promised to Parthian ambassadors the amity which their sovereign desired²².

The penetrating observers of Sylla's character prognosticated his exaltation; but he would not have risen to dangerous pre-eminence, if the indiscretion and violence of others had not so convulsed the republic, as to facili-

²¹ Strab. lib. xii.—Just. lib. xxxviii.

²² Liv. Epit. lib. lxx.—Plut. Vit. Syllæ.

tate his progress to power. Livius Drusus, a man of noble birth, of a high mind, and great eloquence, had long lamented the degradation suffered by the senators, in the transfer of judicial authority to the knights, who exercised it with gross partiality, and sometimes with oppressive injustice²³; and, that he might have a better chance of success, in a proposal for the grant of that power to its former possessors, he solicited and obtained the office of plebeian tribune. To conciliate the people, he recommended an agrarian division and a distribution of corn; and, that the

Ante Chr. 91. Italian allies of Rome might be induced to promote his grand scheme with zeal, he promised to procure for them the freedom of the city, in which they had not the right of suffrage. When a law of colonisation had passed, he proposed, that, to the 300 senators then remaining, the same number of knights should be added; and that, from the united body, the judges should be chosen. He wished that the knights might be wholly excluded from the seats of judicature; but, as he had no expectation of gaining that point, he was content with an appearance of equality, thinking that the senators, from their superior weight, would have the advantage in the nomination. This compromise did not satisfy either of the classes; and, an addition to the law, providing for the trial of all judges who should accept presents, gave great disgust to both, because that practice was so prevalent as to be deemed excusable. The most zealous opponents of the measure were Cæpio²⁴ and the consul Marcius Philippus. Drusus sternly declared, to one of these adversaries, that he would order him to be precipitated from the Tarpeian rock; and on the other, notwithstanding his

23 Particularly in the case of Rutilius, against whom the farmers of the revenue conspired, because he had detected and restrained their mal-practices. He was tried for extortion; and, though unquestionably innocent, was condemned to exile.

24 Not the former proposer of a similar scheme, but probably his son.

exalted dignity, he made an outrageous personal assault. By violence he prevailed over this opposition ; but he could not, by all his efforts, perform his promise to the allies, who were also displeased at his colonial law, which they considered as an encroachment upon their possessions. Amidst the dissatisfaction and odium which he had excited, he was stabbed at the entrance of his own house. The perpetrator of the murder remained undiscovered ; but suspicion pointed at Cæpio, Philippus, and the tribune Varius, as the instigators of the immediate agent²⁵.

While Drusus was intent upon his scheme for the communication of all the privileges of Romans to the allies, Domitius, a respectable citizen, met a numerous body of Italians on their march toward the city, under the conduct of Silo, a distinguished Marsian. Having interrogated their leader, who readily mentioned the object of the journey, and the invitation received from some of the tribunes, he earnestly dissuaded him from all violent attempts, and recommended quiet solicitation as the most prudent course that could be adopted. Silo, after a short deliberation, discontinued his march : yet he did not relinquish his purpose.

LETTER XXV.

Continuation of the ROMAN History, to the Termination of the Social War.

THE seeds of ambition and of discontent, which the aspiring tribune had sown in the minds of the allies, ^{Ante Chr.} had taken such deep root, as not to be easily re- ^{91.} moved. As they shared all the burthens and dangers of war, and seemed to be inseparably connected with the

²⁵ Liv. Epit. lib. lxxi.—Paterc. lib. ii. cap. 14.—App. de Bellis Civ. lib. i. —Aurel. Vict. de Viris Illust.

state, they thought themselves fully entitled to all the privileges of Romans. While they bore the honorable appellation of allies, they were treated as the most dependent subjects; and as they thus sustained all the inconveniences of subjection, some share of political power appeared to them to be a requisite appendage to their situation, and a due compensation for their services.

When the senate had annulled the new laws, as not being regularly enacted, the knights instigated Varius to propose an inquiry into the delinquency of those who had encouraged the hopes of the Italians. The motion was strongly opposed, because many of the senators, conscious of having stimulated the allies against Drusus, by holding out a prospect of indulgence, apprehended exposure and punishment: but the menaces of the knights enforced the enactment; and they rendered the law subservient to the gratification of political and personal animosities¹. They tried and expelled some eminent citizens; while others banished themselves, without submitting to a partial judgement. Scaurus, being among the accused, appeared in the forum with his friends and clients, and said, "Varius affirms, that Scaurus, the head of the senate, encouraged the allies to assert their rights by arms. Scaurus denies the charge. Which of the two, O Romans, do you think more deserving of credit?" The people instantly called for his acquittal².

Despairing of the success of an humble application, the Italian communities resolved to have recourse to arms. A congress, consisting of deputies from the most considerable towns, met at Corfinium, where two consuls and twelve prætors were chosen to superintend the affairs of the confederacy. Emissaries from Rome were employed to watch the progress of discontent; and the successive intelligence alarmed the senate and people³.

¹ App. de Bellis Civ. lib. i.

² Valer. Max. lib. iii. cap. 7.—Aurel. Vict. de Viris Illust.

³ Excerpt. è Diod. lib. xxxvii.

In this revolt, the first blood was shed by the Picentes. The proconsul Servilius, being informed that a youth had been taken from Asculum as an hostage for the adjunction of a particular community to the general league, hastened to that town; and, while the inhabitants were intent on the celebration of a festival, he sharply reproached them for their concern in the intended insurrection. He and his lieutenant were instantly murdered by the mal-contents, and all other Romans in the town were massacred. This was the beginning of the *social war**.

Asculum was quickly invested by Pompeius, that the signal chastisement of its inhabitants might deter the rest of the confederates from persisting in their violent schemes. During the siege, the mal-contents sent deputies to Rome, to treat of an accommodation; but the imperious senate, unwilling to grant their reasonable demands, declared that full submission, and atonement for their presumption and audacity, must precede all negotiation. This haughty answer so incensed the confederates, that all thoughts of peace were banished from their minds. They levied troops to the amount of 100,000 men, and zealously labored to extend the revolt: yet a great part of Italy, notwithstanding every seductive attempt, remained faithful to the Roman government. The insurrection extended, with some interruptions, from Apulia to Picenum. The people of Latium, on the other hand, were not drawn into the confederacy; and the Umbrians and Etrurians at that time remained quiet⁵.

The early incidents of the war were favorable to the revolters. Three of their commanders routed the troops of Pompeius near the Tenna, and besieged the fugitive general at Firmum. The consul Lucius Julius Cæsar was at-

* App. de Bellis Civ. lib. i. cap. 14.—Flor. lib. iii. cap. 18.

⁵ Liv. Epit. lib. lxxii.—App.—Diod.—Paterculus says, that all Italy revolted; but this is an evident exaggeration.

tacked near Æsernia, and 2000 of his men were slain. Perperna lost twice that number, and, for his imputed negligence, was deprived of his command. Nola was taken by the Samnites, who compelled the garrison to serve in their army, which they greatly increased by other accessions from Campania. Vettius Cato, who had prevailed over one consul, defeated and slew the other⁶; whose troops were then consigned to the care of Marius and Cæpio. The latter general, weakly suffering himself to be deluded by Silo on pretence of submission, was seduced into an ambuscade, and lost his life with a great number of his followers. Lucius took revenge for these losses, in a conflict with Papius, who was besieging Acerræ. The revoltors, finding that the consul, instead of advancing to meet them, remained in his camp, ventured to pull down the exterior palisades; but the Romans soon convinced the assailants, that they did not submit to this rude approach from fear. Sending out the cavalry from the back of the camp, Lucius rushed out with his infantry; and, while the cohorts gave full employment to the insurgents, the horse suddenly attacked them in the rear. Papius fled to his camp, but not before 6000 of his men had fallen⁷.

Marius, being debilitated by age, did not act in this war with that vigor which he would otherwise have displayed: yet he was not languidly inactive or grossly negligent. Being challenged by the Marsians, he marched out of his camp, and routed the insulting foe. Sylla, who was on the opposite side of some vine-plantations to which the fugitives

⁶ Rutilius Lupus.

⁷ App. de Bellis Civ. lib. i. cap. 15.—Liv. Epit. lib. lxxiii.—Appian says, that *Sextus* Cæsar (he means *Lucius*, as he is speaking of the colleague of Rutilius; for *Sextus* was consul before the war broke out) lost the greater part of his army in a battle with Marius Egnatius, about the time of Cæpio's defeat: but this statement is not so far confirmed as to be readily admitted. Florus applies to Lucius what was true of Rutilius, by speaking of his defeat and death. Lucius did not fall in any of the battles, but lived to discharge the functions of censor, and to serve his country on other occasions.

retreated, completed the victory with a division which he commanded; and 6000 of the revolvers were slain. In another conflict, neither Marius could animate the Romans to due exertion, nor did the Marsians dare to take advantage of the temporary imbecility of their adversaries⁸.

Pompeius retrieved his credit by that success which graced his arms, when Sulpicius, who had dispersed a body of Peligni, joined him in an attack upon the besiegers of Firmum. While one made a furious sally, the other rushed upon the enemy's rear. Afranius and many of the insurgents were killed: the rest took refuge at Asculum, the siege of which was vigorously renewed. The victorious general was rewarded with the consulate; but, before the magistracy of Lucius expired, he brought forward a law, granting the freedom of the city to those Italian communities which had not concurred in the revolt. The expediency of this enactment was suggested by the recent adjunction of the Umbri and some of the Etrurian towns to the confederacy, as it was thought that this measure would conciliate those allies who had not yet determined upon rebellion. It had that effect in many instances; and the offer was occasionally extended to such parties of revolvers, as were less fiercely hostile than the rest. At the same time, to provide a greater force for resistance, freed-men, who had been hitherto excluded from military service, were enlisted and employed with utility⁹.

The war being prosecuted during the winter, both Pompeius and Lucius Cæsar had opportunities of giving severe annoyance to the enemy. The new consul attacked 15,000 men, who had been detached to support Ante Chr. 89. the insurgents in Etruria; and, when a third part had been slain, many of the fugitives perished with cold and hunger. The proconsul had another conflict

with Papius near Acerræ, and routed the opposing army with great slaughter.

Sylla continued to augment his military reputation. He attacked the confederates in Campania, and drove them from the field. He again encountered them, and obtained a more important victory by the extraordinary exertions of such troops as had been newly transferred to his command, after they had murdered their general Albinus for his pride and severity. To avoid punishment, they acted with that courage and vigor which ensured success. They made great havock in the army of Cluentius; and, when this commander had posted the remains of his force near Nola, Sylla was encouraged by a favorable omen to risque another engagement, notwithstanding the strength of the hostile camp and the probability of a powerful co-operation of the citizens with the enemy. He was again victorious; slew Cluentius and almost his whole force; and afterward reduced the Hirpini to submission. Proceeding into Samnium, he triumphed over the hardy warriors of that territory, and took Bovianum, the well-fortified station of a rebel council. Cosconius was also successful against the Samnites, whom he defeated with great loss, and whose gallant leader, Marius Egnatius, fell in the conflict. The Marsians were encountered by the consul Lucius Cato, who repeatedly prevailed over them in the field; but, in an assault upon their camp near the Fucine lake, he was mortally wounded. His fall so discouraged the Romans, that they hastily retreated, when victory was apparently within their grasp¹⁰.

The campaign was closed with the reduction of Asculum. Pompeius treated the defenders with rigor, as the authors of that massacre which led to the war. He ordered the principal citizens and military officers to be decapitated, publicly sold the slaves, plundered and expelled the free

inhabitants; and the town was then consigned to the flames. For this success and his other exploits, the consul was honored with a triumph.

Farther success attended the Roman arms in the ensuing year, when the consulate was enjoyed by Sylla and Pompeius Rufus. To oppose these magistrates, ^{Ante Chr.} five prætors were appointed by the revolvers, who ^{88.} removed their seat of government from Corfinium to Æsernia, in Samnium. The chief authority was exercised by Silo, who, after the late disastrous losses, found great difficulty in recruiting the army, and therefore enfranchised as many slaves, as formed an addition of 18,000 men to the 30,000 free-born warriors who were enrolled under his ensigns. Being attacked by Mamercus Æmilius, he lost the honor of the day; and, while few of the Romans fell, 6000 of his men were removed from the world¹¹. He consoled himself for this misfortune by the recovery of Bovianum, which inspired his followers with such extravagant joy, that they voted to him the celebrity of a triumph, not fully merited by the exploit. He did not long survive this ostentatious display, being defeated and slain near Teanum.

Sensible of the decline of their strength, the confederates sent into Asia for succour. Knowing that Mithridates was a determined enemy of the Romans, they flattered themselves with a prospect of his assistance. He expressed his wishes for their success, but declared that he could not conveniently co-operate with them before the termination of his Asiatic war. Thus disappointed, and dreading the vigorous hostilities of Sylla, all except the Samnites and Lucanians submitted to the government, and were indulged with the desired freedom of Rome¹².

During this war, the city was not wholly free from internal commotion. A great number of citizens, being involved

11 Excerpt à Diod. lib. xxxvii.

12 App. lib. i. cap. 17.—Diod.

in debt, and harassed by severe creditors, clamorously called for relief, and for the enforcement of an old law against usury. The prætor Sempronius was willing to pursue a middle course, and therefore instituted such an inquiry into the circumstances of the dispute, as might tend to relieve the debtors, without irritating the creditors by a rigorous exaction of penalties for their violation of a law which had declined into desuetude. Yet many of the latter were so enraged at his interference, that they conspired against his life. Being stricken with a stone while he was officiating at a sacrifice, he hastened to secure himself in the temple of Vesta, but was murdered before he could reach that asylum. As some of his pursuers entered the sanctuary in search of him, even the sanctity of the place would not have secured him from outrage. The assassins were not discovered ; with such art and caution did the creditors elude the efficacy of the rewards offered for detection¹³.

A new law against public violence, probably in consequence of this murder, was soon after enacted, under the auspices of the tribune Plautius ; and the same magistrate proposed the annual appointment of fifteen judges by the tribes, indifferently out of every class of citizens. The knights warmly opposed this measure ; but it was sanctioned by a majority of votes¹⁴.

The mode in which the right of suffrage was granted, was considered by the confederates as evasive and nugatory : for those who were newly admitted to it were not incorporated with the thirty-five existing tribes, but were formed into additional tribes, which were to vote last ; and, as the former composed the majority of the whole number, the suffrages of the latter would be frequently unasked. This disingenuous conduct of the senate furnished Marius with an opportunity of exciting sedition ;

13 App. lib. i. cap. 18.—Liv. Epit. lib. lxxiv.

14 Freinshemii Supplem. Liviana.

for the infirmities of age had not subdued his ambitious spirit; and, being eagerly desirous of conducting the war against Mithridates, which had been committed to Sylla's management, he concerted schemes of commotion with Publius Sulpicius, an able and eloquent but profligate tribune. He encouraged the Italian provincials to persist in the demand of an equality of privilege with the old citizens, and of a regular distribution among the thirty-five tribes; and, if they should gain this point, he hoped by their aid to supersede his hated rival¹⁵.

The rupture with the king of Pontus arose, as the Romans pretended, from his arbitrary interference in the concerns of his royal neighbours. On the death of the Bithynian king, his son Nicomedes, with the sanction of Rome, assumed the diadem; but Mithridates deposed him, and placed a younger brother on the throne. Ariobarzanes was, at the same time, again expelled from Cappadocia. The injured princes complained to the senate, and implored assistance. Two ambassadors were sent to promote their restoration; and Cassius, who was then with some cohorts in the Pergamene territory, received orders to the same effect. The temporary forbearance of Mithridates facilitated the task; and both kings became experimentally sensible of the importance of Roman protection. To punish the tyrant for his encroachments, or to provoke him into a war, Cassius advised an immediate incursion into his territories, on the part of the two princes. Nicomedes reluctantly consented; and his troops, having ravaged the country, carried off great spoils. Mithridates, wishing for a plausible ground of hostility, would not suffer his army to check the invaders. He trusted to his great resources, and to the extensive confederacy which he had formed, and thought himself able to cope even with the Romans. When Cassius and

the deputies had given a haughty answer to his envoy Pelopidas, who complained of the invasion, he sent a considerable force to expel Ariobarzanes, and then announced his intention of defending his dominions and rights with the utmost vigor against all the enterprises of Roman ambition¹⁶.

To oppose the mighty force of Mithridates, it was necessary to call for ample supplies from Nicomedes ; by whom, in consequence of the exhortations or rather orders of Cassius and the ambassadors, 56,000 men were brought into the field. From Galatia and other provinces, troops were also drawn; and three armies were put in motion, under the respective command of Cassius, Aquilius, and Oppius. The Bithynian king met Neoptolemus and Archelaus, the two generals in whom the Pontic king reposed the greatest confidence ; and he had the advantage in the conflict, until the scythed chariots were driven amidst the ranks. The confusion which those destructive vehicles produced, turned the balance against the Bithynians, who, being defeated with great loss, fled into Paphlagonia. The prisoners, who were numerous, were dismissed with presents by order of Mithridates, who, while his cruelty was notorious, wished to conciliate the neighbouring nations by unexpected clemency. The heavy-armed infantry had no share in this victory, which, therefore, was highly honorable to the other troops. Over Aquilius an equal advantage was obtained : having lost 10,000 men, and being stripped of his camp, he crossed the Sangarius, and fled toward Pergamus ; but, falling into the hands of the tyrant, he was put to death with torture¹⁷. Cassius, being unable to augment his army to the extent of his wishes, retired without risking an engagement; while

¹⁶ App. de Bellis Mithrid. cap. 5, 6, 7.

¹⁷ Melted gold was poured down his throat, that his thirst for that metal might be gratified.

the enemy over-ran the provinces from the Euxine and the Propontis to Lycia and Pamphylia¹⁸.

The annihilation of the Roman authority in Asia Minor was not deemed sufficient by the victorious and exasperated potentate. He gave orders for the execution of a scheme of the most nefarious cruelty. All the Roman citizens, and all other Italians, with their wives and children, in the provinces which he had subdued, were murdered without hesitation or remorse¹⁹. The sanctity of temples did not save those who clung to the altars: the pathetic supplications of the tender sex for parents, husbands, or children, were utterly unavailing.

After this massacre, Mithridates directed his attention to the conquest of Rhodes; but Cassius and many of his countrymen, who had escaped from the continent, assisted in the defence of that island; and all the attempts of the enemy for its reduction proved fruitless. He therefore withdrew his armament; and, sending Archelaus to seduce the Greeks into a revolt, he went to Pergamus to regulate the affairs of the conquered provinces, and to provide the means of continuing the war with effect.

Before the tribune Sulpicius proposed a transfer of the command against Mithridates from Sylla to Marius, he moved for the recall of exiles, and for a complete equalisation of the new with the old citizens. The latter so strenuously resisted the proposal, that clubs and stones were used in the dispute, as substitutes for argument; and the consuls, by the appointment of holidays, adjourned the decision. Sulpicius desired those magistrates to annul the orders of suspension, that the national business might not be delayed. His partisans, of whom he had a great number armed with daggers, exhibited the weapons which they had concealed, and began to use them with

¹⁸ App. de Bellis Mithrid. cap. 8, 9.

¹⁹ Liv. Epit. lib. lxxviii.—App. cap. 10.—Paterc. lib. ii.—Flor. lib. iii.—Valerius Maximus reckons the number of victims at 80,000.

sanguinary effect. The son of Pompeius Rufus was not secured from their attacks by the reverence due to his father's authority : he lost his life by plebeian outrage. Sylla, to save himself from similar violence, revoked the adjournment ; and then hastened into Campania, to put an end to the social war. The tribune took that opportunity of assigning the new war, by a decree of the people, to the conduct of Marius, who immediately sent two officers to draw off the troops from the authority of Sylla. The indignant consul having appealed to the soldiers on this occasion, without fully disclosing his bold and criminal intention of turning his arms against the citizens of Rome, many of them cried out, " Lead us to the city," to the great joy of their commander. The two deputies were stoned to death ; and six legions began their march, unaccompanied by any of their principal officers, except one quæstor. To all inquiries respecting the object of his advance, Sylla replied, that he had no other view than to rescue his country from tyranny ²⁰.

Marius and his turbulent friend were not fully prepared to meet the storm, which they therefore endeavoured to ward off, in the name of the senate, by negotiation. Sylla, like a true soldier, preferred the decision of arms. Leaving two-thirds of his force at the gates, he entered Rome with the rest, and commenced hostilities, even ordering his men to set fire to the houses. He animated his followers by being the foremost in action, and his adversaries soon gave way. Marius endeavoured to collect a body of slaves, by promising freedom to all who would join him ; but there were very few who were tempted by the offer. He and his principal friends then fled from the city.

After both consuls had passed the night in vigilantly superintending the preservation of order, the people were

²⁰ Plut. Vit. Marii et Syllæ.—App. de Bellis Civ. lib. i. cap. 19.—Liv. Epit. lib. lxxvii.

called to an assembly, for the purpose of diminishing their own power, and augmenting that of the senate; and twelve of the plebeian leaders were marked out for punishment, as enemies of the state. Any one who might meet them, had authority to kill such pestilent citizens. Sulpicius was betrayed by one of his slaves, and, being already condemned, was instantly put to death, while his betrayer was precipitated by order of Sylla from the Tarpeian rock. Marius reached the sea-side in safety, and sailed to Circeii, where he landed during a violent storm. He wandered with few attendants, in the utmost danger, until he descried a vessel, to which he was with great difficulty conveyed through the water: but the mariners, being afraid to protect an outlaw, put him on shore, and left him to his fate. He was found naked in a marsh near the Liris, and conducted to Minturnæ, where a Gallic slave was sent by the magistrates to take away his life. "Who (said the fugitive, starting) will dare to kill Caius Marius?" The name of so great a warrior, and the sternness of tone and manner with which it was pronounced, appalled the slave, who threw down his sword, and ran out of the apartment, declaring that he could not lift his hand against such a man. He was now released by the compassion of the magistrates, and permitted to embark for Africa. Being peremptorily commanded to depart from the Roman territories in that part of the world, he received the order with sullen silence. "What answer (said the officer) am I to report to the governor?"—"Tell him (replied the exile) that you have seen Marius sitting amidst the ruins of Carthage."—He passed the ensuing winter in an African island, where he was joined by his son and other fugitives²¹.

Sylla, in the mean time, peaceably regulated the affairs of Rome. He gratified the aristocratic party by ordaining

²¹ App. lib. i. cap. 19, 20.—Liv. Epit.—Plut. Vit. Marii.—Paterc. lib. ii.

that nothing should be proposed in the popular assembly before it had been submitted to the deliberation of the senate, and by substituting centuriate meetings for those of the tribes. On the other hand, he composed the disputes respecting debts, by a law which seems to have favored the poor. In these and other regulations, Pompeius readily concurred. Both consuls being exposed to the risque of vengeance from the Marian faction, Sylla sought security in the camp; while he procured for his colleague the command of that army which then acted under the proconsul Strabo: but Pompeius had scarcely reached the head-quarters, when he was murdered by some of the soldiers during a sacrifice, at the instigation of the superseded general²². The senate suffered Strabo to resume his authority; not having the courage to punish the adviser or the perpetrators of the criminal deed.

The social war had been for some time neglected. The Lucanians and Samnites, however, were still in arms; and Ante Chr. the former attacked Rhegium, that they might⁸⁷ have an opportunity of exciting a revolt in Sicily: but the prætor of that island passed over to the assistance of the besieged, and saved the town. This disappointment accelerated the submission of the Lucanians, who, in the contest of parties, favored the cause of Sylla. The Samnites, beside the freedom of Rome, demanded permission to retain the spoils acquired during the war, the release of their captive countrymen, and the surrender of deserters; and, when the consul Cinna, by the advice of Marius, had complied with these requisitions, they ranged themselves under the standard of that ambitious and violent leader²³.

²² Liv. Epit. lib. lxxvii.—App.—Faterc.

²³ Excerpt. è Diod. lib. xxxvii.—App.

LETTER XXVI.

History of the ROMAN Republic, to the Adjustment of a Pacification with Mithridates.

THE degeneracy of the Romans sufficiently appeared in the disgraceful transactions of Sylla's consulate; but greater enormities were destined to follow. With an affectation of impartiality, that artful citizen had promoted the elevation of Cornelius Cinna to the chief magistracy, although he knew him to be devoted to the opposite faction. Perhaps, he wished that the state might be thrown into confusion, as he might then have an opportunity of acquiring the supreme power. With Cinna he associated Octavius, who favored the senatorial party.

Cinna had sworn, in the Capitoline temple, that he would support the interest and the new ordinances of Sylla: but, when he thus bound himself, he merely temporised. Even before the general left Italy, the consul stimulated one of the tribunes to accuse Ante Chr. 87. him of having nefariously made war upon his country, and sullied with blood the proud honors of the city, because the command assigned to him by the senate had been taken from him by the people; and of having restrained the tribunitian power, with the sole view of subverting the liberties of the nation. Sylla treated the accusation with contempt; and it was soon relinquished by his adversaries¹.

Following the example of Sulpicius, Cinna held out to the new citizens the prospect of plenary gratification. He called them to Rome from all parts of Italy, and moved for their reception among the old tribes. Those tribunes who protested against the measure, were threatened by

¹ Plut. Vit. Sylla.

the strangers with sanguinary violence. Octavius now thought it his duty to interfere. He hastened to the forum with an armed band; and the contending parties had a fierce but short collision. The new citizens and their Roman friends being routed with great loss, Cinna, who escaped from the slaughter, called the slaves to liberty, and endeavoured to raise a fresh army in the towns of Latium and Campania. His conduct was declared, by the senate, to have been so irregular and seditious, that he was unworthy of the dignity of consul, and even of the name of citizen. He was therefore deposed; and Merula, the priest of Jupiter, was appointed colleague to Octavius².

An army being then stationed at Capua, under the command of Appius Claudius, Cinna used all the arts of persuasion, to draw the officers into his party; and, in a public harangue, he so effectually excited the compassion of the legionaries by tears and supplications, that they resolved to receive him as their general. He now renewed his efforts with alacrity, and was so successful in his applications to the provincial subjects of Rome, that thirty legions were levied from their number. Marius and his fellow-exiles, being informed of these preparations, returned to Italy; and, being joined in Etruria by 6000 men, he presented himself in the camp of Cinna, by whom he was invested with joint authority³.

The aristocratic leaders, on the other hand, raised new fortifications about Rome, and diligently employed themselves in military preparation. They sent to Pompeius Strabo for aid; but, although he was more inclined to support the senate than to assist the opposers of that assembly, he for some time declined all interference, from resentment of the late attempt to supersede him. His in-

² App. de Bellis Civil. lib. i. cap. 21, 22.—Paterc. lib. ii.

³ Liv. Epit. lib. lxxix.—Plut. Vit. Marii et Sertorii.

decision strengthened the opposite faction, which, by early vigor, he might have crushed.

Four armies approached the city, one conducted by Cinna, another by Marius, one by Papirius Carbo, and the fourth by Sertorius. The last commander was a man of talent and eloquence, who might have been an ornament of the forum; but he quitted it for the military service, and acquired reputation in Gaul and Spain. If he joined the democratic party from mere disgust at the conduct of Sylla, in counter-acting his suit for the plebeian tribunate, he may justly be blamed; but he probably thought that the ambition of that citizen aimed at the supreme power. He remonstrated against the reception of Marius, whom he considered as an unprincipled and unfeeling man: yet he continued to act with Cinna, and promoted, by his courage and activity, the temporary success of that factious incendiary. An early object of the attention of Marius was the seizure of Ostia, that he might preclude the conveyance of provisions from the sea down the Tiber. He obtained his wish by treachery, murdered many of the inhabitants, and gave up the town to pillage⁴.

Rome was a scene of confusion. Octavius and Merula were incapable of warding off the storm, or of properly providing for the defence of the city. Pompeius now took a decided part, and co-operated with the consuls; and, when an officer, out of private gratitude to Marius, had admitted both that general and Cinna, they were driven out after a fierce engagement by the consular troops. To the ravages of war, a pestilence was added, which swept off 17,000 of the military supporters of the government. Pompeius and some of his officers died at the same time, not by the plague, but by the sudden effect of lightning. That commander had recently been saved, by his son's affectionate care and presence of mind, from the murderous

⁴ App. lib. i. cap. 23.—Plut. Vit. Pompeii Magni.

intentions of an officer who had been bribed by Cinna. The son became, in the sequel, one of the most distinguished and illustrious citizens of Rome.

When Marius had taken farther measures for cutting off all supplies from the city, he again approached the gates with his three associates, and augmented his force by drawing to his standard all the slaves who were eager to enjoy the honors of freedom. The intimidated senate had recourse to negotiation ; but, when Cinna asked the deputies whether they were ordered to acknowledge him as consul, they returned for fresh instructions. A multitude of free citizens then took an opportunity of joining Cinna, whom, in another application for peace, the senate (on the resignation of Merula) recognised as consul, when he had promised that he would not put any one to death. He refused to take an oath to this effect; but, if he had so sworn, his oath would have been no more regarded than his promise. Marius was silent at this meeting: he stood near Cinna's chair, scowling at the deputies, and revolving schemes of murder. The tribunes having revoked the sentence pronounced against him and his chief adherents, he re-entered the city, and acted as if he had been sovereign of the state, at a time when he had not even the shadow of lawful authority. Rapine and assassination were the orders of the day. Octavius might have escaped; but he trusted to the declarations of soothsayers, who assured him that no injury would be offered to him; and, saying that it was the duty of the consul to remain at his post, coolly placed himself in his chair of state at the Janiculum, surrounded by lictors. Unawed by this appearance of dignity, Censorinus approached him, and struck off his head. Antonius, the most admired orator of the age, underwent the same fate. The brutal Marius wished to murder him with his own hand ; but, being dissuaded by his friends from such an exposure of his inhuman propensities, he sent a party of soldiers to act in his stead. The

pathetic strains of the orator softened these men into tears; and they could not so harden their hearts as to offer violence to so respectable and dignified a citizen. The officer who was ordered to superintend the work of death, ridiculed the sensibility of the soldiers, and gave the fatal blow. Lucius and Caius Cæsar were also assassinated. Catulus, knowing that he was obnoxious to the ruling faction, because he had strenuously supported the authority of the senate, shut himself up in a small chamber, and suffocated himself with charcoal. Merula cut his veins, and sprinkled with his blood the altar at which he officiated. The younger Crassus was overtaken in his flight, and killed by some horsemen: his father stabbed himself to avoid the degrading blows of the same ruffians. Ancharius presented himself before Marius amidst preparations for a sacrifice, in the hope of receiving mercy, while his powerful adversary was supposed to be in a devout frame of mind: but he was miserably disappointed; for he was instantly put to death in the temple⁵.

Beside the higher class of victims, many other citizens were sacrificed to the vengeance of Marius for their attachment to Sylla; and not a few were assassinated, without regard to party, by the slaves who had joined the triumphant faction. Shocked at the multiplied murders and rapes, committed by these licentious attendants of Marius, Sertorius conferred with Cinna on the expediency of checking such outrages; and it was agreed, that these assassins, who had proved themselves so unworthy of freedom, should be massacred. To single out and punish the chief offenders, and replace the rest in a state of servitude, would have sufficiently answered the demands of justice: but they were all treacherously put to death, while they were reposing in their tents, to the number of 4000⁶.

5 App. lib. i. cap. 24.—Plut. Vit. Marii.—Liv. Epit. lib. lxxx.

6 Plut. Vit. Sertorii et Marii.—App.

Ante Chr. 86. Without the formality of election, Cinna assumed the consular dignity for another year; and Marius, for the seventh time, was invested with the same magistracy: but he did not long enjoy this renewal of authority. He was far from being happy amidst his triumph,—rather in consequence of his apprehensions of the vengeance of Sylla, with whose bold and determined spirit he was well acquainted, than from the keenness of remorse for his cruelty and injustice. That his uneasiness and alarm hastened his death, is the opinion of his Greek biographer. However that may be, he expired in the first month of his renewed consulate, without justly claiming the praise of any other merit than that of a warrior.

The associate whom Cinna invited to supply the official vacancy, was Valerius Flaccus, who took an early opportunity of gratifying the numerous debtors of Rome, by procuring a law which excused them from the payment of any part of their debts beyond a fourth⁷. With this subservient colleague, Cinna domineered over the state, affecting to consider the Romans as so degenerate, that they were only fit to be enslaved.

While the republic was thus degraded and oppressed, Sylla; in opposing a distant enemy, met with that success which promised him the power of subduing his adversaries at Rome. The hope of this power, and of that revenge in which his malignant heart delighted, inspired him with additional vigor in his foreign campaigns.

Before the arrival of Sylla in Greece, Archelaus had made a rapid progress in the subjugation of the country. Having conquered Delos and other islands, in which (it is said) 20,000 men, chiefly of Italian origin, were killed by the fierce invaders, he subjected Athens to the sway of Mithridates, who, by the medium of a philosopher named Aristion, had allured the people to submission.

⁷ Paterc. lib. ii. cap. 23.—For this infamous law, adds the historian, just vengeance soon overtook him.

The treacherous sophist seemed to have forgotten all his philosophy, as soon as he obtained the chief power, in which he was supported by a body of soldiers, detached from the numerous army (about 120,000 men) of Archelaus. He acted the part of a tyrant, condemning many of the citizens to death for their attachment to the Romans, and giving up others to the mercy of Mithridates. At the same time, other communities in northern Greece submitted to Archelaus; to whom also the greater part of the Peloponnesus made offers of subserviency. Metrophanes, another of the king's generals, made a descent in Thessaly; but Brutius Sura, marching against him with troops from Macedon, drove him to his fleet, and then hastened into Bœotia, where, in the vicinity of Chæronea, he fought three battles with Archelaus and Aristion, in which neither party obtained any extraordinary advantage⁸.

Sylla's first object was the recovery of Athens. In his way to the province of Attica, he received the submission of the Bœotians, who hoped, by their quick return to their allegiance, to atone for their recent transfer of it to Mithridates. Sending a part of his army to attack the city, he directed his hostilities against the Piræus, which Archelaus defended both with a fleet and a land-force. He endeavoured to scale the walls at his first appearance; but his efforts were so strenuously opposed, that he drew off his troops, and employed them for some time in constructing towers, framing engines, and making every preparation for a regular siege. Being in want of money to bribe some of the citizens into treachery, and to keep his soldiers in good humor (for he knew that they would be his best friends in the prosecution of his schemes of ambition and revenge), he did not scruple to commit sacrilege; for he sent one of his intimate friends to rob the Delphic temple, under a promise of restitution, and also

demanding a portion of the sacred treasures at Olympia and Epidaurus, with an air of arrogance by which the priests were confounded⁹.

Notwithstanding all the zeal and the contrivances of Sylla, Archelaus defended the works of the port with such spirit, that the siege was long continued without success. In assaults and in sallies, many were killed on both sides; and, when the spring returned, the place was still in the hands of Archelaus. During the siege, Arcathias, one of the sons of Mithridates, invaded Macedon, and, having defeated the small force that defended the country, marched against Sylla, but died in the expedition.

The miseries of famine prevailed at Athens to such an extent, that the people earnestly wished for a negotiation with the besiegers. Aristion at first refused to treat; and, when he afterward pretended to comply with the general wish, he sent some of his dissolute companions to expose their folly, rather than negotiate with wisdom or dignity. Instead of the benefit of a treaty, a lamentable catastrophe ensued. Some spies reported to Sylla, that a part of the wall was neither so strong, nor so vigilantly guarded, as the rest; and, in consequence of this agreeable intimation, the general gave orders for a nocturnal assault. The bold attempt put him in possession of the city, and gave him an opportunity of wreaking upon the oppressed citizens that vengeance which was due only to the tyrant. He issued his mandate for the slaughter of all (whether men, women, or children) whom the assailants could find in their progress¹⁰. Soldiers who had any sense of humanity or of true honor would have refused to execute the nefarious order: but the troops of Sylla were

⁹ Plut. Vit. Syllæ.—App.

¹⁰ App: de Bellis Mithrid. cap. 17.—Plut. Vit. Syllæ.—Pausanias speaks of this massacre as less promiscuous and general, and says, that it was a regular decimation of the adversaries of Rome in the conquered city: but, as he has mentioned it confusedly, he perhaps means only the slaughter which took place at the seizure of the citadel.

of the same brutal complexion with their commander. Many of the citizens, without attempting to defend themselves, rushed upon the swords of the Romans: others committed violence upon their own persons, that they might not witness the destruction of their famed city, or be degraded by the murderous blows of it's ruffian captors. When blood had flowed in torrents, Sylla, while he reprobated the ingratitude of the Athenians, condescended to listen to the entreaties of some of their exiled countrymen, and of the senators who had fled to his camp from the commotions of Rome; and, having spoken in praise of the great men who had in former ages adorned the state, said, that he would spare the living out of regard for the dead. The city was pillaged, but not robbed of all it's portable contents; and he would not suffer it to be destroyed. He ordered a public sale of the slaves; permitted the few free citizens who had escaped death to enjoy civil liberty, but deprived them of the right of suffrage and of all legislative power, which, however, their innocent offspring, he said, should subsequently enjoy.

Aristion had fled into the citadel, which he bravely defended against Curio; but, for want of water, he at length ceased to resist. He and his military officers, and the magistrates who had acted under him, were put to death¹¹. The Piræus was also seised by the Romans, on the retreat of Archelaus; and the arsenal and fortifications were reduced to a ruinous state.

When Attica had thus been recovered, the war was transferred to Bœotia. Archelaus posted himself near Chæronea, with above 100,000 men; and, although Sylla had not a third part of that number, he was remarkably eager to engage. His men were less willing to risque an

11 App. cap. 17.—Plutarch says, that Sylla poisoned Aristion; and Pausanias affirms, that he was dragged to his fate from the temple of Minerva,—a profanation which, in the opinion of this writer, was more ominous to Sylla than his former sacrilege.

attack; but he subdued their reluctance, and led them to action. The scythed chariots of the enemy passed to the end of the Roman ranks, without making any impression; and, on their return, were harassed and disabled. Archelaus then divided the opposing army by means of his cavalry, and separately encompassed each moiety by his great superiority of number. He directed his particular efforts against Hortensius, who, with opportune celerity, had conducted a respectable force through a rugged country to the camp of Sylla: but neither could his assaults effectually disorder the firm circularity of that division, nor could the exertions of his officers in the other part of the field paralyse the energy of their adversaries. The invaders of Greece were chastised for their presumption by a disgraceful defeat and a dreadful slaughter¹².

Amidst the joy of this victory, Sylla testified his desire of appeasing the Gods whom he had offended by sacrilege. He compelled the Thebans to resign one half of their lands, and made arrangements for such an appropriation of the revenue, as would gradually refund or replace the money and other offerings which he had seized¹³.

Mithridates did not so keenly deplore the great loss which he had sustained, as to avoid the risque of another battle. He sent Dorylaeus into Greece with 80,000 men; but Sylla, near Orchomenus, defeated the new army, slew 15,000 men, and forced the camp to which the fugitives retired¹⁴. While the remains of the hostile force crossed

¹² Those who can believe, with Appian, that only thirteen men fell on the side of the victors, and that not many more than 10,000 of the vanquished escaped death out of 120,000, may justly be blamed for extravagant credulity. Sylla, according to Plutarch, did not scruple to report, in his own Commentaries, that he lost only twelve of his men. If he made such an assertion, he seems to have entertained as little regard for truth, as he did for justice or humanity.

¹³ Pausan. lib. i. Plut. Vit. Syllæ.

¹⁴ In storming the camp, greater havock was made among the enemy, than in the preceding battle; but it is far from being true, that the effect was (as Eutropius says) an extinction of the whole force of Mithridates.

the Euripus to Chalcis, the victorious general plundered the Bœotian towns, and then retired into Thessaly for the winter.

Cinna, in the mean time, retained the chief power at Rome, holding the highest magistracy with Carbo, on the expiration of the consular authority of Flaccus, who was sent to supersede Sylla in the com-^{Ante Chr. 85.}mand of the army. The new general not being so well acquainted with military operations as the conductor of such a war ought to have been, Fimbria was appointed his lieutenant. Partly in consequence of a dispute, but chiefly from the impulse of ambition, this officer excited a sedition against his commander, drove him from the camp, and murdered him at Nicomedia¹⁵. The rapacity and severity of Flaccus had rendered him an object of odium to the troops; but the flagitious character of his assassin merited execration.

Assuming the command without hesitation, Fimbria marched in quest of the enemy. He obtained several advantages in the field, and pursued Mithridates himself almost to the point of capture. Having driven him from Pergamus to Pitane, he requested Lucullus, who was cruising near the Asiatic coast, to assist him in reducing the king to submission, or seising his person: but that officer either disbelieved the intimation, or was unwilling to co-operate with such a general. When the endangered prince had escaped to Lesbos, Fimbria prosecuted a career of murder and devastation in Mysia and in Troas. Investing Ilium, he was so enraged at the application of the inhabitants to Sylla for protection, that, when he found access, he massacred all whom he met, and totally destroyed the town.

The victorious progress of the Romans softened the king's haughty spirit into a wish for peace; and he ordered

Archelaus to propose an immediate accommodation.—The demands of Sylla were such as might have been expected. He insisted upon the surrender of the whole fleet which had been sent to the Grecian coasts, the payment of 2000 talents toward the charges of the war, and the removal of all garrisons from towns which the king did not possess at the time when he announced his hostile disposition. The Asiatic general promised to give up the towns in question without delay ; but he could not, he said, agree to the other proposals without specific instructions. This negotiation was still depending, when Sylla undertook an expedition against the Thracian hordes, and severely chastised them for their frequent incursions into the Macedonian province. As Mithridates made some objections to the terms, and as both that prince and Sylla wished to crush Fimbria, it was agreed that a conference should take place between them at Dardanum. The peremptory firmness of the Roman

Ante Chr. general then procured the king's consent to the
 84. former demands. The two deposed princes were again placed on their respective thrones. Paphlagonia was restored to the Romans ; and the Pergamene territories, with other provincial districts, were evacuated by the king's troops ¹⁶.

Vengeance now impended over Fimbria. His soldiers deserted in multitudes ; and, when he had failed in a scheme for the assassination of Sylla, he stabbed himself in despair. A slave, by his order, completed, with a more determined hand, the work which his master had imperfectly performed, and then turned the weapon against himself.

The settlement of the disordered affairs of the western coast of Asia Minor employed for some time the attention of Sylla. He enacted various regulations, and made some

prudent arrangements; but his chief object was extortion. In an assembly of deputies from the Asiatic towns, he demanded (beside a heavy contribution toward the expence of the war) the prompt payment of as much money as the annual tribute, five times reckoned, would compose. He suffered his licentious soldiers to insult and plunder the people without mercy or consideration; and many reputable citizens were entirely ruined, and still more were impoverished, by his arbitrary and multiplied exactions: but he probably thought that he treated them with great lenity, in abstaining from the atrocity of murder.

LETTER XXVII.

Progress of the ROMAN History, to the Resignation of the Dictator Sylla.

A VIOLENT storm impended over Italy. The movements of the returning army, and the knowledge of Sylla's vindictive spirit, diffused terror through the Roman metropolis. He had declared his intention of avenging all injuries offered to himself or his friends, or to the advocates of regular government; and his character was sufficiently known to render it more than probable that he would carry his menaces into severe effect. Cinna and Carbo, aware of the approaching storm, sent commissioners into all parts of Italy to levy soldiers, raise money, and collect great supplies of corn; endeavoured to secure general support by plausible promises; and particularly courted the new citizens, in whose cause, the two consuls said, they were now contending. After the receipt of Sylla's imperious letter, deputies were dispatched, desiring, in the name of the senate, that he would state the

terms on which he would be reconciled to his adversaries; and, in the mean time, that assembly ordered a discontinuance of the levies. The consuls, disregarding the mandates of an intimidated body, continued to augment their force; and some troops were sent into Illyria, where Sylla was soon expected. A storm, which drove back the second party, discouraged the soldiers, who, reflecting on the purpose for which their services were required, declared that they would not engage in a civil war. The flame of discontent spreading among the rest, Cinna called a council to allay the rising mutiny. One of his lictors, in clearing the way, struck a spectator: the assault was retaliated by a soldier: the consul ordered the military offender to be seised: a general clamor arose; and, while some threw stones, others stabbed their rash and arbitrary commander¹.

Cinna deserved his fate; for he was not only unprincipled and perfidious, but malignant and inhuman. It must be allowed, however, that he possessed considerable talents; for he could not otherwise have so easily usurped the supreme power, or have so long retained it. He engaged in enterprises which no good man (says an historian) would have attempted: and he achieved what none but a man of great courage and fortitude could have accomplished².

No successor was appointed to the deceased consul for the rest of the year, an election being prevented by the influence and the arts of Carbo. During his administration, Sylla's answer to the late conciliatory application announced his submission to the will of the senate, if those citizens who had been driven into exile by the tyranny of Cinna should be fully re-instated. If the offer had

¹ App. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. i. cap. 26.—Liv. Epit. lib. lxxxiii.

² Dicitur potest, ausum eum quæ nemo auderet bonus, perfecisse quæ a nullo nisi fortissimo pericli possent. *Putore*.

been accepted, he would still have found a pretence for sanguinary revenge; but the power of the consul counter-acted an accommodation³.

The formidable warrior at length returned to Italy, elate with the success of his campaigns, and thirsting for the blood of his fellow-citizens. He pretended that he had no other view than to correct the disorders of the state; but he thought more of rapine and massacre. Instead of acting as the friend of his country or of mankind, he displayed the features of a tyrant: instead of assuming the dignified demeanor of a beneficent angel, he exhibited the hideous aspect of a fiend. He has found, however, a modern advocate of some celebrity: but, from a vindicator of war, we may expect a palliation of massacre.

In his march from the coast of Calabria to the Campanian territory, he was joined by Metellus, who was called *Pius* in consideration of the affectionate zeal which he displayed in the cause of his banished father, the able antagonist of Jugurtha. This senator brought with him a small but gallant party; and Marcus Crassus, whose father and brother had lost their lives by the cruelty of Marius, also offered his services to Sylla. Other persons of distinction successively appeared in his camp; and his hopes of triumph were elevated and sanguine.

On the other hand, the new consuls, Scipio and Norbanus, were enabled by the authority of the senate to make great preparations for the defence of the government. The new citizens were conciliated by the grant of all the rights of suffrage; and freed-men were distributed among the established tribes. Among these classes, therefore, the opposers of Sylla had many friends: while the higher ranks chiefly adhered to that general. A decree of the senate commanded the dismissal of all troops,

³ Liv. Epit. lib. lxxxiv.

except such as were under the orders of the consuls: but no attention was paid to an edict which was known to have been extorted.

The rage of civil war soon burst forth. Sylla, although he had been declared an outlaw and a public enemy, pronounced himself to be a legitimate proconsul, and, in a high tone, demanded an universal recognition of that authority which he had not resigned. In the prosecution of his march, he met Norbanus, to whom (according to one account) he had made overtures of peace, which were so ill received, that the deputies were treated with insult and disdain⁴. So eager were his troops to avenge this treatment, that they rushed upon the consular army with the most impetuous heat of passion, and, with small loss on their own side, slew 6000 of their panic-stricken adversaries. Knowing that Scipio was less resolute and determined in the cause which he ostensibly supported, than his colleague or the younger Marius, Sylla allured him into a negotiation; and, during that interval, the arts of persuasion and corruption were sedulously practised upon the consul's army. The effect was speedy and important. All the troops of Scipio passed over to the standard of Sylla, who was so delighted at this transfer of service, that he abstained from offering the least violence either to the consul or his son, however displeased he might be at their refusal of supporting his interest⁵.

No other conflict occurred in this disgraceful war, while those consuls were in office, except some skirmishes between the younger Pompeius (afterward styled Pompey the Great) and the adherents of the consular party. In these actions the promising youth manifested great courage and address; and, when he joined Sylla with three well-disciplined legions, the politic general, foreseeing

⁴ Liv. Epit. lib. lxxxv.

⁵ App. de Bellis Civ. lib. i. cap. 28.—Liv. Epit. lib. lxxxv.—Plut. Vit. Syllæ.—Patere. lib. ii.—Sallustii Fragm.

the high fame which awaited his new friend, treated him with a degree of respect which he did not show to any of the senators or other distinguished persons in his train ⁶.

When Carbo had been re-chosen consul, Marius, who shared the dignity with him, encountered Sylla ^{Ante Chr. 82.} in Latium. He commenced an attack when the enemy seemed more intent on fortifying a camp than eager for battle : but he was soon convinced of his misapprehension and his rashness. His left wing gave way ; and about one half of a legion took the opportunity of joining Sylla. The rest of the army instantly fled to the walls of Prænestæ : but, as only the first party that appeared at the gates could procure admission, a great slaughter of the fugitives ensued, and many were made prisoners ⁷. Two divisions of the army of Carbo were routed by Metellus ; and another detachment was defeated by Pompey. Marius was so enraged at his ill success, that he sent orders to the prætor Damasippus for the death of all the senatorial friends of Sylla who could be found at Rome. The subservient magistrate immediately convoked the senate ; and all the obnoxious members were seized and murdered ⁸. Thus the two parties vied with each other in barbarity.

To overpower the partisans of Carbo and Marius at Rome, considerable detachments were sent by different routes ; and, when they had gained admittance from the dejection of the inhabitants, who were in great want of provisions, Sylla hastened to the city, sold the property of many fugitives, and comforted the people by promises of protection. He then marched into Etruria, where Carbo had assembled a great force. Near Clusium, the two armies fought from sun-rise to the evening, the chief advantage devolving to Sylla. In the Umbrian province, Pom-

⁶ Plut. Vit. Pompeii.

⁷ Those captives who were Samnites were put to death by the brutal conqueror, who alleged that they retained an implacable enmity to the Romans. Appian.

⁸ Liv. Epit. lib. lxxxvi.—Flor. lib. iii. cap. 21.

pey and Crassus slew 3000 men; and other losses were sustained by the consular party. An officer named Marcus, who led a numerous force to attempt the relief of Præneste, was attacked by Pompey in his march, and thrown into such disorder by an ambuscade, that his discouraged men rapidly dispersed, and not a tenth part of his army remained with him⁹.

Blockaded in Præneste, Marius made repeated attempts to force the surrounding entrenchments; but all his efforts were baffled; and the endeavours of Pontius Telesinus, an able general of the Samnites, to penetrate to the relief of the garrison, and those of Damasippus for the same purpose, were frustrated by the skill and vigilance of Sylla. Carbo and Norbanus, being obliged to act without the personal concurrence of their endangered friend; resolved to attack Metellus, that, by crushing him, they might have an opportunity of making a more effectual impression upon the commander whose views he promoted.—Assaulting his camp at Faventia, near the close of day, they hoped to surprise him: but he withstood their first attempts with such firmness, and so resolutely counteracted their subsequent exertions, that they were completely and disgracefully routed. About 10,000 of their men are said to have fallen; and, in consequence of desertion and flight, not more than 1000 remained with the consul. Norbanus, having escaped the treachery of one of his officers, (who had been secretly encouraged by Sylla to murder as many of the friends of Carbo as could be persuaded to accept an invitation to a convivial meeting,) retired to the coast, and embarked for Rhodes. Even at that distance from Rome, he was not safe. Sylla demanded the surrender of his person; and the wretched fugitive, without even waiting for the answer of the islanders to the imperious requisition, pierced himself with his own sword.

Sylla had expressed a wish that Pompey would supersede Metellus, who did not appear to him to possess sufficient vigor for a war of this nature : but he was now ready to acknowledge that this commander was a very useful auxiliary, by whose courage and influence Cis-Alpine Gaul was withdrawn from the interest of the consular party. Metellus was ably assisted in that province by Marcus Lucullus, who, at Fidentia, rushed upon a much greater force than that which he commanded, and obtained such a victory as concurred with other exploits of the friends of Sylla to drive Carbo from Italy. After the emigration of the discouraged consul, Pompey attacked the army which he had abandoned, and, with little difficulty, destroyed or dispersed it.

The most doubtful and dangerous conflict was that which occurred near Rome, between Sylla and Telesinus. The approach of a great army of Samnites and other Italians filled the city with consternation : and even the arrival of Sylla near the gates did not wholly remove the panic. In the afternoon, the battle commenced ; for the impatient general rejected the advice of his officers, who, alleging that the troops were in a fatigued state, recommended rest and delay. For many hours the victory was undecided. The opposite combatants exerted themselves with equal spirit, and all seemed to fight as if the fate of Rome depended on the arm of each. Sylla was so far unsuccessful, that his left division fled in disorder, and all his persuasions and menaces were for some time ineffectually employed to bring the men again into vigorous action. At length he turned the tide, and was at the same time gratified with intelligence of the progress of Crassus, who, with the other part of the army, had put his adversaries to flight. The work of slaughter did not cease even amidst the gloom of night ; and about 50,000 persons, it is said, formed the aggregate number of the slain in both armies. The brave Telesinus was among the

victims. The prevailing host captured 8000 men, the majority of whom, being Samnites, were massacred by the furious animosity of Sylla¹⁰.

Not cruelty alone, but the most villanous perfidy, marked the character of the triumphant general. When 3000 fugitives had implored mercy, he promised to pardon their delinquency, if they would attack his foes. Many of them immediately rushed upon their comrades; and a considerable number fell by this unnatural hostility, which could have been devised only by a ruffian. The survivors, and as many others of the same description as swelled the amount to 6000¹¹, were stationed in a particular spot, and deliberately murdered, at the very time when Sylla was addressing a body of senators, who trembled with horror at the cries of the wretched victims.

To his eternal disgrace, he introduced the enormity of *proscription*¹², or the arbitrary condemnation of individuals to a loss of property and of life, accompanied with an offer of reward to assassins. Having harangued the people, he spoke of himself in his usual strain of boastful vanity, and promised his auditors, that he would improve their state, if they would listen to his instructions; adding, that he would pardon none of his enemies. He first marked out eighty individuals for death; and, regardless of the indignation which such unjustifiable cruelty excited, he proscribed two hundred and twenty more on the following day¹³. He soon increased the number to 4,700¹⁴; but these formed a very small part of the whole number of victims; for almost every town in Italy lost a portion of its inhabitants by the rage of assassins, whom Sylla licensed or protected; and there was scarcely an altar, private or public, unstained with the blood of those who

10 App. lib. i. cap. 29.—Plut. Vit. Syllæ et Crassi.—Paterc. lib. ii. cap. 27.

11 Plut. Vit. Syllæ.—or 8000, Epit. Liv.—but Florus reduces the number to 4000.

12 App. lib. i. cap. 30.—Paterc. lib. ii.—Aurel. Vict. de Viris Illust.

13 Plut. Vit. Syllæ.

14. Valer. Max. lib. ix.

vainly hoped to be saved by it's sanctity. The public good was a mere pretence for these acts of violence: they originated in malice, revenge, and rapacity¹⁵.

On the reduction of Præneste, farther cruelties were perpetrated. Lucretius Ofella, to whom that town was surrendered, put to death some senators whom he found within the walls, and imprisoned others, whom Sylla, as soon as he arrived, devoted to the same fate. Marius and one of his associates, in a subterranean passage, fought for mutual destruction; and, when he had killed his friend, he was stabbed by a slave at his own request. The prisoners being separated according to their country, the Romans were dismissed, while the Samnites and Prænestines, after the short formality of an inquiry into the guilt of a few, were massacred. At Norba, also, a scene of horror ensued. The besiegers being introduced by treachery, many of the inhabitants destroyed themselves; others fell in the voluntary combats of despair; some perished in the flames of their own habitations; and the wind so extended the conflagration, that the spoils which the enemy expected to find in the town were consumed¹⁶.

While many unfortunate men were murdered solely for their wealth, others were permitted to purchase by fines the continuance of a precarious life, under the sway of a most inhuman conqueror. Whole towns were thus plundered, that the despot might reward the infamous instruments of his villany. His military partisans were also gratified with lands, and stationed in various parts of Italy, so as to form garrisons for enslaving the people, and supporting their benefactor.

15 Some of the proscribed were cruelly tortured before they were deprived of life, particularly Marius Gratidianus, one of the most popular men in Rome. A senator, shocked at the torments which this respectable magistrate was compelled to endure, fainted at the sight, and, for this manifestation of sympathy was instantly murdered. This incident may remind the reader of similar enormities, committed during the modern French revolution.

16 App. lib. i. cap. 29.

As the fugitive consul had not submitted, Pompey was sent against him. He was seized at Cosyra¹⁷, conveyed to Sicily, and put to death by order of the youthful general, who, in his attachment to Sylla, forgot an important obligation which he had received from Carbo. Sertorius was still in arms, having fled into Spain on the revolt of Scipio's army. Troops were sent to crush him; but that was a task too difficult to be quickly accomplished.

Sylla had hitherto acted as a conqueror; but he now professed an intention of governing with the authority of a lawful magistrate. A servile senate and an intimidated people ratified all his acts, and erected, in the forum, an equestrian statue, "to the honor of Cornelius Sylla, the fortunate commander." At his desire, the senate made choice of an *inter-rex*, who proposed the appointment of a dictator. To Sylla that dignity was granted, not (as formerly) for a short or limited term, but absolutely and permanently; and thus was the most degrading despotism extended over the nominal republic. He condescended to name consuls, and suffered other magistrates to be elected, that the ancient forms might be preserved, amidst the total loss of liberty¹⁸.

Ante Chr. Regulations of an aristocratic tendency were

81. the early fruits of this extraordinary assumption of power. He supplied the vacancies in the senate by the election of three hundred knights; restored to the members of that assembly the exclusive judicial privilege; and increased, from eight to twenty, the number of quæstors, by whom occasional vacancies in the senate might be supplied. He not only extended to fifteen the respective amount of the pontiffs and augurs, but ordained that they should at all times fill up the regular number by their own choice, instead of leaving the election to the people. From the plebeian tribunes he withdrew the

17 An island between Malta and the African coast.

18 App. lib. i. cap. 31.

right of legislation; and he diminished the eagerness of aspiring citizens for that magistracy, by rendering it preclusive of the attainment of any other dignity¹⁹.

He provided for the regularity of justice, by substituting an uniformity of process, in the prætorian courts, for the variable modes which had been occasionally adopted; and (which was a point of greater moment) he enforced the penalties against judicial corruption. He also checked, by strictness of law, the prevalence of those crimes which he had lately encouraged.

To a general who had thus seised the whole power of the state, the formality of a triumph might be supposed to be a trivial consideration: but, as he deserved the honor for his success against Mithridates, he was not inclined to forego it. The spoils borne in the procession were highly valuable: but the most interesting feature of the celebrity was of another kind. Many senators and distinguished citizens, whom he had received under his protection during the sway of his adversaries, attended his car, applauded his conduct, and extolled his exploits. He also granted the honor of a triumph to his gallant and active friend Pompey, who, after a settlement of the affairs of Sicily, had sailed to Africa, to oppose Domitius, a partisan of Marius. This fugitive had obtained protection and encouragement from Hiarbas, one of the Numidian kings; and, being at the head of a considerable army, he gave battle to the legionaries: but so weakly was he supported by the African troops, that he could not prevent the Roman general from destroying the greater part of their number. The camp also was stormed; Domitius was slain; and the king's captivity facilitated a transfer of his dominions to Hiempsal, a neighbouring prince. The dictator at first refused to allow a triumph to so young a commander, who had neither been prætor nor consul; but, by a bold remark

which would probably have given great offence, if it had proceeded from any other person, Pompey gained the object of his wish. Sylla desired him to relinquish his suit; but the confident warrior urged his claim, and hinted at his own consequence, interest, and popularity, by saying that people were more inclined to worship the rising than the setting sun. Sylla, not displeased at this pointed freedom, instantly gave his consent²⁰.

Without any instructions from Sylla, who, being in the decline of life, did not wish to embroil himself in a distant war, hostilities were renewed against Mithridates. He had left Muræna, with two legions, to secure the Roman interest in Asia Minor. The ambitious and imperious king, after the pacification with the republic, took arms against the people of Colchis and of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, on pretence of their having revolted. The former consented to receive one of his sons as their king; an honor which proved fatal to the prince, who, being suspected by his father of having eagerly sought it, was put to death by the jealous tyrant. Observing the magnitude of the king's preparations against the Bosphorans, the Romans who were in Asia affected to believe that such armaments were intended against them, the more particularly as he had not withdrawn his garrisons from every part of Cappadocia, and as it was known that he was displeased with Archelaus for having conceded too much to Sylla in the late treaty. This general, alarmed at the intelligence, and finding that he was also suspected of having betrayed his master at the battle of Chæronea, fled to the headquarters of Muræna, and advised him to make an irruption into the territories of Mithridates. An invasion soon followed; and, when the king's deputies complained of this infraction of treaty, Muræna evasively replied, that he had no knowlege of any written agreement, as Sylla was

content with a verbal convention. Thinking that he had sufficiently vindicated himself by this mean excuse, he committed depredations both upon sacred and private property, and did not even avoid the wanton effusion of blood. After wintering in Cappadocia, he renewed his incursions, and over-ran the Pontic kingdom, unopposed by Mithridates, who waited the return of his ambassadors from Rome. An envoy from that city at length appeared, and declared it to be the will of the senate, that no hostilities should be directed against a prince who was on terms of amity with the republic; but, as he did not produce a decree of that assembly to such a purport, Muræna continued to harass the king's subjects. As forbearance seemed wholly useless, Gordius was ordered to repel the invaders; and his master also advanced against the Roman general, whom he defeated and drove back into Phrygia. Gabinius was sent by Sylla to restore peace; and it was agreed that Ariobarzanes should be reinstated. This compact not being executed, Sylla repeated his orders; which, however, were only for a short time obeyed²¹.

In the affairs of Egypt, Sylla also interested himself. When he was employed against Mithridates, he had sent Lucullus to request an auxiliary force from Ptolemy Lathyrus, king of Egypt; but the application was unsuccessful. On the death of this prince, his nephew Alexander, who had long lived in exile, and, after residing in the Pontic court, had obtained the friendship of Sylla, was sent by the dictator to take possession of the vacant throne. The Egyptians received him; but Ante Chr. 80. he was dethroned and murdered when he had lost his Roman friend²².

In the third year of his dictatorial sway, Sylla Ante Chr. 79. resigned that power to which he had waded through a torrent of blood. Such a retreat from that pre-

21 App. de Bellis Mithrid. cap. 26.

22 App. de Bellis Civ. lib. i. cap. 31.

eminence which he had eagerly sought, filled the nation with astonishment. He suddenly descended from his tribunal, and, declaring that he was ready to answer any charge or demand, mingled himself with the crowd in the forum²³. A young man of spirit assailed him with keen reproaches, and pursued him with iavectives until he reached his habitation. He bore the attack with coolness, merely saying to a friend, "The treatment which "I have received from this citizen will deter a future "dictator from the resignation of his authority and "power²⁴."

LETTER XXVIII.

The Roman History, continued to the Conquest of the Pontic Kingdom.

THE motives of Sylla's extraordinary resignation can only be conjectured. A dread of public or individual vengeance cannot be very confidently or satisfactorily alleged, as his retreat from power tended to increase that danger. It was not magnanimity; for that quality is incompatible with the baseness and brutality of assassination: nor was it patriotism; for he who could subject his country to the disgraceful domination of soldiers, corrupted by his profusion and by his relaxation of discipline, could not be a patriot. It is customary to assign great causes for remarkable acts; but that refinement is not always consistent with the course of human agency. Trivial causes and slight motives have sometimes a great effect. Sylla, perhaps, was weary of the burthen of government, and wished to indulge in amusement and revel in luxury.

While Sylla was employed in rural sports, or immersed in vile debauchery, unmolested by any of those citizens or provincials whom his wanton cruelty had robbed of their friends and relatives, Æmilius Lepidus, whom he knew to be unfriendly to his politics, obtained the consulate by the interest of Pompey. The colleague of the new magistrate was Lutatius Catulus, whose appointment gave great pleasure to Sylla, as he was one of the champions of the aristocracy.

Disputes were already arising between the ill-assorted consuls, when the grand *proscriptor* was marked out as a prey to death. His disorder was loathsome and horrible¹. Instead of depressing his mind with compunction, it inflamed him with rage; for, at a time when he had no lawful authority, and no right to commit even the most flagitious offender to prison, he ordered Granius, a debtor to the state, to be strangled². This fact, my son, will probably strike you, not as a proof of the public spirit of Sylla, but as an instance of diabolical revenge. He was not offended at the intended speculation, but was irritated at the hint of an informer, alleging that Granius waited for his death, in expectation of an opportunity of eluding payment. His dissolution was hastened by the intemperate passion with which he commanded and witnessed the murder; and such a death was worthy of the man.

The pompous arrangements for Sylla's funeral in the field of Mars, proposed by Catulus, were resisted by Lepidus, who recommended privacy as more expedient: but the senate adopted the former plan. Pompey attended the remains of his friend to Rome, and resolved to maintain the ordinances of the great dictator. Lepidus hoped to attain exorbitant power by maintaining the popular interest; and he pointedly inveighed against the

1 The *morbus pedicularis*.

2 Plut. Vit. Syllæ.

arbitrary acts of Sylla. For the promotion of his views, he assembled in Etruria the remains of that party which seemed to have been nearly crushed. The senate, dreading a new disturbance, exhorted him to relinquish all schemes of violence, and prevailed upon him to swear that he would not take arms against his fellow-magistrate, or the republic. He was permitted to retire into Gaul, where he continued to the end of the year, apparently satisfied, yet cherishing schemes of ambition and hostility³.

Being recalled by the senate, Lepidus so far complied with the order, as to advance toward Rome: but he did not approach as a friend to the ruling party. No consuls had yet been chosen to succeed him and his colleague, because he refused to preside at the election. An *inter-rex* was therefore named; whom the senate commanded to provide for the safety of the state, in conjunction with the proconsul Catulus.

While the storm of intestine commotion was brooding over the city, the Romans undertook a foreign expedition. Servilius, who had served as consul under Sylla, was sent into Asia Minor to chastise the pirates. When Cilicia was in an unsettled state, a multitude of its licentious inhabitants had commenced a course of maritime depredation; and, being occasionally joined by a variety of adventurers, they had gradually acquired wealth, territory, and power⁴. While Sylla was at war with Mithridates, they seized Clazomenæ and other important towns; and he was so eager to return to Italy, that he did not attempt to check their alarming progress. They sometimes sailed as far as the coast of Italy, made descents, and carried off, as captives, many subjects of the great republic. Being attacked by Servilius, they felt, in a naval defeat, the weight of Roman indignation, but did not suf-

3 App. de Bellis Civ. lib. 7. cap. 33, 34.—Plut. Vit. Pompeii.

4 App. de Bellis Mithrid.

fer him to purchase his victory without considerable loss. Encouraged by this success, he disembarked in Lycia, and captured some opulent towns which formed a part of their territorial possessions. Advancing into Isauria, he took the capital: in Cilicia, his arms were prosperous; and he had the honor of being the first commander who carried the Roman eagle to the vicinity of Mount Taurus ⁵.

As the Thracians were still hostile to the Macedonians, the senate resolved to send an army into the region near Mount Rhodope; but, before Appius Claudius was employed in that service, he assisted in counter-acting the aims of Lepidus. The new consuls were Decimus Junius Brutus and Mamercus Æmilius; under whose sway the dreaded commotions arose. When the insurgents ^{Ante Chr. 77.} had reached the suburbs of Rome, Catulus and

Pompey encountered them with vigor, and put them to flight. Lepidus hastened back into Etruria, whence he sailed to Sardinia. He was dejected at his disappointment; but his wife's infidelity more keenly wounded his feelings. An illness seised him, which proved fatal. His chief associate was Marcus Brutus, less known as a warrior or politician than as the father of the stern republican. He long defended Modena against Pompey, who, on his surrender, gave him hopes of pardon, but, being subsequently ashamed of such humanity to a rebel, put him to death. A part of the mal-content army passed over into Spain, and joined Sertorius; and the senatorial rulers, content with victory, did not, like Sylla, rage against the rest ⁶.

The revolt of Spain required extraordinary efforts for its suppression, as the ability and prudence of Sertorius had erected a strong fabric of power in that country. During the sway of Sylla, Annius had been sent to crush

⁵ Flor. lib. iii. cap. 6.—Eutrop. lib. vi.

⁶ App. lib. i. cap. 34.—Plut. Vit. Pompeii.—Flor. lib. iii. cap. 23.

the bold opposer of the senate ; and he so far prevailed, that Sertorius fled to New-Carthage, and sailed with a small force to Mauritania. The barbarians treating the fugitive chief as a foe, he returned toward Spain, and after a narrow escape from the dangers of conflict and of shipwreck, landed, in company with a body of pirates, near the mouth of the Bætis. Not being pleased with the manners and conduct of his new associates, he gladly saw them sail away in quest of adventures. When they had joined a Mauritanian prince, who was involved in war, he passed over to Africa, and assisted the opposite party. He was victorious in the field, and might have secured a considerable territory ; but he contented himself with the presents which were offered to him for the support of his followers, and accepted an invitation from the Lusitanians, who, while they considered him as another Viriathus, hoped that he would ultimately be more successful. As soon as he appeared among them, they invested him with sovereign authority ; and he prepared to act with vigor against the Romans and their provincial adherents ⁷.

He soon obtained important advantages both by land and sea. When he had thus extended his power, Metellus Pius was sent against him ; and even this experienced general was occasionally foiled by the artful *manœuvres* of Sertorius. Domitius, governor of Hither Spain, suffered a defeat from Hirtuleius, quæstor to the insurgent commander. Manilius, who was summoned from the Gallic province to assist in quelling the revolt, was equally unfortunate ⁸. Elate with these victories, Sertorius gave new dignity to his government by instituting a senate, composed of proscribed emigrants from Italy, and of other partisans who appeared to be worthy of the trust.

When he had been joined by Perperna, who conducted into Spain the remains of the army of Lepidus, he drew

⁷ Plut. Vit. Sertorii.

⁸ Liv. Epit. lib. xc.

many communities from the Roman interest, by persuasion or by force. On the other hand, as Metellus was not thought sufficiently active, Pompey was sent to quicken and assist him: but their combined efforts did not prevent the calamitous protraction of the war. The elder general, far from being jealous of the young commander, treated him with respect and with confidence. They acted with friendly concert: yet the talents, address, and vigilance of Sertorius, long baffled their united counsels. He particularly exposed Pompey to ridicule, by bringing him into the greatest danger, at a time when he was boasting that he had so shut up the besiegers of a town between his troops and the walls, that they could neither take the place nor avoid defeat. The town was seized and set on fire, and Pompey was glad to escape, with the loss of a legion, which he had sent to protect a party of foragers.

The military character of Metellus was too contemptuously treated by the admirers of Pompey. He highly distinguished himself in a battle near Italica, Ante Chr. 76. without the aid or advice of any other general.

Hirtuleius was his antagonist on this occasion. The *quæstor* was disposed to commence the action at day-break; and the Romans were willing to gratify him; but their more considerate leader detained them in their tents, until a great part of the day had elapsed, and then led them out, properly refreshed, when their adversaries were faint from hunger and heat. Both generals displayed undaunted courage, and both were wounded. Victory at length declared for Metellus, who witnessed the destruction of the major part of the hostile army⁹. In a subsequent conflict, Hirtuleius was defeated and slain, to the great regret of Sertorius, who was not, however, deterred

⁹ Frontini Strat. lib. ii.—Liv. Epit. lib. xci.—Sallustii Fragm. lib. ii.

by these misfortunes from a vigorous prosecution of the war.

Pompey also found opportunities of distinguishing himself. He routed the troops of Herennius, and slew their leader; but, in a battle near the Sucro, he prevailed only in one part of the field, while Sertorius triumphed in the other. The loss was very considerable, and nearly equal on both sides. Near Segontia, Pompey gave way to the impetuosity of the foe; while Metellus, near the same spot, triumphed (not without great loss) over Perperna¹⁰. Sertorius, soon after, made an attempt to storm the camp of Metellus; but the approach of Pompey frustrated the scheme.

The next campaign was less memorable. Metellus and
 Ante Chr. Pompey took the field, but made little impression
 75. upon the revolvers. Some sieges were undertaken in vain. At Calaguris, in particular, so spirited a sally was made, that the besiegers were disgracefully put to flight, Metellus retiring across the peninsula, and his associate into Gaul¹¹.

The fame of Sertorius had reached the ears of Mithridates, whose enmity against the Romans had only subsided into temporary forbearance. This prince flattered himself with the hope of recovering all the territories which he had given up in the convention with Sylla, if he could secure the friendship of the celebrated warrior, whose success in Spain, he thought, would lead to the acquisition of the supreme power in Italy. On the death of the Bithynian king, who bequeathed his possessions to the Roman people, the senate ordered the realm to be reduced

10 App. lib. i. cap. 35.—Plut. Vit. Pompeii et Sertorii.—In the epitome of Livy, the statements referring to this part of the campaign are so far different, that Metellus is represented as having defeated the armies of Sertorius and Perperna in separate engagements; and it is added, that Pompey, advancing to share the honors of victory, had an unsuccessful conflict.

11 Liv. Epit. lib. xciii.

into the form of a province;—a mandate which gave such offence to Mithridates, whose sister had issue by the deceased prince, that he resolved to renew the war without delay. He sent deputies to Sertorius, with an offer of assistance, on condition of the annulment of the obnoxious treaty: but the master of Spain, having still a Roman heart, declared that he would not consent to the transfer of any territories which justly belonged to the republic. Bithynia and Cappadocia not falling under that description, the king, he said, might possess those realms; and he promised to send a small military force into Asia, under an able commander, in return for forty vessels and 3000 talents¹².

Mithridates had little reason to expect great benefit from this treaty: but it pleased and flattered him, and he made preparations for war with alacrity and zeal. Lucullus, being eagerly desirous of the honor of commanding against him, stooped to court the favor of a demagogue, named Cethegus, by whose recommendation he procured the vote of a general assembly, assigning to him the imperfectly-conquered province of Cilicia, and also allowing him to oppose the Pontic king. Marcus Cotta, who was consul with him, was sent to secure Bithynia. He Ante Chr. assumed the air of a warrior, and seemed to wish ^{74.} for a speedy collision with the enemy: but his boasts terminated in disappointment and disgrace. In a maritime conflict, he lost sixty vessels; and, by land, he was defeated with the loss of 4000 men¹³. To avoid ruin, he shut himself up within the walls of Chalcedon. Lucullus, who was then in Phrygia, was requested by his soldiers to lead them into the heart of Pontus; but he thought it his

12 Plut Vit. Sertorii.—According to Appian, he agreed to resign all the Roman possessions in Asia Minor.

13 Plut. Vit. Luculli.—Appian says, that Cotta, afraid to meet the king, sent his admiral Nudus to attack him; that this officer was quickly repelled, and was drawn up to the walls of Chalcedon by a rope; and that the chief slaughter occurred at the gates.

duty, in the first place, to rescue his colleague from danger. Mithridates, hearing of his advance, hastened to meet him. The difficulty of supplying with provisions such a number of men as accompanied that prince, suggested to the consul the expediency of avoiding an engagement, that famine might previously take its course. At the same time, he accumulated a sufficiency for his own troops, and prepared them for every favorable conjuncture.

To supply the wants of a craving multitude, Mithridates left Phrygia, and marched toward the Propontis, in the hope of gaining possession of Cyzicus. Unable to take that city by assault, he subjected it to a blockade; but Lucullus soon arrived, and resolved to invest the royal camp. The king, trusting to the insinuations of a pretended friend, relaxed the rigors of his vigilance, in expectation of the desertion of the legions that had served under Fimbria; and the consul took this opportunity of seizing an eminence, which enabled him, with little danger to his army, to obstruct the conveyance of provisions by land to the blockading host.

While Mithridates was thus endangered, his ally suffered a reverse of fortune in Spain. He was harassed by the activity of Pompey; and Perperna, who wished to obtain the chief command, not only encouraged the Spaniards to shake off the yoke of Sertorius, but formed a powerful party against him both in his senate and in the camp. Some acts of cruelty, into which he was hurried by passion or resentment, excited great odium, and tended to promote the views of his ambitious adversary; who, amusing him with intelligence of a pretended victory, Ante Chr. persuaded him to meet a festive party. Amidst

^{73.} that boisterous mirth which at all times disgusted him, he was suddenly assaulted by conspirators, and deprived of life¹⁴. His martial ability was mani-

¹⁴ App. de Bellis Civ. lib. i. cap. 37.—Plut. Vit. Sertorii.—Liv. Epit.

fested by his long resistance to the power of Rome ; and, before the decline of his authority, his humanity and moderation were themes of general praise.

By mingling severity with persuasion, Perperna obtained the temporary acquiescence of the troops of Sertorius in his assumption of power : but he soon lost that pre-eminence which he did not deserve. The majority of the Spanish communities made offers of submission to Metellus and Pompey, who were thus induced to expect a speedy termination of the war. Ten cohorts were sent to draw the attention of the new commander, who first attacked one, and then another, and was so pleased with his trivial success over some of these parties, that he confidently advanced against Pompey. He was quickly defeated, made prisoner, and deliberately put to death, after he had produced a number of letters, written by persons of distinction at Rome, inviting Sertorius into Italy. These papers Pompey consigned to the flames¹⁵ : his patron Sylla would probably have brought them forward, and proscribed the writers.

A more ignoble revolt alarmed the Roman citizens. A party of gladiators, resenting the ill treatment which they suffered, and detesting the arbitrary cruelty of those who trained them to fight for the amusement of the public, rushed out of Capua, armed only with knives and spits. In their progress, they met with waggons that contained a quantity of gladiators' weapons, which they seized without hesitation ; and, being reinforced by many slaves and some freemen, they formed a camp upon Mount Vesuvius, under the command of Spartacus, a Thracian, whose merit soared above the meanness of his birth and condition. By prevailing over a military band, they procured better arms than those which they had seized, and routed a detachment which considerably out-numbered them.

15 Plut. Vit. Pompeii.

When their force reached the amount of 10,000, they advanced against Furius, lieutenant of the prætor Varenus, and, having driven his troops from the field, diffused over Campania the atrocities of devastation, which all the authority of their general was in vain exerted to repress. In Lucania they also fought with success, and ravaged with cruelty; and they were so elate with a victory which they obtained over the prætor, that they ridiculed the advice of Spartacus, who, despairing of an effectual opposition to the Roman power in Italy, proposed that they should hasten to the Alps, and seek refuge and liberty in Gaul or in Thrace¹⁶.

Alarmed at the growing strength and ferocity of the gladiators and their associates, the senate not only sent the Ante Chr. prætor Arrius against them, but also the two
72. consuls, Gellius and Lentulus. They had divided their army; and Crixus had the command of one division, nearly amounting to 30,000 men. Arrius encountered this rebel, slew him, and destroyed almost two-thirds of his force. Lentulus soon after met Spartacus, who had about 40,000 men; and with such vigor did these malcontents engage, that the consul was disgracefully routed. The prætor, having joined Gellius, hoped to crush the enemy: but these commanders did not act with that spirit which was necessary to secure victory. Spartacus triumphed over both; and, to avenge the death of Crixus, not only compelled 300 prisoners to fight like gladiators round his funeral pile, but massacred all the remaining captives. He afterward routed another army, which the proconsul Cassius led against him. He then stationed his numerous army in the neighbourhood of Thurium, without molesting the inhabitants, to whom he gave a good price for whatever he required¹⁷.

16 Liv. Epit. lib. xcv.—App. lib. i.—Plut. Vit. Crassi.

17 App. lib. i. cap. 38.—Liv. Epit. lib. xcvi.—Flor. lib. iii.

As the success of the insurgents occasioned loud complaints of the misconduct of the troops and their commanders, an able general was ordered to enforce discipline, and act with vigor. The citizen se-^{Ante Chr. 71.} lected on this occasion was Marcus Crassus, then prætor; who, before he had fully prepared himself for action, sent two legions to hover upon the skirts of the enemy, without risking a battle. Disregarding his orders, his lieutenant fought, and was repelled with no small loss. The indignant general called into his presence 500 of the fugitives, divided that number into fifty portions, and put one man to death out of each division¹⁸. This decimation struck terror into the rest of the army; and Spartacus dreaded a collision with men who were thus urged to vigor by the terrors of ignominious punishment.

Crassus boasted of his sanguinary rigor, and congratulated himself on the fruits of that summary punishment, when he met 10,000 of the revolvers, separately encamped; of whom he slew so many, that only a third part escaped to the head-quarters of Spartacus¹⁹. The rebel chief was then driven to the sea-side, and would have passed over to Sicily, if he had enjoyed the convenience of shipping. The prætor endeavoured to block him up in the Brutian peninsula, by forming entrenchments across it: but Spartacus took an opportunity of filling up the fosse where the rampart was unguarded, and, by thus obtaining a passage in a stormy night, put an end to the blockade²⁰.

The Gallic and German slaves, and other revolvers, having left Spartacus, from a preference to their immediate commanders, were attacked by Crassus near Croton; and 12,300 of their number were slain. A decisive conflict with the principal army of the rebels soon followed.

¹⁸ Plut. Vit. Crassi.—This account is more credible than that of Appian, who says, that the rigid commander decimated two legions, and adds, that some imputed to him the decimation even of eight legions.

¹⁹ App. lib. i. cap. 39.

²⁰ Plut. Vit. Crassi.

Spartacus, having in vain proposed a negotiation, resolved to brave all the rigors of his fate. Near the Silarus, he and his men fought for some time with the most alert and resolute courage. He particularly wished for a personal combat with the prætor himself: but he fell in the fruitless search; and the revoltors precipitately fled. The slaughter was enormously great²¹: yet as many as composed forty companies retreated in different directions, eagerly pursued and perseveringly harassed. About 5000, hastening toward the Alps, were met by Pompey, who overwhelmed the whole division. The troops of Crassus captured 6000, who were crucified by their merciless conquerors²².

When Pompey assisted in the destruction of the rebel host, he was returning from Spain, which, by the reduction of many towns, and particularly of Calaguris (where the inhabitants averted absolute famine by devouring human flesh), he had subjected to the arbitrary dominion of Rome. He and Metellus were permitted to triumph on the occasion: Crassus had only the honor of an ovation, because his adversaries were of the lowest order.

About the same time, Marcus, the friend and relative of the antagonist of Mithridates, was gratified with the celebrity of a triumph for his success over the Thracians. Appius Claudius had prevailed over those turbulent depredators in several conflicts; and, after his death, Curio had attacked their neighbours in Mœsia, carrying the Roman arms to the banks of the Danube. He severely chastised the Dardanians for their frequent invasions of Macedon, and reduced them to apparent submission. Marcus Lucullus at length undertook the management of the war in this part of Europe, and distinguished himself by the vigor of his exertions. He humbled the Bessi, the

²¹ About 40,000 were slain, if we may depend on the accuracy of Livy or his epitomist.

²² App. lib. i. cap. 39.

fiercest of the Thracian communities, and subdued the western coast of the Euxine²³.

Lucius Lucullus, continuing the war against the king of Pontus, reduced the besiegers of Cyzicus to the danger of extreme famine. That prince having sent off a great part of his army, the Romans intercepted the fugitives, slew a considerable number, and captured 15,000. When the want of regular provision had driven the enemy to the use of the most repulsive food, Mithridates safely retired by sea; but his army, being overtaken near the *Æsepus* in an attempt to escape, suffered a very sanguinary defeat. Lucullus now entered Cyzicus in triumph, and was treated with every mark of respect by the rescued inhabitants.

For the improvement of his success, the proconsul collected a multitude of ships in the Asiatic ports; and, while some of his officers sailed with a part of his fleet to reduce the maritime towns of Bithynia, he defeated one of the king's armaments near Lemnos. In retiring to his realm, Mithridates lost many of his ships by the fury of a storm: but he escaped personal danger, and arrived at Amisus.

Lucullus now invaded the Pontic kingdom; but he carried on the war with languor, that he might not so far alarm the king, as to induce him to supplicate the assistance of Tigranes, the potent Armenian. He wished to inspire him with the hope of expelling the Romans; and, if he could thus draw him into the field, he had no doubt of an opportunity of terminating the war. Encouraged by the tardy movements of the invaders, Mithridates marched against them with 44,000 men; and, when the two armies approached each other, he made two attempts for the interception of the Roman convoys: but he failed on both occasions; and, in another conflict, he lost a great number of his best warriors.

Observing the discontent and dejection of his troops, he resolved to quit the camp, with his principal friends. This resolution no sooner came to the knowledge of the soldiers, than a mutiny arose. They exclaimed against their sovereign as a betrayer of his subjects; and it was not without the utmost difficulty that he escaped from their hands, and from the grasp of hostile detachments. He fled into Armenia, while the Romans pillaged his towns, and seised his kingdom²⁴.

The king's escape detracted from the importance of this success. He was saved by the avarice of his pursuers; for he might have been taken by some of them, if they had not found a mule in their way, laden with gold. A warm contest arising for the chief share of the treasure, the endangered prince had time to secure himself.

LETTER XXIX.

History of ROME, continued to the Close of the Asiatic War.

THAT determined spirit of ambition, that fierce animosity against the Romans, which had actuated Hannibal, seemed to be transferred to Mithridates. He could not be unacquainted with that increase of power which rendered the republic much more formidable than it was when the Carthaginians were in arms against it; but he continued to breathe defiance, and was still inflamed with all the rage of hostility.

Lucullus, who, in this war, had shown himself an able
 Ante Chr. general, displayed his political talents in a redress
^{70.} of grievances and a correction of abuses. The

²⁴ Plut. Vit. Luculli.—App. de Bellis Mithrid.

provincials of the Roman territories in Asia groaned under the miseries of usurious extortion, chiefly occasioned by the heavy fines which Sylla had demanded from them. He allowed to the creditor a fourth part of the debtor's income; and ordained that those debts in which centage should be taken not only upon the principal sum, but also upon the growing interest, should be superseded and deemed extinct. By these and other regulations, he relieved the debtors, without injuring honorable creditors. He also attended to administrative and judicial concerns, and did not neglect the details of municipal government.

While Lucullus was thus usefully employed, the two citizens who attracted the greatest attention at Rome, were Pompey and Crassus. The former obtained the consulate seven years before the age required by law for that office; and his influence promoted the appointment of Crassus to the same dignity: yet jealousy precluded a cordial union between them. Their consulate was marked by an abrogation of the chief laws of Sylla¹;—a change which Crassus apparently did not resist, though it originated with Pompey, whose object was to secure the attachment of the people. It was ordained, that the plebeian tribunes should be fully restored to that authority which they had enjoyed before the time of Sylla, and that the judges should not be exclusively chosen out of the senate².

The next consuls were the orator Hortensius and Cæcilius Metellus; under whose administration, the Cretan and Armenian wars engaged the attention of the senate and people. It was alleged, as a reason for the invasion of Crete, that permission had been given to the youth of the island to serve in the army of Mithri-

¹ Plutarch says, that no remarkable act distinguished the administration of these discordant consuls. But I may ask, Were not the political and judicial changes (enacted in that year) *remarkable*? Both parties must have deemed these ordinances important.

² Liv. Epit. lib. xcvi.

dates ; and it was also affirmed that the pirates, who were attacked by the prætor Antonius, had found protection in the Cretan ports : but, when that commander directed his course toward Crete, he was actuated by a spirit of conquest and of rapine, not by a sense of justice. Being defeated by the islanders in a naval engagement, he made peace with them as eagerly as he had rushed into war, and did not live to violate the treaty. The Cretans sent deputies to court the forbearance of the Romans, who haughtily demanded a large sum as the price of their favor, and, in other respects, imposed rigorous terms. As these demands were rejected, Hortensius, who promoted the war, boasted that he would conduct it with spirit : but his military ardor soon subsided, and he proposed that the command should be transferred to Metellus, who, though he accepted it without hesitation, did not exercise it before his consulate expired.

Lucullus was less slow in commencing a war with Tigranes. Some years before, this monarch had extended his sway over the Syrian kingdom, which was convulsed by competition and intestine discord. He did not obtain this additional power by violence or injustice, but by the best of all rights,—the general wish and consequent invitation of the people³. He also gained possession of Mesopotamia, and strengthened himself by other acquisitions. He had rendered himself formidable even to the Parthians, and entertained so high an idea of his power, as to defy the attempts of the Romans, to whose vengeance he exposed himself by protecting the fugitive king.

The army which Lucullus led into Armenia did not amount to the number of 15,000 men, if we may believe his Greek biographer⁴; but, as he thought he might depend upon their exertions, he did not despair of the success of his expedition. Tigranes was equally confident of victory,

³ Just. lib. xl. cap. 1.

⁴ Appian says, that he had only two legions and 500 horse.

when he reflected on the extraordinary amount of his military force, which, it is said, comprehended 170,000 foot-soldiers and 55,000 horse⁵. Mithridates advised him to avoid a general engagement, and to harass the enemy by intercepting all supplies of provision: but he ridiculed this prudent counsel, and advanced against the Romans, who were employed in the siege of Tigranocerta, his new capital. Lucullus, who had increased his army to 17,500 (or probably to a much greater amount), left 6000 to continue the siege, and encountered the Asiatic host without dismay. His attention was first directed to the heavy-armed cavalry, posted on an ascent. These were assaulted in front by a body of horse, while the general marched up the hill with a part of his infantry to attack them in the flank or in the rear. They could not be said to *sustain* the assault; so quickly did they commence a retreat. The panic and confusion into which they were thrown, soon spread among the rest of the army: the slaves of despotism were slaughtered, until their merciless adversaries were fatigued with the infliction of mortal wounds; and the field exhibited a scene of massacre, rather than the evolutions of a battle. The spoils were ample and valuable; and the subsequent pillage of Tigranocerta made great additions to the property of the conquerors. A great number of the inhabitants of that city were of Grecian descent. These, resenting the insolence of the governor (by whom they had been disarmed), and dreading worse treatment, seized all the clubs which they could find; and furiously attacking the king's troops, carried off the weapons of those who fell. Lucullus took this opportunity of assaulting the town, and easily found the desired admission⁶.

Both parties now applied to the Parthians. Tigranes requested speedy assistance; and the Roman general de-

5 Plut. Vit. Luculli.—Appian exaggerates the whole number to 300,000.

6 App. de Bellis Mithrid. cap. 33.—Plut. Vit. Luculli.

sired, that, if the Parthian king should be disposed to relinquish his neutrality, he would support the republic in a just war. To neither of the applications for aid did this prince seriously attend: but, if he had taken arms, he probably would not have treated, as his friends, the ambitious and encroaching Romans.

The task of military enlistment being assigned to Mithridates, he levied 105,000 men, and took the field, but rather with intentions of desultory hostility and of cautious movement, than with a view of bringing the Romans to a general action. He even kept the main body inactive, while Tigranes, with a detachment of cavalry, attacked the foragers without success.

Lucullus, that he might provoke the two kings to a battle, threatened to invest Artaxata, the ancient Armenian capital. This menace had a speedy effect; for the hostile army posted itself between the city and the invading legions, and a general engagement ensued. The Mardian archers who fought on horseback, and the Iberian lancers, attacked the Roman cavalry, with an appearance of courage, which they no longer exhibited when the infantry approached them. They precipitately fled; and the rest of the Asiatic army soon followed the inglorious example. Great slaughter attended the pursuit, which was eagerly continued during the whole night; but the victors were not so inhuman as to put to the sword all whom they overtook; for the prisoners were numerous, and many were of high distinction⁷.

Resuming his intention of besieging Artaxata, the general promised himself speedy success: but the approach of the cold season, and a recollection of the hardships sustained in former winters, when the troops lay in tents, not being permitted to enjoy the accommodation of towns, propagated such a disgust to the service, that clamor and mutiny arose. Lucullus, having in vain endeavoured to

lead the soldiers to the northward, marched into a milder region, and, by the capture of Nisibis in Mesopotamia, found an agreeable residence for the winter.

In the next campaign, when Mithridates had retired with 8000 men toward the Pontic king-^{Ante Chr. 67.} dom, the Romans pursued him, until a want of provision, which was the cause of the king's retrograde march, induced their general also to retreat. Fabius, being left with a small force to watch the enemy, was quickly routed; but he rallied the fugitives, enfranchised all the slaves who followed the camp, and risked another conflict with Mithridates, who was carried off wounded to his tent. Triarius, approaching with a reinforcement, superseded Fabius, and engaged the king near Zela, when his wounds had been cured. After a long and doubtful contest, victory hovered over the royal standard. The Roman infantry, being pushed into a swamp, were menaced with destruction; and the cavalry were chased from the field. At this instant, a centurion wounded Mithridates in the thigh. His danger so discouraged his chief officers, that they made a signal for a retreat: but his medical attendant, Timotheus, held him up in the air, to allay the rising panic; and, on the same day, he took possession of the camp of Triarius. Among the dead were many more officers than the Romans had usually lost in their most sanguinary battles⁸.

When Lucullus arrived at the scene of this defeat, he would have taken vengeance for the loss and disgrace, if his troops had not again mutinied. Dissatisfied with their share of the spoils, and resenting the arrogance and severity of their commander, many declared that they would no longer obey him; and indeed, they said, he had no lawful authority over them, as the Asiatic provinces had already been transferred to another governor. His

⁸ App. de Bellis Mithrid. cap. 34.—Dionis Cassii Hist. lib. xxxv.

conduct had excited disapprobation at Rome, as it was supposed that he might have terminated the war with both kings, if he had acted with alacrity and vigor. He was accused of having studiously protracted hostilities, that he might longer enjoy the honors and advantages of provincial government; and there was some foundation for the charge. The consul Acilius Glabrio was authorised to supersede him; but, as this magistrate was not very eager to assume the command in Asia, the two kings prosecuted their success without molestation⁹.

The Cretan war was yet in progress. The proconsul Metellus had defeated Lasthenes, the leader of that party which disdained submission to the power of Rome, and had taken Cydonia and other considerable towns. He also attacked the pirates, who occupied many fortresses on the coast; and he seemed to be on the point of bringing the war to a close, when the Cretans and their associates, detesting him for the cruelty with which he treated his captives, invited Pompey to take possession of the island¹⁰.

Pompey was then employed in an expedition against the pirates. The commission which he received on that occasion was an indisputable proof of his great popularity. An extent of power, far too great for the member of a republic, or for the subject of any government, was assigned to him, on pretence of the necessity of acting with extraordinary vigor against banditti who rendered the seas and coasts insecure, and intercepted the provisions destined for the Roman metropolis. Gabinius, one of the plebeian tribunes, observing the progress of Pompey to high renown, wished to secure the interest of that illustrious citizen, and therefore proposed, that the command of the Mediterranean, and of the territories situated within fifty miles from that sea, with the power of raising men

⁹ Plut. Vit. Luculli.—Di. Cass.

¹⁰ Flor. lib. iii. cap. 7.—Plut. Vit. Pompeii.

and money, should be given to some man of courage and ability, who had discharged the consular functions. The people adopted the suggestion, and instantly named Pompey for the important trust : but the generality of the senators opposed it as a dangerous measure, and persuaded two of the tribunes to obstruct the enactment by a legal prohibition: but these magistrates were over-awed by popular tumult, and the proposal was declared to be a law for three years¹¹.

The consul Calpurnius Piso, who, in the general assembly, had warmly remonstrated against this extraordinary grant, carried his opposition to an extent which endangered his dignity¹²; for he gave such offence to the partisans of Pompey by impeding the preparations, that Gabinius threatened him with deposition, and would have urged the people thus to stigmatise him, if their favorite commander had not interfered in his behalf¹³.

The mere rumor of the preparations for this war drove the pirates from the Adriatic and Tuscan seas; but as such retreat was not a sufficient security, Pompey divided the sea within his jurisdiction into thirteen parts, and appropriated a considerable squadron to each division; and, in less than six weeks, the exertions of his lieutenants, ably superintended by his care and vigilance, restored the freedom of navigation, by capture or expulsion, from the promontory of Calpe¹⁴ to the shores of Greece. After this rapid success, he sailed to Cilicia, took some squadrons in his way, and met the chief remaining fleet near Coracesium. He quickly defeated the pirates in this seat of their power, both by sea and land, and reduced the whole body to submission. One fortress surrendered

11 App. de Bellis Mithrid. cap. 37.—Di. Cass. lib. xxxvi.—Plut.

12 And even his life, according to Dio, who says, that the people were on the point of putting him to death, but that the intercession of Gabinius saved him.

13 Plut. Vit. Pompeii.

14 Now Gibraltar.

after another : the ships were given up ; and the vanquished implored the mercy of the Romans. He dispersed them in the inland parts of Cilicia, where they became quiet and industrious husbandmen and mechanics : many were transported into Greece, and some into other provinces¹⁵.

While Pompey thus maintained the honor and contributed to the security of his country, Rome was not free from commotion. The two consuls brought forward the outlines of a law for the prevention of bribery and intrigue on the part of the candidates for offices, not spontaneously, but at the desire of the senate, with a view of superseding a proposal of the tribune Cornelius, who had recommended a more rigorous punishment than the aristocratic party wished to enforce. Before the suffrages were taken on the subject, some solicitors of offices practised all the arts of corruption ; and, amidst the clamor and confusion of contest, even sanguinary violence was not spared. The consular proposition, however, was enacted ; and it not only imposed a considerable fine upon such offenders, but excluded them from the senate and from every species of magistracy. Another legislative proposal was also strongly resisted : yet it was sanctioned. It was offered by Cornelius, and was calculated to diminish the authority of the senate by prohibiting that assembly from dispensing with the laws without the consent of the people. By another new law, the capricious and arbitrary decisions of prætors were restrained¹⁶.

The unsatisfied ambition of Pompey prompted him to accept with eagerness the invitation of the Cretans. Their island, he said, was within the jurisdiction assigned to

15 Liv. Epit. lib. xcix.—Plut.—Di. Cass.—Paterc.—App.—The last-mentioned author says, that 72 vessels were captured in the expedition, 306 were surrendered ; 120 towns and fortresses were stormed or given up ; and about 10,000 of the pirates were killed.

16 Freinsh. Supplementa Liviana.

him ; and he sent Octavius to announce his will to both parties. Metellus was ordered to desist from the war, and the islanders were desired to submit to Rome. This assumption of authority was unjustifiable ; and, as it was not intended, by the late grant, that the Cretan war should be conducted by Pompey, his behaviour exhibited an instance of envious illiberality, unworthy of his great character. Metellus deserved punishment for the atrocities which he perpetrated in the course of an unjust war : but his conduct, in that respect, was not the cause of Pompey's interference.

Disregarding the haughty mandate, Metellus continued to harass the Cretans, and even stormed a town in which Octavius had stationed himself as a protector of the inhabitants. He did not dare to offer the least violence to that commander, but put to the sword all the pirates whom he found in the place. Octavius so resented this insult, that he assumed the command of some troops lately brought into Crete from Greece, and assisted those Cretans who were yet in arms ; but he could not prevent Metellus from subduing the island¹⁷. The Roman laws were substituted for the remains of the system of Mi-
nos, or rather for the code which had long su-
perseded the institutions of that renowned legislator.

The war with the two kings now drew the attention of Pompey ; and it was proposed by Manilius, an eloquent tribune of his party, that the government of all the Roman territories in Asia Minor, and the direction of the existing war, should be committed to the fortunate general, his late commission being still unrepealed. This proposal was counter-acted by the leaders of the aristocracy ; but it received the eager and general assent of the people, who, by this appointment, rendered Pompey the most powerful citizen in the whole republic. He pretended

17 Di. Cass, lib. xxxvi.—Plut. Vit. Pompeii.

that he did not wish for the burthen of command or of public employment; but this was mere affectation. He panted for additional power, and an extension of fame.

Being already in Asia, he soon took under his command the troops that had contended with the two kings, not without exciting the disgust and indignation of Lucullus, who accused him of the baseness of envy, and of a mean desire of earning, at a small risque, the honors of final triumph; for which the supplanted general had paved the way. The political acts and ordinances of Lucullus were annulled by his successor: his distributions of conquered lands were revoked; and, as he obstinately continued to exercise some degree of authority, it was ordered that none should pay him the least obedience or submission, except 1600 soldiers, who were allowed to attend him to Rome, that they might grace his triumphal procession¹⁸.

After great opposition and long delay, produced by the intrigues of Pompey's friends, Lucullus obtained the celebrity of a triumph; and the remaining years of his life, with little exception, were passed in tranquil privacy. He was one of the best military commanders of his time; and in political ability he was far from being deficient. He also enjoyed the praise of learning and eloquence. He was fond of money; but he frequently made a liberal use of it. In the decline of life, he impaired the dignity of the statesman and the scholar, by sinking into the sensualist and the voluptuary.

Pompey commenced his operations against Mithridates with a vigor which promised success. Finding the king encamped with 33,000 men in a mountainous situation, in Armenia Minor, he placed an ambuscade in a woody spot, and, marching toward the camp with a select *corps*, enticed from it a considerable number of the enemy. Many were slain on this occasion; and Mithridates then retired

18 Plot. Vit. Luculli.

to another post, which he deemed more convenient for a supply of water and provisions of every kind. Here he was invested with a circumvallation for above six weeks, before he ventured to quit the post. In his retreat, he was attacked at night by Pompey, who had stationed his troops upon an eminence, whence many missiles were thrown with great effect. The assailants then ran down the hill, and prevailed in a close conflict. After a severe loss, the king with difficulty escaped; and, being excluded from the dominions of the Armenian prince, who was offended either at his having drawn him into a dangerous war, or at his supposed encouragement of the revolt of the younger Tigranes, he hastened into the Colchian province, where he passed the winter in tranquillity ¹⁹.

Phraates, who had recently obtained the Parthian royalty, was not so unwilling as his predecessor to ally himself with the Romans, whose views he promoted by an invasion of Armenia. He and his son-in-law, young Tigranes, over-ran the country as far as Artaxata; but, finding that city too strong to be easily taken, the king returned into his own dominions. The Armenian monarch now emerged from the mountainous recesses to which he had fled; and, rushing upon the few troops that remained with his son, he easily put them to flight. The rebel prince then offered his services to the Roman general, who, taking him as a guide, advanced with his legions to the Araxes.

The fame of Pompey, and the convulsions of Armenia, concurred to produce the submission of Tigranes. He admitted the enemy into Artaxata, and resolved to negotiate personally with the general. With an air of humility, he entered the camp, and threw himself at the feet of Pompey, who was so pleased at the success of his campaign, that he treated the dejected prince with kindness,

and assured him of his protection and friendship. Armenia was not taken from him, although it might have been easily reduced into a Roman province; and, while his treasures were at the command of the conqueror, he was only required to pay 6000 talents. As he had expected that the terms of peace would be much less favorable, he, in the fullness of his joy, made a pecuniary present to every Roman soldier ²⁰.

Mithridates, scorning that submission to which Tigranes had recourse, was threatened with the renewed hostilities of the victorious general, who, in his northern progress, reached the Albanian kingdom, with which the Romans were entirely unacquainted. Here he intended to remain during the winter: but the king, being a friend to young Tigranes (who, for obstructing the late settlement, was detained as a prisoner), and apprehending danger from the violence of the warlike strangers, suddenly attacked them with a numerous army. Pompey had disposed his force in three stations, upon which simultaneous assaults were made by the Albanians. Each division repelled the enemy; and, by this display of courage, the Romans secured themselves for the rest of the winter. The royal aggressor sued for peace, and easily obtained it, as Pompey was satisfied with the chastisement which he had inflicted upon him.

To the west of Albania were situated the Iberians, who were equally jealous of Roman intrusion. Their king endeavoured to amuse Pompey by a polite message, while Ante Chr. he meditated speedy hostilities. Suspecting his ^{65.} intentions, the general invaded his dominions, and triumphed over him in battle. He then granted peace to the solicitations of the discouraged barbarian. While he was employed in procuring the submission of the Colchians, he received notice of the resumption of

arms by the Albanians. Hastening to quell what he deemed a revolt, he penetrated to the river Abas, and, on the opposite bank, found the king ready to receive him. He suffered the enemy to throw his cavalry into apparent disorder; and, when the pursuers had inconsiderately advanced, without being aware that the Roman infantry were so near their friends as to be able to support them, they were attacked and routed with severe slaughter. Many of the Albanians fled into a wood, where they miserably perished amidst the flames that were kindled around them. The king was now so humbled, that he renewed his submissions, to avoid total ruin ²¹.

The ambition of Pompey, as it usually happens, was inflamed by success. He wished to carry the Roman arms to the shores of the Caspian; but, when a march of three days more would have placed him on the margin of that spacious lake, he discontinued his advance in that direction, from a dread of meeting with serpents of the most venomous description, and directed his course to Armenia Minor, where he exercised all the authority of a king, issuing arbitrary ordinances both civil and military, disposing of provincial governments, and receiving deputations and presents from the Asiatic princes.

Turning his views to Syria, he left a fleet in the Euxine, to obstruct the maritime conveyance of supplies to Mithridates, who, emerging in the spring from his Colchian retreat, proceeded to the Bosphoric realm, then governed by his son Machares. Against this prince his father denounced vengeance, because he leaned to the Roman interest. Being acquainted with the king's sanguinary propensities, he fled to the Tauric Chersonese; and, unwilling to suffer the emissaries of an unnatural father to take away his life, he extinguished the vital spark by his own violence ²².

21 Di, Cass. lib. xxxvii. cap. 2.—Plut. 22 App. de Bellis Mithrid. cap. 40.

When Tigranes was exposed to danger from the progress of Lucullus, the authority which that prince had acquired in Syria was in some measure transferred to Antiochus, a descendant of Seleucus. He was a prince of little capacity or vigor: but he had a tincture of ambition, and earnestly wished to retain the sovereignty. Pompey, however, deprived him of his territories, and Ante Chr. 64. rejected all his applications for power. The province of Comagene was quickly reduced by the general himself; and, as he was effectually assisted by his officers in other parts of Syria, the whole country was subjected to the Roman sway²³. A kingdom formerly great and flourishing, scarcely made the least resistance to the attempts of these republican intruders.

The commotions of Palestine drew the attention of the Romans, while their general domineered in Syria. A contest for the pontificate and diadem of Judæa, between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, sons of Alexander Jannæus, had been decided by mutual agreement in favor of the younger brother: but Antipater, an opulent native of Edom, wishing to promote the elder, because he was more facile and acquiescent, applied to Aretas, prince of Arabia Petræa, who readily undertook the support of Hyrcanus. Aristobulus, being defeated by the insurgents and the Arabians, fled into the temple of Jerusalem, which was immediately besieged. When the Romans had taken Damascus, Scaurus, Pompey's quæstor, hastened into Judæa to interfere in this contest. He was met in his progress by deputies from both brothers, each of whom (or, as some say, only one) offered 400 talents for the benefit of an alliance. Considering Aristobulus as more capable of executing the terms of the treaty than his brother, and not being disposed to embarrass himself with the siege of Jerusalem, he agreed with the reigning prince, and over-

awed the besiegers into a retreat. The king pursued them, and brought them to action: above 6000 of their number were left dead on the field; the Arabians returned to their own country, and their associates dispersed themselves ²⁴.

When Pompey arrived at Damascus, he assumed the character of a judge, and summoned the brothers Ante Chr. 63. to his tribunal. Having heard the allegations of both competitors, he was inclined to pronounce in favor of Hyrcanus; but he postponed his decision, from an eager desire of carrying his arms into Arabia; an enterprise which, he thought, would be opposed by Aristobulus. This prince, apprehending that Pompey's determination would be unfavorable to him, provided for his defence at Alexandrion, a mountainous fortress. Intimidated by the power of the invaders, he complied with a requisition for the surrender of all his castles: but, soon resuming his courage, he repaired to the holy city, breathing opposition and war ²⁵.

Resigning for the present the views of Arabian conquest, Pompey resolved to march to Jerusalem. In his advance, he was met by Aristobulus, whose warlike ardor had subsided, and who endeavoured to purchase, by farther corruption, the favor and interest of the general: but, when Gabinius was sent to the city for the promised donative, he could not even procure admission. This disappointment served only to accelerate the march of the Romans, who, detaining the pontifical prince, presented themselves in hostile array before the walls. They instantly perceived the appearance of strength and defensibility; but their commander was not deterred, from

²⁴ Joseph. de Antiq. Jud. lib. xiv. cap. 4.—This historian afterward contradicts himself; for he says, in his account of the Jewish wars, that, while Aristobulus offered 300 talents to Scaurus, Hyrcanus abstained from bribery, confiding in the justice of his pretensions.

²⁵ Joseph. de Antiq. Jud. lib. xiv. cap. 5, 6.

the prosecution of his purpose, by any obstacles which he thought would yield to perseverance. The party of Hyrcanus declined the defence of the town, and invited Pompey to take possession of it; while his brother's adherents posted themselves in that division which comprehended the temple, and declared that they would maintain it to the last moment of practicable resistance. Towers were raised by the besiegers to a great height, as soon as the intervening ditch and valley were filled up. For six days in each week the Jews obstructed these preparations, by galling the workmen with missiles: but, on the sabbath, they quietly suffered the Romans to make all possible progress in their works. In the third month of the siege, the great tower of the temple was so effectually battered by the strength of Tyrian engines, that it fell, and a wide breach was made in the nearest part of the wall. The besiegers, rushing in, not only slew those who continued to resist, but massacred all whom they met, as if the people had committed a crime in subjecting the haughty invaders to the trouble of a siege. Shocked at this wanton barbarity, many destroyed themselves, and some received the fatal stroke in voluntary conflicts with their friends. About 12,000 Jews lost their lives, when their sanctuary was thus stormed²⁶; and among them were several priests, who, while they were officiating at the altar, were profanely and brutally murdered. Not content with this massacre, Pompey ordered the chief partisans of Aristobulus to be decapitated: yet the clemency of this general is highly panegyrised.

The captor of the temple, conceiving that he had an indisputable right to examine every part of the edifice, penetrated with his principal officers into the *holy of holies*, which none but the supreme pontiff could lawfully enter. This irreverent curiosity gave great offence; but

26 Joseph. de Bellis Judæorum, lib. i. cap. 5.

some atonement was made for the supposed profanation, by an order which Pompey issued for the purification of the temple, and the regular renewal of the Jewish worship. He, at the same time, gave the pontificate to Hyrcanus, and permitted him also to exercise the chief political sway, without the honor of the diadem or the regal title; commanding him, however, to pay tribute, restricting his authority to the proper limits of Judæa, and transferring to the Roman government the towns and districts which the Jews had acquired in Syria and Phœnicia.

The war with Mithridates had already been brought to a close. That prince had offered to become tributary to the Romans, on condition of being allowed to retain the dominions of his ancestors: but, as he refused to present himself in Pompey's camp, no treaty ensued. The king therefore renewed his military preparations; and, having levied a great army in the territories to the northward of the Euxine, he entertained strong hopes, not only of defending himself, but even of making a powerful impression upon the European dependencies of Rome. While a part of his force occupied Phanagorea, the inhabitants, having been rigorously treated in point of conscription and taxation, revolted; and, in other towns, the people followed the example of insurrection. He sent to the neighbouring nations for supplies of men, and, to extend his connexions, made a matrimonial offer of some of his daughters to barbarian princes: but the guard detached with them murdered the attendant eunuchs, and entered the Roman camp. Dreading the hazardous expedition which the king meditated, the troops were disposed to mutiny; and his favorite son Pharnaces was ready to shake off the yoke both of royal power and paternal authority. Through the whole camp the contagion of disaffection soon spread. Pharnaces was proclaimed king. Mithridates sent repeated messages to his son, imploring personal safety; and, as no answer reached him, he was

agonised with despair. He drank poison, which, from his frequent use of antidotes, did not take effect: he also stabbed himself, without inflicting a mortal wound: a Gallic friend, who had a stronger arm, then released him from the burthen of life²⁷. He had reigned fifty-seven years, and his age was about seventy. He was brave, politic, and learned; but his atrocious cruelties consign his memory to execration. He either poisoned his mother or hastened her death²⁸; he killed several of his sons; and, when he fled from the arms of Lucullus, he sent mandates of death to his wives, concubines, and sisters. He has been compared with Hannibal: but he was not equal to that commander in military genius or in general capacity: yet he had the honor of opposing the Romans for many years, when they were much more powerful than in the second Punic war.

Pompey was gladdened with this intelligence when he was marching to besiege Jerusalem. When he had finished the siege, and settled the affairs of Palestine and Syria, he hastened into the Pontic kingdom, and made such arrangements as policy dictated to his mind. He rewarded the people of Phanagorea, for their opposition to Mithridates, by declaring their city free: the rest of the Bosporic realm he granted to Pharnaces. He left vassal kings in Paphlagonia, Colchis, and other territories; provinciated some of the conquered realms; built cities, formed colonies, enacted laws; and announced his will from the Red Sea to the Propontis²⁹.

A warrior who had so widely extended the Roman name and influence, deserved the highest honors that a martial republic could bestow. In compliment to his success, a

²⁷ App. de Bellis Mithrid. cap. 43—45.—Dí. Cass. lib. xxxvii.—Epit. Livii, lib. cii.

²⁸ Βία καὶ χροῶν, by violent or severe treatment and by long confinement.—*Memnonis Hist. apud Photium*.

²⁹ App. cap. 46.

thanks-giving of unprecedented duration was ordered by the senate ; and his triumph was uncommonly splendid. It was apprehended by many, that the height of his reputation, and the attachment of the soldiery, would prompt him to seize the whole power of the state ; and, if he had made the attempt, he would probably have accomplished his purpose. But, though he was fond of pre-eminence and superiority, he, at this time, disdained the thought of elevating himself into despotism. As soon as he had landed in Italy with his troops, he gave orders for their dispersion ; and he who had seen kings at his feet, appeared as a private man, merely attended by a small company of friends. When he approached Rome, the people eagerly flocked to him ; and he entered the city with a throng that out-numbered his disbanded army³⁰.

LETTER XXX.

Continuation of the ROMAN History, to the Defeat of the Catilinarian Conspiracy.

AMIDST the incessant contests of party in a degenerate republic, some machinations, which did not assume the form of a matured conspiracy, followed the election of Cotta and Torquatus to the consulate. Autronius and the nephew of Sylla had been chosen ; but, being convicted of corruption, they were not suffered to retain the appointment. Incensed at this disgrace, Autronius vowed revenge, and was encouraged by Catiline, a young patrician of the most depraved and flagitious habits, who had been a friend of the sanguinary dictator, to form schemes of sedition and murder. The vigilance of the new con-

Ante Chr. suls baffled these intrigues, and prevented the
65. dreadful explosion¹.

Catiline still meditated mischief, from motives of ambition and rapacity, and also from the impulse of resentment; for he had been subjected to a trial for extortion, and was disappointed when he offered himself a candidate for the consular dignity. While he waited for an opportunity of gratifying his vile passions and malignant propensities, the consulate was conferred, at a time when he again solicited the honor, upon a citizen who was less splendidly born, and who ennobled himself, instead of deriving lustre from his progenitors. This was Cicero, who had not only obtained high fame by his eloquence, but had passed with great applause through honorable offices. His colleague was Caius Antonius, who procured his election by bribery and intrigue.

The new consuls had scarcely entered upon their functions, when an important scheme, calculated for the erection of a dangerous oligarchy, was offered by the tribune Rullus to public deliberation. It involved the appointment of ten commissioners, to whom the management of the national revenue, the ascertainment of the right of landed property, the distribution of lands, and even the enlistment of troops, were to be intrusted. Antonius was ready to promote this measure, from an expectation of being one of the decemvirs: but Cicero dissuaded him from it, and drew him from his connexion with Catiline, by the promise of a lucrative government. When the new scheme was brought forward, it was so ably opposed by the eloquent consul, that the assembled people were induced to reject it. The tribune and his associates were so confounded at this unexpected stroke, that they relinquished some other schemes which they had intended to urge².

1 Sallustij Bel. Catilin.—Sueton. Vit. Jul. Cæs.

2 Plut. Vit. Ciceronis.

Cicero's powers of oratory were not in every instance so properly exercised. When it was proposed, that the sons of the citizens proscribed by Sylla should be eligible to offices, from which the arbitrary dictator had excluded them, the consul resisted the grant of such an indulgence, alleging that it might create confusion, and unhinge the present system. Justice required the removal of the restriction; and there was no more reason to expect commotion from a repeal of the law, than from a continued enforcement of it. But the plausibility of the consul's arguments, and the influence of his character, contributed to the frustration of the proposal.

The democratic party having subjected the senator Rabirius to a trial for the murder of the tribune Saturninus, Cicero eagerly defended him, because he apprehended that the object of the faction was to procure a judicial condemnation of the ancient practice of giving to the consuls the power of quelling commotions by summary vengeance, without regard to the existing laws. When new disturbances were dreaded, he deemed such power necessary for the restoration of public tranquillity. The offender would have been condemned, if the artifice of an augur, by removing a military ensign, usually displayed in a trial before the people, had not stopped the proceedings by appealing to idle superstition³.

A great part of Cicero's consular year had expired, before the conspiracy of Catiline was fully detected. That profligate traitor had imparted to Autronius, the prætor Lentulus⁴, Cethegus, Fulvius, Curius, and other malcontents, a scheme for the subversion of the government, and an oligarchic usurpation of the sovereignty. They were eager to support him in any project, however iniquitous, which promised to recruit their broken fortunes, and gra-

³ Di. Cass. lib. xxxvii. cap. 5.

⁴ Who was consul with Aufidius at the suppression of the revolt of Spartacus.

tify their thirst of power. By acting with proper spirit, he said, they might shake off the yoke of those senatorial leaders, who had ruined the liberties of their country; who rioted in splendor and opulence, while honest and patriotic citizens were degraded and impoverished. When they desired him to state what they might particularly expect for their services, he replied, "You will ensure an
" extinction of your debts, enjoy the confiscated estates
" of the rich, command honors and offices, and, indeed,
" obtain every thing to which your wishes can aspire⁵.

As the penetration and vigilance of Cicero tended to obstruct the views of the conspirators, his assassination was their first object. Many other magistrates and senators were marked out for death; and it was resolved, that some of the subaltern traitors should set fire to various parts of Rome, with a view of facilitating, by confusion, the seizure of the city. In the mean time, the leader of the ruffian band again offered himself as a solicitor of the consulate, although his detestable machinations were so far known as to excite the alarm of all good citizens. When Cicero appeared at the place of election, he studiously exhibited his breast-plate, to intimate his sense of danger; and the people testified their regard by flocking about him for his security. Catiline was again disappointed, because his true character and intentions could not be concealed by all his arts and hypocrisy⁶.

The stigma of renewed rejection inflamed the resentment of the candidate, and accelerated his seditious arrangements. He sent Manlius into Etruria, to seduce the people into his views, and quicken the motions of the military partisans of Sylla, who wished for new disturbances, that they might again be rewarded with lands for their villany; and other agents were dispatched into different provinces, to rouse the inhabitants into a revolt. All

5 Sallustii Bel. Catilin.

6 Plut. Vit. Ciceronis.—Di. Cass.

the mal-contents in the city were desired to prepare themselves for action. Catiline was so indefatigable in his exertions to strengthen and animate his party, that he scarcely allowed himself an interval of rest. How useful might such zeal have been in a good cause!

Haranguing the heads of the faction at a nocturnal meeting, he detailed the state of his preparations, and expressed his wish to commence military operations, as soon as the obnoxious consul should be removed from the world. As he blamed his associates for their delay of attacking this great opponent, two of them promised to go with an armed party to Cicero's house, introduce themselves as his friends, and stab him at the interview.

Among the female friends of the conspirators, were Sempronia and Fulvia. As women are not remarkable for secrecy, it was imprudent to make any of that sex acquainted with the plot. Sempronia was distinguished by learning and accomplishments: but she was licentious, immoral, and faithless, although it does not appear that she betrayed her trust on this occasion. Fulvia had been intimately connected with Curius; but, when she ceased to remain on amicable terms with him, she disclosed the important secret to Cicero, who, by a promise of favor, so far drew her paramour from the confederacy, that he resolved to communicate all the consultations to the friends of the government. The consul, being informed of his danger by this channel, shut up his house against the two emissaries of Catiline, and saved his threatened life⁷.

The senate being convoked at this alarming crisis, Catiline ventured to present himself, as an innocent and calumniated person, before the conscript fathers; none of whom, however, would suffer him to approach them. The assembly had before decreed, that the consuls, without strictly attending to the forms of law, should act with that

⁷ Sallustii Bel. Catilin.

vigor which was necessary for the defence and preservation of the state. Cicero assailed the bold conspirator with all the vehemence of just reproach; but, instead of enforcing the decree by a seizure of this public enemy, he tamely suffered him to menace the senators with his vengeance, and retire from the city. As an excuse for this extraordinary conduct, which seems to have arisen from personal timidity, he pretended, that loud clamors would burst out against the government, if any violence should be exercised against him, before his delinquency was fully proved; that, by separating him from his friends in the city, and giving him an opportunity of joining his army, which would soon yield to the force of the government, all doubts respecting the reality of the conspiracy would be removed, and the punishment of the known leaders and their notorious abettors would be allowed to be just. But such evidence had already been obtained, as proved that an atrocious plot had been concerted; and the provincial movements indicated a revolt. The consul's forbearance, therefore, was unseasonable and hazardous, and did not argue that political wisdom which some have lavishly attributed to him, and which he at other times called into exercise.

Precautions of defence were immediately adopted. Armed parties were stationed in different divisions of the city, to watch the motions of the people, and prevent tumultuous meetings. Marcius Rex was sent into Etruria, to disperse the revolvers, and Metellus, the conqueror of Crete, into Apulia; and other persons of distinction were ordered to hasten into Campania and the Picene territory. To all who should disclose any important particulars of the conspiracy, considerable rewards were promised, with liberty to a slave, and pardon to a free accomplice.

When Catiline retired from the city, he sent circular letters to the chief senators and citizens, complaining of the calumnies with which he was assailed, and stating his

intention of taking up his abode at Massilia, that no disturbance might arise at Rome from the wish of his friends to support his interest. But, instead of devoting himself to peaceful exile, he assumed the *fascēs* and other *insignia* of authority, and proceeded to the camp, to enter upon the command of the insurgent army. He and Manlius were stigmatised by the senate as public enemies; and it was declared to be an act of treason, to remain in arms after a specified time. Fresh troops were levied; and, while Cicero was desired to undertake the personal care of the city, Antonius was ordered to march against Catiline.

The departure of the chief conspirator from Rome transferred the direction of the nefarious plot to Lentulus, who, shaking off his habitual indolence, diligently employed himself in strengthening the party, and maturing the horrible catastrophe. Meeting with some Allobrogic deputies, who had been sent to Rome to complain of grievances and oppressions, he endeavoured to seduce them into the conspiracy, and urged them to rouse their countrymen to arms. They at first seemed inclined to co-operate with the malcontents; but, when they had deliberately reflected upon the overtures, and weighed the doubtful success and hazardous nature of the plot against the probable effects of submission, they communicated all the particulars which they knew to that senator who acted as the advocate of their community. By him the intelligence was imparted to Cicero, who persuaded the deputies to promise acquiescence, and thus delude Lentulus into a confidential disclosure of every part of the scheme. From that conspirator, and some of his chief accomplices, they procured a written document, confirmed by an oath, for the pretended purpose of authenticating the plot to their countrymen; and Vulturcius was ordered to conduct them to Catiline's camp, with an

epistle from Lentulus, that the agreement might be ratified in his presence⁸.

The arrest of the deputies and their companions, by order of Cicero, brought the affair to a crisis. The consul, having secured the papers, summoned Lentulus into his presence; and, as if no discovery had been made, the prætor readily complied with the order. Cethegus, Statilius, and Gabinius⁹, accompanied their friend in consequence of a similar citation. Cicero conducted these offenders to the temple of Concord, where he had convoked the senate; and an inquiry into the plot was immediately instituted. Vulturcius and the deputies were examined: invitations and promises to the Allobroges were produced, under the hands and seals of Lentulus and two of his associates, who acknowledged them to be genuine; and the result was a decree for their imprisonment. Cæparius, who had endeavoured to escape, was stopped in his flight, and reserved for the same punishment with which his accomplices were menaced. Tarquinius, who was seised as he was hastening to the camp of the insurgents, confirmed by his evidence the traitorous and sanguinary intentions of the conspirators, and even accused Crassus of a concern in the plot: but this part of his testimony was rejected by the senate as a gross calumny¹⁰.

Apprehending some attempts to rescue the prisoners, who were dispersed in private custody, Cicero consulted the senate on the subject of their speedy punishment. That assembly had already expressed its conviction of their treasonable guilt; and it was now proposed, by Junius Silanus, that they should be capitally punished for their enormous delinquency. Other members declared their concurrence with this speaker: but an eloquent

8 Sallustii Bel. Catilin.

9 Not the tribune who was attached to Pompey.

10 Sallustii Bel. Catilin.—Plut. Vit. Ciceronis et Crassi.

senator, who will make a distinguished figure in many of the subsequent pages, ventured to deliver a different opinion.

The person to whom I here allude, was Julius Cæsar. Having favored the cause of Marius, he was punished by Sylla with a confiscation of his property, but was suffered to escape with life. In other instances, he manifested an attachment to the same party. He had served, when young, in some military expeditions; had acted with ability as quæstor, both in Italy and in Spain; had rendered himself popular, when ædile, by the splendor of his games and the liberality of his entertainments; had, in assisting the prætors, justly condemned to death some of the agents in Sylla's assassinations; and had recently obtained the dignity of high-priest, in defiance of all the interest of the senatorial leaders.

His speech excited great attention; but it is not necessary that I should translate it at length. He did not deny the atrocity of the crimes which the conspirators had intended to perpetrate: no punishment, he thought, could be adequate to their guilt. But the dignity of the government ought to be more considered than revenge or rigor. The people were disposed to forget the crimes of the wicked, when they witnessed the infliction of severe punishment; and, as that which was proposed in the present case was not authorised by law, it would certainly excite general disgust. If the accused should be put to death, no one (he allowed) could say that the suffering citizens were innocent: but their capital condemnation, without the formality of a trial, might be quoted as an example for other violations of law, in the case of persons who, without the least guilt, might merely be obnoxious to the prevailing party. The thirty tyrants at Athens, and Sylla at Rome, doomed at first only the guilty to death: but did they not afterward, in the exercise of lawless power, murder unoffending citizens and respectable

patriots? The consul, who had so ably detected the conspiracy, could not be suspected of such intentions: but future possessors of power might be less just, equitable, and moderate. If some former laws declared that great crimes were properly punishable with death, several subsequent enactments ordained exile even for the greatest; and both dignity and expediency seemed to require the adoption of the latter course, in preference to sanguinary measures. In the case of Lentulus and his accomplices, a confiscation of property, and close imprisonment, without the liberty of any future appeal to the senate or the people in their behalf, might be more adviseable than the proposal of Silanus¹¹.

This artful harangue, seemingly suggested by a desire of nourishing and prolonging the disorders of the state for self-interested purposes, drew over many of the senators to the opinion of Cæsar; but the contrary sentiments of one of the tribunes prevailed in the debate. Cato, great-grandson of the rigid censor, whom he resembled in his character, recommended the utmost severity, as necessary for the safety of the state. Mercy, he said, was wholly out of the question, with regard to men who thirsted for the blood of their fellow-citizens, and aimed at the subversion of the republic. If the senate did not act decisively against such execrable traitors, it might be the last time that the assembly would have an opportunity of deliberation. Atrocious criminality deserved exemplary punishment: he therefore advised the infliction of death on the prisoners, whose guilt was undisputed, and whose confession confirmed the evidence which had been adduced against them.

Cato's speech was loudly applauded, and sanctioned by

¹¹ Appian says, that Cæsar wished to limit their imprisonment to the end of the war with Catiline; after which they were to be regularly tried: but Sallust omits those points in the proposition with which he concludes the speech attributed to Julius.

the senatorial assembly ; and, on the same day, the five criminals were delivered up by Cicero to the officers of justice, by whom they were strangled¹². Joy pervaded the city, as soon as their fate was known ; and the consul was escorted to his house, amidst general acclamations, by a throng of senators and knights. That memorable day was never forgotten either by his friends or his enemies. While the former applauded his conduct, and hailed him as the preserver of the state, he was exposed to the obloquy of the factious and turbulent, who accused him of tyranny and cruelty, for having put citizens to death, without a regular trial or legal condemnation, as if forms were more to be regarded than the essence of justice.

While Catiline anxiously waited for intelligence from Rome, he was employed in augmenting, arranging, and instructing his army. He had gradually formed two legions ; but he could only provide the usual arms for a fourth part of the number : the rest were merely furnished with spears, or with rustic weapons or implements. When Antonius advanced, the rebel chief studiously avoided a conflict, being sensible of his comparative weakness, and daily expecting fresh accessions of force. But, as soon as the detection of the plot was reported, and the fate of Lentulus was announced, so many of the discouraged insurgents quitted the camp, that the hopes of those who remained were annihilated. Catiline in vain endeavoured to escape into Cis-Alpine Gaul. He was stopped by the rapid movements of Metellus, and reduced to the necessity either of fighting or surrendering¹³. The former alternative he chose without hesitation. He exposed himself to an attack from the legions of Ante Chr. Antonius, rather than from those of Metellus, be- 62. cause he hoped that the consul, remembering the friendship which had subsisted between them, would not be par

¹² Sallustii Bel. Catilin.—App. de Bel. Civil. lib. ii.—Paterc.

¹³ Sallustii Bel. Catilin.

ticularly desirous of victory. Antonius, unwilling to meet him, pretended indisposition¹⁴, and desired Petreius to assume the command. There was no occasion for the exercise of eloquence or persuasion, on the part of this officer, to stimulate the troops to action : yet he took uncommon pains with that view. However desperately ferocious the rebels might be, the smallness of their number¹⁵ rendered them an easy prey.

No commander could more strenuously exert himself, in the battle which ensued, than did Catiline. He ran where-ever danger pressed ; sent instant relief to all who required it ; and, with his own hand, slew many of his opponents. Manlius ably assisted him : but neither of these bold rebels could finally stem the tide which rushed upon their ranks. Petreius, finding that they continued to resist with vigor, led his best troops to crush the central body, which he at length destroyed : he then attacked the wings with equal success. Catiline, while his partisans were thus falling around him, threw himself amidst his victorious foes, and, pierced with many wounds, expired. When his countenance was viewed as he lay, before the last spark of life had fled, it still displayed the ferocity of his disposition¹⁶.

The victory was dearly purchased ; for many of the best soldiers in the republican ranks lost their lives, and severe wounds disabled or harassed a considerable number. But the Romans had little sensibility in cases of this kind ; and, even if their dispositions had been more compassionate, the joy of success would have extinguished or allayed the sensations of sorrow.

Before the insurrection was thus quelled by Petreius, Cicero, on retiring from his high office, was threatened by

14 Di. Cass.—Sallust says, that he was prevented, by real illness, from taking the field.

15 Dio says, that only 3000 men, after the desertion, remained embodied under Catiline.

16 Sallustii Bel. Catilin.

Metellus Nepos with a prosecution, for the supposed illegality of his late conduct : but he was defended by the senate, and, all impeachment of his proceedings being prohibited as inexpedient and unjust, the tribune desisted from the accusation. Still desirous of harassing Cicero, Nepos proposed the recall of Pompey, that he might repress the tyranny of the senatorial chiefs. Cato and Minucius so resolutely counter-acted this motion, that the opposite party excited a dangerous riot ; which, however, was suppressed by the spirit of those two tribunes. For this sedition, Nepos and Cæsar (then prætor) were suspended from their functions ; but their power and jurisdiction were soon restored¹⁷.

LETTER XXXI.

Continuation of the ROMAN History, to the Recall of CICERO from Exile.

IF Cicero did not, in every part of his consular career, evince the most correct judgement or the most undeviating consistency, he certainly displayed that activity of patriotic zeal, and that perseverance in the support of order and tranquillity, which entitled him to the praise of his contemporaries, and the respect of posterity.

Notwithstanding the extinction of the conspiracy and rebellion, Rome was yet in a state of feverish agitation. The animosities of faction were carried ^{Ante Chr.} 62. to an enormous height : corruption and rapacity were shamefully prevalent ; the laws had lost their tone and vigor : and magistrates were created by intrigue and interest, not selected in consequence of ability or merit.

Julius Cæsar observed with pleasure the dissensions of

party, in the hope that his progress to inordinate power might be quickened and facilitated. He had been accused of a concern in the late conspiracy; but, being armed with judicial authority, he did not scruple to send his accusers to prison. It does not appear that he was confidentially connected with Catiline or Lentulus, however he might wish to promote the disorders of Rome; and, if he really conspired with them, Cicero and his friends were not so bold as to attack a spirited magistrate, whose popularity began to rival that of Pompey the Great.

The amorous profanity of a young patrician again called the public attention to Cæsar, but not in a way which affected his political character. Pompeia, the wife of Julius, possessed sufficient attractions to inflame the wanton passions of Clodius, who, when she was employed in mysterious ceremonies, which no men could witness without exciting a detestation of their impiety, entered the house in the dress of a singing-girl, but was soon detected and expelled with disgrace. Cæsar did not believe that his wife was guilty of adultery: yet he immediately divorced himself from her, his sense of honor being so keen, that he could not bear the thought of living with a female whose conduct had merely excited suspicion¹.

Public animadversion seemed to be provoked by the impiety of Clodius. The senate commanded the consuls Ante Chr. (Piso and Messala) to bring forward, in an assembly of the people, an ordinance for the trial of the delinquent by a number of judges upon whom lots should fall. Many of these judges were bribed by Crassus and other opulent citizens; and the natural consequence of this gross corruption was the acquittal of the licentious youth².

Pompey, being requested to interfere in the case of Clodius, took no other part in it than to declare his ap-

1 Plut. Vit. Cæsaris.—Di. Cass. lib. xxxvii. cap. 7.

2 Ciceronis Epist. ad Atticum, lib. i.

probation of the course pursued by the senate. He seemed, in general, to waver between the contending parties, and scarcely knew which he might most prudently join. He wished to procure a confirmation of his acts of power in Asia; and, with that view, eagerly promoted the consular election of his subservient partisan, Afranius. But the person chosen with this candidate was Metellus Celer, who joined Lucullus and other senators in counter-acting the wishes of Pompey. An agrarian law, principally calculated for the benefit of the soldiers whom this general had led to victory, met with as strong opposition as the proposal respecting his ordinances and arrangements. Metellus so offended the tribune Flavius ^{Ante Chr. 60.} by his warmth in the contest, that the bold plebeian ordered him to be sent to prison. The consul bore this insult with dignity; and, when the other tribunes offered to liberate him, he refused to take the benefit of their good wishes. Pompey desired Flavius to release his prisoner; and, finding that he could not subdue the opposition of the aristocratic party, threw himself into the arms of the people³.

While Pompey was declining in the general opinion, in consequence of his vacillating and undetermined political character, Cæsar increased his reputation by his conduct in Lusitania and Gallæcia. He did not, indeed, find great employment for his military talents; but he subdued some communities that had revolted, levied large sums for the public and for himself, and reduced the whole peninsula to a state of tranquil obedience⁴. For these services he demanded a triumph, which the senate promised to grant. The acceptance of that honor, however, and the acquisition of the consulship for the next year, were incompatible; for the election, which required his presence within the circuit of Rome, would have passed while

³ Di. Cass. lib. xxxvii. cap. 10.

⁴ App. de Bellis Hispan. cap. ult.—Plut. Vit. Cæsaris.

he was waiting without the walls, according to the usual practice, that he might enter the city in form as a triumphant general. Preferring power to parade, he offered himself to the notice of the people, as a candidate for the consular office. He proposed, by the wealth of Lucceius, to secure his own election and that of his friend ; but the leaders of the opposite party persuaded and bribed a superior number of the voters to make choice of Bibulus, who, they thought, would vigorously counter-act the dangerous ambition of Cæsar.

When Julius had obtained the consular dignity, he courted Pompey into an association of power. That illustrious general was too potent to be an obedient subject of the republic ; and, although he was jealous both of Cæsar and Crassus, he was willing to unite with those aspiring citizens, in forming an usurpatory combination. It was agreed, that the conjunct efforts of these ambitious men should be exerted with the utmost vigor, to influence or control the senate, and secure the assent of the people⁵. This association formed what is called the *first triumvirate* ; and the bold measure was attended with that success which the arrogant usurpers confidently expected.

Bibulus, having in vain counter-acted an agrarian law, Ante Chr. 59. which the popular consul had proposed, ceased to contend with those whom he could not subdue. The senate reluctantly yielded to the torrent ; and the people, considering Cæsar as more friendly to their interests than to those of the senatorial party, bowed to the yoke which he had imposed upon them.

However unjust was this seizure of power, it did not fall with greater weight upon the nation than the tyranny which before prevailed. The new despots were more

⁵ Di. Cass. lib. xxxvii. cap. ult.—Liv. Epit. lib. ciii.—The celebrated Varro wrote a history (now lost) of this combination, which he denominated the *three-headed conspiracy*.

disposed to be moderate in their sway, than most of the senators whose power they superseded. They ruled in general with lenity, and did not grossly abuse the power which they had usurped; and it was the particular object of Cæsar so to conduct himself, that his popularity might be fully confirmed.

Of the agrarian scheme which was now proposed, the features were fair, and pleasing to the people. The super-abundant fullness of Rome called for the transfer of a part of it's population to various districts which were thinly inhabited; and the employment of the removed families in agriculture promised them a comfortable subsistence. All the public lands were to be distributed among the soldiers and the poor; and additional portions were to be purchased with the money brought from Asia by Pompey, and with the tribute which would be exacted from the conquered nations.

The object of this law being the acquisition of popularity, Lucullus, Cicero, and other senators of high repute, opposed it as unnecessary and unseasonable. The allusions of Cato to the arbitrary views of it's chief advocate, so offended the consul, that he ordered the stern patriot to be imprisoned; but he soon released him, when he found that this act of tyranny had excited murmurs. As the senate disapproved the scheme, he submitted it to the consideration of the people, from whom he did not expect the least opposition. Bibulus so warmly resisted it, that his life was endangered by the violence of the triumviral party. The proposal was sanctioned as a law: and all the senators were obliged to swear that they would carry it into effect. It was supposed that Cato would not take an oath which he considered as an insult; but the persuasions of Cicero softened his high spirit into compliance⁶.

6 Di. Cass. lib. xxxviii. cap. 1.—Plut. Vit. Catonis.—Appian says, that Cæsar, with the assent of the people, made the refusal of the oath a capita

By the address and influence of the prevailing consul, Pompey was now gratified with a confirmation of his Asiatic arrangements⁷; and Cæsar, still farther to attach that powerful citizen, offered his daughter Julia in marriage to his new friend. He also made a matrimonial choice for himself; and on this occasion Lucius Piso became his father-in-law, whom he considered as a proper person to succeed him in the consulate.

After enacting, by the aid of the people and the support of the knights⁸ (without regard to the authority of the senate), such laws and regulations, civil and political, as he deemed expedient, Cæsar attended more particularly to his own gratification. With a view of establishing his military fame, which, he knew, would lead to administrative power, he resolved to act as governor of Gaul; and, supported as he was by domineering influence, that resolution was soon formed into a public decree. He had no right to invade the Gallic territories, or diffuse slaughter among inaggressive communities: but justice had little concern in the Roman wars; and that was a consideration which did not affect the feelings of this warlike statesman.

He was disgusted with Cicero for the zeal with which he supported the interest of the senate; and, when the orator, pleading in the forum, had ventured to allude to the triumphal tyranny, the animosity of the consul was so inflamed, that he resolved to humble the bold declaimer. The ill fame of Clodius did not operate against a temporary union with him, when he offered to bring Cicero to justice for the death of Lentulus and his accomplices. He wished to enter into the plebeian order, that he might qualify himself

offence; an unjust and inhuman ordinance, which is not mentioned either by Plutarch or Dio.

⁷ Plut. Vit. Pompeii.

⁸ Whom he had conciliated by rendering a financial agreement, in which they were concerned, much less unfavorable than it originally was.

for the office of tribune. In a former attempt for that purpose, he had failed; but he now obtained his wish by the favor of Cæsar, who procured for him a specific ordinance of adoption, which was followed by his election to the tribunate⁹.

While he thus menaced Cicero with an attack, the consul had too great a regard for him to wish for his ruin; being merely desirous of checking his freedom of remark, and preventing the manifestation of his discontent. He therefore offered to secure him, by giving him a post of honor and authority in Gaul: but Cicero was not eager to be under any obligations to one whom he hated for his hostility to the senate; and, when Clodius, that he might not lose the opportunity of harassing the orator, who had given evidence against him at his trial, pretended that he had relinquished all thoughts of revenge or retaliation, there did not appear to be any necessity for the acceptance of the offer, as the tribune seemed to speak with friendly frankness. Pompey, at the same time, encouraged Cicero to remain at Rome, by promising to protect him against all danger; but his professions, in this instance, were as insincere as those of Clodius.

The tribune easily obtained the concurrence of the consuls Piso and Gabinius in his scheme of re-
Ante Chr. 58.
 vengeance, by promising to influence the people to the grant of such governments as those magistrates would be glad to accept. To increase his popularity, he proposed a distribution of corn; and, in this primary object, he met with success. To procure an accession of interest and strength, he not only re-established the colleges or companies of the city, which had been suppressed by the senate, but formed new associations among the inferior citizens; and, of the ordinances to which the people assented at his recommendation, one tended to

check the arbitrary expulsion of senators by the censors, and also to restrain their inflictions of disgrace within reasonable and precise limits, while others prevented any interruption from being given to the business of legislation, either by auguries or by any pretence of irregularity in point of time. He at length proposed, that every one who had put a citizen to death without a trial, or who should hereafter be guilty of that injustice, should be excommunicated. This denunciation did not concern Cicero alone: it affected the majority of the senators, who had empowered that magistrate to act with summary rigor for the public security. But he knew that it was principally intended as an attack upon him; and the shock was too severe for that small portion of fortitude which he possessed. He changed his usual dress for that mean garb which indicated grief and humility; suffered his beard to grow, and his hair to flow in disorder; and earnestly solicited the favorable votes of the people. Clodius frequently met him in his perambulations, and encouraged the rabble to insult him; but, when a multitude of knights and other respectable citizens began to attend him, the vulgar partisans of the tribune ceased to molest him. His friends implored the intercession of the consuls; by whom, however, they were treated with contempt. Some proposed, that a change of dress should be adopted throughout the city, to indicate a sympathy with the illustrious object of tribunitian animosity; and the senate agreed to the motion: but the consuls would not suffer the vote to be carried into effect. Summoning the public attendants of Cicero to answer for their behaviour, Clodius brutally instigated the populace to attack them: and some blood was shed, though the riot was transitory. To prevent more dangerous tumults, Cicero was advised by Atticus, Cato, Hortensius, and other friends, to banish himself from Italy; and, as he preferred this counsel to the

suggestions of those who recommended a recourse to arms, he left his family, and retired to Dyrrhachium¹⁰.

A sentence of excommunication and exile, to which the people readily agreed, followed the departure of the obnoxious orator, whose property was confiscated, and whose houses were demolished. Such was the unmerited treatment of a citizen who had faithfully served his country, and, in crushing a most nefarious conspiracy, had punished only those offenders of whose atrocious guilt no reasonable person could doubt¹¹.

Another senator who, by the superiority of his character, had rendered himself obnoxious to the malignant and profligate tribune, was Cato. Cædicius had endeavoured to remove him before a process was instituted against Cicero; but some unavoidable delays obstructed his wish. He now proposed, that an expedition should be undertaken for the dethronement of Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, and the annexion of that valuable island to the dominions of Rome. In the conduct of this prince toward the Romans, there was nothing that could justify the enterprise: but he was known to possess great wealth; and that was deemed a sufficient ground of attack, in the moral creed of a nation which had thriven by war and rapine. Cato was requested by the tribune to take the command on this occasion; but he declined a task which did not comport with his ideas of justice, however it might suit the policy of Rome. "If
" you will not readily go to Cyprus (said the arrogant ma-

10 Plut. Vit. Ciceronis.—App. lib. ii.—Di. Cass. lib. xxxviii.

11 For this conduct, Hooke, with indecorous acrimony, stigmatises him as being, "by inclination and principle, a *murderer* of all enemies to the usurped authority of the senate."—The same author affirms, that Cicero "would have commenced a civil war to preserve his station and his fortune, if he had not felt the want of courage." A more candid and less partial historian would have attributed the forbearance of hostilities, on the part of the senatorial orator, to moderation and humanity. Hooke will not allow that he possessed either courage or patriotism. I do not pretend to assert, that he was distinguished by the former quality; but it is illiberal and unjust to deny, so peremptorily, his claim to the latter.

gistrate); I will desire the people to enforce your departure¹²." In the next assembly, Cato was designated for the employment; and he submitted to the popular will¹³.

In the mean time, the war in Gaul, not more justifiable than that which was meditated against Cyprus, was prosecuted by Cæsar with all the inhuman zeal of a military adventurer. If the Helvetii had not moved from their territories, he would still have diffused the most dreadful calamities over the country: but their movements and supposed intentions furnished a pretence for hostility. They wished to cross the Rhone, and settle in a more extensive and attractive region than that which they had long occupied. Not merely a part resolved to leave the rest; but the undivided population, by universal consent, prepared to emigrate¹⁴. With that view, all the Helvetian towns and villages were demolished, that no inducement to return might exist; and the nation, furnished with as much corn as was expected to supply, for three months, the wants of the whole number, approached the confines of the Allobroges, who were considered as the subjects of Rome. The favor of a passage was requested from Cæsar, who had hastened in the spring from Rome to Geneva. Delaying his final answer, he immediately commenced the erection of a rampart from the Lemane lake to mount Jura; and, as soon as it was completed, he declared himself unwilling to accede to the request. Resenting this refusal, the Helvetii and their German companions (the Boii) assaulted the entrenchments; but, being unable to force a passage, they had recourse to the Sequani, who permitted them to pass between the mountain and the

12 Strabo and Appian impute the eagerness of Clodius for the conquest of Cyprus, to his resentment of the meanness of Ptolemy, who, when the demagogue was taken by pirates, offered only two talents for his ransom, which the captors refused to accept: but it may be presumed that the king's opulence and the flourishing state of the island would have invited an attack without any personal motives.

13 Plut. Vit. Catonis Uticensis.

14 Di. Cass. lib. xxxviii. cap. 2.

Rhone. The proconsul, who had returned to the northern parts of Italy to augment his army, quickly re-appeared on the banks of the Rhone. The majority of the emigrants had passed the Arar (or Saone), and were employed in ravaging the lands of the Ædui. Cæsar overtook the rest of the *barbarians* (as all nations were termed by the Romans, except themselves and the Greeks), before they could pass the river ; and he made great havock among them ; pleasing himself with the reflexion, that he was taking vengeance for the death of Cassius and Piso, over whom the Tigurini, the same branch of the Helvetic nation that he now attacked, had signally triumphed ¹⁵.

Cæsar's success in the field, and his rapid movements after the battle, so intimidated the main body of the Helvetii, that they proposed terms of accommodation, leaving to the Roman general the choice of a country in which they might settle. He insisted on the grant of a compensation for damages sustained by the Ædui, and also desired that satisfaction should be given for the encroachment upon the Allobrogic territory : he even demanded hostages ;—an insult which occasioned an abortion of the treaty.

When the Helvetii had prevailed in a skirmish against a very superior number of cavalry, they were encouraged to risque a general conflict. They contended for victory with great obstinacy ; but, being vanquished by the disciplined valor of the legionaries, they purchased peace by submitting to the terms which Julius imposed. He disarmed them, and compelled them to re-occupy the territories from which they had emigrated, as he apprehended that swarms of warlike Germans would otherwise take possession of Helvetia.

Many of the Gallic chieftains having complained of the tyranny of Ariovistus, a German prince, who had assisted

the Sequani with a great army in a contest with the Ædui, Cæsar peremptorily desired that potentate not to molest the latter state, or invite any of his countrymen into Gaul. A menacing answer was given to the requisition; and both commanders prepared for war. The Romans were not very willing to meet the troops of Ariovistus in the field, as the Germans possessed both strength and courage in a remarkable degree; but their apprehensions subsided after a spirited harangue from the proconsul; and they even forced their adversaries to engage. The battle, which was well contested, terminated to the advantage of the Romans. Ariovistus quitted the field, and found refuge beyond the Rhine, after the destruction of the greater part of his army¹⁶. Many of the women, who, stationed in waggons, anxiously watched the motions of the combatants, were put to death by the victors¹⁷.

Pompey observed the progress of Cæsar with eyes of envy and jealousy; but he affected to be pleased at the extension of the Roman arms and fame. The consuls, in every important act, followed his dictates: but Clodius was so elevated by his triumph over the greatest orator of the republic, that he shook off the yoke of Pompey, and endeavoured to convince the public, that he was equal to that citizen in ability and influence. He insulted him in an assembly of the people, by ridiculing his manners and behaviour; and grossly affronted him in the case of young Tigranes, whom, though Pompey's prisoner, he released in consequence of a great bribe. The prætor to whose care the captive had been committed, endeavoured to recover him; but, after some bloodshed, the tribune prevailed. The aristocratic leaders, disgusted at Pompey's connexion with Cæsar, were pleased at this treatment of one who had deserted them. One of his friends advised

¹⁶ Appian affirms, that 80,000 of the Germans were slain in this conflict. Cæsar merely says, that very few escaped.

¹⁷ Di. Cass. lib. xxxviii. cap. ult.

him to aim at the retrieval of their favor, by repudiating his young wife, and renouncing all friendship with her father : but he rejected this counsel with scorn. By others, he was urged to the recall of Cicero, whose influence over the senate, they said, would then be strenuously exerted in his cause. One of the tribunes had already moved for a repeal of the decree of exile ; and, when the motion had been baffled by the *veto* of a partisan of Clodius, Lentulus Spinther made a similar proposal. Clodius called the attention of this senator to that clause of the decree, which rendered it criminal to recommend a recall of the delinquent ; but Lentulus replied, that the clause was illegal, as it tended to preclude that revision which might justly lead to the abrogation of the law. The question was again agitated, but without effect ; so powerful were the exertions of Clodius.

Lentulus hoped to be more successful when he had obtained the consular authority, and when Clodius ceased to be a tribune. He commenced his administration, in concert with Pompey, by recommending to the senate an immediate vote of recall. Cotta declared, Ante Chr. 57. that, as the proceedings against Cicero were illegal, such a vote would be sufficient, without the necessity of having recourse to the people ; but, as Pompey suggested the expediency of adding, to a decree of the assembly, the popular concurrence, the whole senate acceded to his opinion. The tribune Serranus, having been bribed by Clodius, obstructed the proposed decree ; and, when it was on the point of being proposed to the people, a dangerous riot was excited by the orator's enemies. Clodius had collected a band of gladiators for the most mischievous purposes ; and, having armed his slaves and other abettors, he rushed upon the attendants of the tribune Fabricius, killed and wounded many of the number, and also routed the guard of another tribune. Quintus, the brother of Cicero, was particularly menaced with the violence

of these ruffians ; whose rage, however, he escaped by remaining concealed among a heap of murdered citizens ¹⁸.

The friends of Cicero had secured the interest of Annius Milo, an active and intrepid tribune, who now demanded the trial of Clodius for his seditious and violent acts. Serranus, and other partisans of that incendiary, delayed the process on various pretences ; and, in the mean time, Milo employed gladiators to oppose the ruffians who had so audaciously disturbed the tranquillity of Rome, while the senate invited the friends of the government from all parts of Italy to assist in the preservation of the public peace, and promote the recall of the patriotic exile. It was even decreed, that the discussion of all other affairs should be postponed, until the repeal of the odious sentence.

In a thronged meeting of the senate, the question was brought to a decision. Even the consul Metellus Nepos, who had abetted the views of Clodius, relinquished his opposition to the recall ; and it was again voted by the assembly. The people sanctioned the decree with an appearance of cordial zeal. The suffrages were given without a renewal of riot ; for the vigor of Milo paralysed the arm of Clodius ¹⁹.

The honorable reception of the returning senator consoled him for all the miseries of exile. In his way from the coast of Italy to Rome, he was saluted with the shouts and congratulations of the provincials ; and, when he entered the city, he was nearly overwhelmed with the effusions of joy and satisfaction. His losses were compensated by the public liberality ; and his enemies were assailed with general odium.

The restoration of Cicero's influence enabled him to testify his gratitude to Pompey for his late exertions, by prevailing upon the senate to grant him an extraordinary

¹⁸ Plut. Vit. Ciceronis.—Di. Cass. lib. xxxix. cap. 2.—Ciceronis Orat. pro Sextio.

¹⁹ Di Cass. lib. xxxix.—App. lib. ii.

commission. Provisions being extremely scarce at Rome, Clodius made this misfortune a pretence for aspersing Cicero, the unnecessary conflux of whose numerous partisans to the city had produced the danger of famine. He endeavoured to excite fresh riots; but the people dispersed his hired bands, and agreed with the senate in authorising Pompey to regulate, for five years, the supplies of corn for the city, and to super-intend, for that essential purpose, all the ports, marts, and store-houses, in the Roman dominions²⁰.

Clodius now renewed his riotous efforts, and personally attacked Cicero, who had taken an opportunity of removing from the Capitol the records of the decree of exile, and of the other acts of his tribunate. The assailants were repelled by the orator's attendants; and the bold alertness of Milo continued to repress the fury of Clodius.

LETTER XXXII.

*The ROMAN History, continued to the first Invasion of GERMANY
by the Romans.*

CÆSAR was not so discouraged by the triumph of the senatorial party, as to despair of his future success in the contests of faction. In the mean time, he hoped to elevate both his military reputation and his political importance by his exploits and conduct in the province committed to his care.

His first campaign in Gaul had extended his fame over Europe; and his second was equally successful and memorable. In the contest between him and the Belgæ, they were, by his statement, the aggress- Ante Chr.
57.

sors : but, even if they had not anticipated his aims, he would soon have invaded their territories, as he did not visit Gaul with a view of living in the indolence of peace. Being informed of the union and preparations of many of the Belgic states, he quickened his movements, and appeared, before he was expected, on the borders of that country which the Rhemi possessed. They were so intimidated by his alacrity, that they resolved to court his favor by submitting to his dictates. Their envoys declared to him, that, far from having the least concern in the confederacy which so many of the Belgic communities had formed against the Romans, they had earnestly exhorted other states, more particularly the Suessiones, with whom they had long been connected by the closest ties of consanguinity and of policy, to avoid all participation of counsels with the allies. While he commended their conduct, he would not so fully trust to their promises, as to abstain from the demand of hostages. He then advanced to the banks of the Aisne ; and the Belgæ, whose force greatly out-numbered his eight legions, were not slow in giving him the desired meeting. With his light troops, he attacked those who were employed in crossing the river ; and so serious was the havock made among them, that their leaders countermanded the advance of the rest. A council of war being called, the strength of the Roman camp, and the advantageous situation chosen by Cæsar for giving battle, added to the consideration of a want of provisions, deterred the chiefs from persisting in their hostile views. They hoped to retire without any farther loss : but so vigilant and active were their adversaries, that the slaughter, during the retreat, far exceeded the loss sustained in the late conflict. To chastise the Suessiones for their zeal in the promotion of the confederacy, Cæsar now rushed within their confines, and made dispositions for the siege of one of their strongest towns. They were so appalled by his spirit,

that they suffered him to disarm them, and gave up two sons of their king, with other persons of distinction, as hostages for their obedience to his commands. The Bellovaci, whose ample population enabled them to bring into the field a greater force than any other Belgic state could produce, also submitted to the Romans¹.

The Nervii were not merely the bravest, but the most unpolished and ferocious², of the Belgic communities. They disdained luxury as an unmanly vice, and avoided every pursuit that tended to relax or soften the free-born spirit; carrying this firmness to an excess which obstructed among them the progress of civilisation. Despising the Suessiones and their neighbours for the meanness of their submission, they urged the Atrebates and some other states to act a less disgraceful part, and support the honor of Belgic Gaul. A considerable army of these allies found an opportunity of defeating the Roman cavalry, and even spread confusion among the ranks of the infantry.

The circumstances of a battle in which Cæsar was reduced to the verge of ruin, deserve a more precise statement. His army occupied a rising ground near the Sambre; and the labors of the greater part of the number were devoted to the task of fortifying the camp. As soon as the Nervii and their associates had routed the Roman horse, they passed the river, and advanced to the unfinished fortifications. The surprise was great; but the confusion was less than might have been expected. Julius first approached the tenth legion, and exhorted every man to disregard the seeming danger, and to act with the same spirit which that division had usually displayed. In proceeding to other parts of the camp, he found his men already combating, under the first ensigns which they could discern. So strenuously did the ninth

¹ Cæs. Comment. de Bello Gallico, lib. ii. cap. 1—15. ² *Maximè feri.* Cæs.

and tenth legions withstand the Atrebates, that the discouraged assailants retreated, and endeavoured to escape across the river. The legionaries slew a great number of the retiring Gauls, and, having forded the stream, pushed forward to renew their murderous exertions. Resuming that courage which had failed for a time, the Atrebates fiercely turned upon their pursuers, but could not, with all their efforts, prevent a second repulse; after which, they had not the spirit to rally³.

With less difficulty, the eighth and eleventh legions triumphed over the Veromandui, who assailed the central part of the camp. The conflict was short; and the Gauls, driven back toward the river, severely suffered for the boldness of their attack.

Boduognatus, who had the chief command of the Nervian army, directed his force against the right wing, consisting of the seventh and twelfth legions. These he hoped to surround by the magnitude of his number; and he commenced his operations with that vigor which seemed to promise success. He chastised by a new repulse the returning cavalry, and made such an impression upon the infantry, that a party of horsemen, who had been sent by the Treviri to co-operate with Cæsar, hastened back to their own territories, and propagated a report of the ruin of the Roman army.

When Cæsar had roused his men to energy on the left and in the centre, he presented himself at a critical moment to his right division. The twelfth legion he found in the greatest peril. In one of the cohorts all the centurions had fallen; and the rest of the companies had no reason to boast of success, and could scarcely expect even the favor of a retreat. Their intrepid general rushed among the foremost ranks (if any ranks, indeed, subsisted amidst the prevailing disorder); but his presence did not

produce any important effect. To the seventh legion, almost equally endangered, he then addressed his exhortations; and the soldiers were so far roused, as to advance with renewed alacrity, without being able, however, to repel the foe. This part of the army would, in all probability, have been ruined, if two legions, which had remained in the rear to guard the baggage, had not hastily moved forward, to check the impetuous career of the Nervii⁴.

Of the legions which had crushed the Atrebrates, one could easily be spared for the rescue of others from danger. The tenth, therefore, hastened to the right, and joined the fresh troops in a vigorous attack upon the Nervii, who, without exhibiting the least degree of timidity or discouragement, still contended for victory, fighting upon heaps of their dead or wounded countrymen, and furiously darting back the intercepted javelins of the Romans.

The far greater part of the Gallic army at length dyed the field with blood. The survivors of each confederate state submitted to the invaders, and received a general promise of security. Many of the states of Celtic Gaul also bowed to the Roman supremacy.

So signal and splendid did the success of Julius appear in the eyes of the senate, that a thanks-giving was ordered for fifteen days. No former commander, he says, had received such a mark of respect. Even the exploits of Pompey had only been thought worthy of a supplication for ten days, and those of Marius for five.

The expedition of Cato to Cyprus did not procure him the high fame of a warrior; but it was productive of great advantage to the republic. When he had reached Rhodes, in his way to the devoted island, he was visited by Ptolemy Auletes, who had been expelled from the throne of Egypt

⁴ Cæs. lib. ii. cap. 25, 26.

by his mal-content subjects. Roman rapacity was one of the causes of his disgrace ; for he had exacted such large sums from his people, to secure the support of Pompey, Cæsar, and other powerful citizens, that he was hated as a public oppressor ; and his refusal of demanding Cyprus from the Romans, in the event of their prevailing over the king his brother, increased the odium under which he labored⁵. Cato advised him to return to Egypt, and practise every mode of conciliation, rather than go to Rome, to feed the avidity of men who would never be satisfied ; but the fugitive prince rejected this counsel as impolitic, and presented himself before the senate, requesting aid for his restoration. Leaving him to the pursuit of his fortune, Cato proceeded to the execution of the task assigned to him by Clodius. Such an effect had the terrors of Roman power upon the Cyprian king, that he poisoned himself in despair. His treasures were seized by Cato, conveyed to Rome, and delivered, undiminished, to the senate⁶. The return of his fleet up the Tiber had all the air of a triumph ; and the annexion of such an island to the dominions of the republic gave great joy to the people. An extraordinary prætorship was offered to him ; but he declined the honor with the same philosophic coolness and indifference, with which, when charged by Clodius with embezzlement, he despised the accusation.

The question of Ptolemy's restoration was frequently
 Ante Chr. and warmly debated at Rome. It was voted,
^{56.} that the honor of the republic required the re-
 establishment of a prince who had been declared an ally ;
 but, on pretence of complying with a Sibylline oracle, it
 was resolved that no military force should be employed
 on the occasion. The mode of assisting the king, and
 the choice of the auxiliary agents, occasioned such a dif-

5 Di. Cass. lib. xxxix. cap. 4.

6 Plut. Vit. Catonis.—Strab. lib. x.

ference of opinion, that the affair was repeatedly postponed. Pompey seemed desirous of obtaining the employment; but the more interesting considerations of internal policy and power checked his inclination for a foreign commission. Clodius recommended Crassus, chiefly out of opposition to Pompey, whom he took every opportunity of ridiculing and reviling. The tribune Caius Cato joined him in these attacks, which excited the high indignation of the once-popular citizen, who, apprehending personal danger from the turbulence of his adversaries, declared that he would guard his life with incessant vigilance and the most resolute efforts.

Ptolemy proved, by his conduct, that he did not deserve to be restored; for, when the people of Alexandria had sent a numerous body of citizens to vindicate their proceedings against him, and repel his charges, he hired a party of ruffians to assassinate many of these deputies. The senate resolved to institute an inquiry into these acts of lawless violence; but the king's bribes, and the influence of his patrician protectors, saved him and his accomplices from punishment. Finding that the senate declined all interference in his favor, he left Italy in disgust, and sailed to Ephesus⁷.

Cæsar did not particularly interest himself in the affairs of the Egyptian fugitive; but, like that prince, he was prodigal in the distribution of money for the promotion of his own views. He did not even pay his troops with the wealth of Gaul, but applied it to the purpose of strengthening his interest at Rome. His arts and intrigues were so far successful, that he looked forward with confidence to the acquisition of a great height of power.

His next campaign was not deficient in importance, or barren of incident. Among the western states were the Veneti, whose maritime power exceeded that of every

other Gallic community. They had concurred with some neighbouring states in giving hostages for their pacific deportment: but, when two Roman officers were sent into their territory, and others into different parts, to collect all the corn which they could procure, they declared that these strangers should not be dismissed before the restoration of the hostages. Crassus, son of that senator who had been a member of the triumvirate, was the officer who had reduced these states to exterior submission. He was alarmed at the rising confederacy, and stated to Cæsar the necessity of acting with vigor against the revolters. Naval preparations were now expedited; and several states to the southward of the Loire were desired to furnish vessels for the subjugation of the confederates⁸.

The towns of the Veneti and of their neighbours were, for the most part, situated near the sea, which furnished them with opportunities of carrying off the inhabitants and their property, when the besiegers, acting on the land-side, seemed to have reduced the garrison to extremity. Disappointed in this respect, Cæsar anxiously waited for his fleet, which had been long detained by tempestuous weather. He did not assume the personal direction of the fleet, though military and naval commands were usually conjoined among the Romans. When the opposite fleets met near the coast, within view of the army, the victory was decided by the dexterous use of scythes, which cut the rigging of the Gallic vessels, and so far disabled them, that they were easily boarded and taken. Very few escaped; and this defeat had such an effect, that the confederates no longer opposed the Romans, either by land or by sea⁹.

The glory of this success was sullied by cruelty. The imprisonment of the deputies seemed, to Cæsar, so atrocious an offence, that he murdered all the senators of the

8 Cæs. lib. iii. cap. 8, 9.

9 Cæs. lib. iii. cap. 16.

allied states, and reduced the people to a state of servitude. Were Romans so superior to the rest of mankind, that the most trifling insult or injury offered to any member of their republic, who merely bore a public character, should be avenged with such brutal barbarity? If the deputies had been put to death, the punishment of any individuals, except those few who were known to be the leading offenders, would have been a culpable act of severity: but Cæsar, being a warrior and a statesman, thought himself justified, by the law of nations, in violating all other laws, divine or human. We shall find, as we proceed, that the enormities which he committed in Gaul were of the most flagitious nature.

In other parts of Celtic Gaul, Titurius Sabinus extended the influence and sway of Rome. Viridovix, a bold chieftain, had called the Unelli to arms; and three of the neighbouring states, having massacred their senators for a want of warlike inclination, entered into a league against the encroaching Romans. A multitude of robbers and other idle and profligate men, from remote districts, also joined the standard of Viridovix¹⁰. Sabinus, unwilling to engage without strong hopes of success, declined every challenge of the Gallic commander to action, so as not only to excite the contempt of the enemy, but even to provoke the animadversions of his own soldiers. Taking advantage of the general opinion of his own timidity, he employed one of the natives, as an artful emissary, in stimulating the allies to an attack of his camp, which, the treacherous Gaul assured them, would fall an easy prey. Fatigued by a rapid march, they approached the eminence on which

10 The *hope of plunder*, and a *zeal for war*, drew these men (says Cæsar) from daily labor and the pursuits of agriculture. Did not the same motives actuate this celebrated general? Was not he as unprincipled a robber as these men were? and did not he excite war where peace might have subsisted?—When he wrote this sentence, he did not consider that he was severely censuring himself.

the camp stood. From two of the gates, the Romans rushed down the hill, and quickly routed the astonished Gauls, of whom they slew the major part. The late naval success in the west being at the same time announced, the terrified confederates submitted to Sabinus, as eagerly as they had risen in arms¹¹.

In the southern parts of Gaul, important additions were made to the extent of the Roman province. Crassus invaded the territories of the Sotiates, whom he found ready to receive him. They first tried the effect of an equestrian conflict, in which they were supposed by their countrymen to excel; and, when this experiment failed, their ambushed infantry attacked the Romans with such spirit, as to be on the point of obtaining the victory: but Crassus so ably directed the exertions of his men, that he remained master of the field; and, having reduced a strong town by a vigorous siege, he was gratified with the general submission of the Sotiates. Advancing to the northward, he demanded, from the Tarusates, and the Vocates, unequivocal testimonies of subserviency: but, instead of complying with the arbitrary requisition, they sent messengers to many other Gallic states, and even into Spain, to request aid, and form a confederacy. A great force was thus obtained: yet, notwithstanding its vast numerical superiority to the army of Crassus, it was deemed more prudent, by precluding all supplies of provision, to enforce the retreat of the Romans, than to risque a general engagement. Impatient of delay, Crassus resolved to attack the Gauls and Spaniards in their camp; and, finding one part less strong, and less vigilantly guarded than the rest, the legionaries penetrated within the fortifications, and defeated the allies with such slaughter, that almost three-fourths of their number, it is said, lost their lives. All the states between the Garonne and the Pyrenees, with few

¹¹ Cæs. lib. iii. cap. 17—20.

exceptions, submitted to Rome in consequence of this victory¹².

While Cæsar thus triumphed in Gaul, some of those senators who were jealous of his power endeavoured to procure his recall, before the end of the term for which his government had been granted : but Cicero, whose resentment was more warmly directed against Gabinius and Piso, than against the commander in Gaul, advised the supersession of those proconsuls, and did not oppose the continuance of Julius. The result of the debate was unfavorable to Piso alone.

To secure a prolongation of authority and command, Cæsar wished for the re-appointment of Pompey and Crassus to the consular magistracy. They had some interviews with him at Lucca, where he was visited by the most illustrious and powerful citizens of the republic, and held a court resembling that of a potent sovereign. Domitius Ahenobarbus, who had announced his intention of being a candidate at the next election, threatened to exert his interest for the removal of Cæsar from his province, and thus exposed himself to the hostility of the triumvirs, who resolved to devote their whole influence to the frustration of his views. Other candidates were so discouraged, that they declined the contest : but Domitius was stimulated by his own zeal and the exhortations of Cato to persevere in his purpose. When the time of election was approaching, he went before day-break to the field of Mars, confidently hoping to exclude one of his opponents from the desired honor. An attack, however, was made upon him by hired villains: his torch-bearer was killed, and all his courage was then so absorbed in terror, that even the bold example of his friend, who received a personal injury in the *fracas*, could not prevent him from running home in the most undignified manner¹³.

12 Cæs. lib. iii. cap. 21—28.

13 Plut. Vit. Catonis.

This outrage secured the consulate to the two invaders of the public liberty, who, by the medium of Caius Cato, had obstructed all elective proceedings, until the consuls for that year, who were of a different party, retired from office. This delay was so alarming to the senators, that they changed their dress, as in a time of public calamity¹⁴. Clodius ridiculed the alarm, and, without any alteration of apparel, harangued the assembled people, abusing the consul Marcellinus for the severity of his strictures upon the conduct of Pompey, with whom the demagogue again wished, for interested purposes, to ingratiate himself. He entered the senate-house with the same views of invective, and was with difficulty saved from the resentment of the offended members by the plebeians who flocked to his assistance¹⁵.

Ante Chr. Some of the magistracies were kept vacant by

55. the new consuls for many months, on various pretences. They particularly wished to exclude Marcus Cato from the dignity of prætor, and, by profuse corruption, they baffled his hopes and fair pretensions. By artifice and intrigue, to which they occasionally added violence, they procured the grant of almost all the annual offices to their creatures, and thus held the republic within their arbitrary grasp. Two of the tribunes, indeed, concurred with Cato and Favonius in opposing their measures. When Trebonius had proposed, that Spain and Syria should be respectively assigned to Pompey and Crassus for five years, and that Gaul should continue under the government of Cæsar, who should also be allowed to exercise authority in Germany, Cato so strenuously resisted the grant, that the incensed magistrate ordered him to be imprisoned¹⁶. The incomppliant tribunes were also overpowered by violence; and one of them received a

14 Liv. Epit. lib. cv.

15 Liv. Epit. lib. cv.

16 Di. Cass. lib. xxxix. cap. G.

wound. They renewed their opposition on various occasions; but they were not properly supported by the people.

The consuls, affecting a regard for public virtue, discountenanced, by a new law, that bribery which they had practised and encouraged, and particularly pointed their efforts against judicial corruption. They also endeavoured to check the prevalence of luxury; but, not being very earnest or sincere in their views of reform, they soon relinquished a sumptuary law which they had brought forward. Pompey, while he thus seemed desirous of restraining the expenditure of others, was unwilling to set bounds to his own pecuniary extravagance; for he erected a more magnificent theatre than had ever before been seen at Rome, not only for dramatic performances and musical pieces, but also for gymnastic sports and conflicts with wild beasts. The people were highly pleased with this attention to their amusement, and applauded the splendid liberality of the consul; and some of the citizens bestowed praise on his piety, because he had added a temple to the edifice.

While Cæsar profited by the interest of his consular friends, he was making a gradual progress to the attainment of independence. The movements near the Rhine now called his attention. The Suevi were the most warlike of all the German nations: they were divided into various states, each of which enjoyed a community of land. Agriculture was not neglected among them; but they chiefly used their lands for the purposes of pasture. At the same time, they prided themselves in keeping a very extensive tract, round their territories, free from occupancy or use; being of opinion, that this desolation ostensibly argued a reluctance to their vicinity, and a dread of their power. In the coldest parts of their country, they had no other covering than the skins of beasts, too small to be of great use. By hardy lives and tempe-

rate habits they acquired remarkable strength, and rose to a very high stature. These warriors had frequently harassed the Usipetes and the Tenchtheri¹⁷, who, unable to defend their territories, wandered for three years about Germany, until they found themselves near the Rhine, in the neighbourhood of the Menapii, who had colonised both sides of the river. The German banks were quietly resigned to the strangers, who, not content with one side, drove the Menapii from the other, seized their vessels, lands, and houses, and sent detachments to encroach upon the possessions of the Eburones.

Cæsar, apprehensive of a junction between the Gauls and Germans, called some of the Belgic chiefs to a council, and treated them with conciliatory politeness. Without informing them of his intentions, he desired a supply of cavalry, and prepared for an expedition against the Germans. When his legions were in their progress, he was met by deputies from the two emigrant communities, apologising for their appearance in Gaul, as the effect of those hostilities which had rendered their continuance in Germany insecure. “If you seek our favor, we may prove
“useful friends to you. Give us a new portion of land, or
“suffer us to retain the districts which we have acquired
“by arms. To the Suevi alone we will yield, as even the
“immortal Gods are scarcely equal to that renowned na-
“tion. Of other powers we are not afraid, because we can
“easily cope with them.” Cæsar insisted upon the return of the whole body into Germany, and promised to exert his interest with the Ubii (whose ambassadors were in his camp) for the grant of a spacious district. The envoys proposing a delay of three days, for the convenience of an application to the Ubii, he acceded to their request, but not without reluctance, because he suspected them of hostile views, and concluded that the Germans only waited

¹⁷ Called *Usipii* and *Tenchteri* by Tacitus, who represents the latter as composing excellent cavalry.

for the return of a great part of their cavalry, recently detached beyond the Maes to procure the means of subsistence¹⁸.

During this interval, hostilities arose. The Germans, according to the positive assertion of Cæsar, were the aggressors. A party of horse, meeting the Roman cavalry, whose number was above six times as great as that of the enemy, made a sudden and fierce attack, slew some, and dispersed the rest. Almost all the principal men of the two states, dreading the resentment of the proconsul, hastened to his camp, and disclaimed the late aggression, as a partial and irregular act, and not the effect of the general will. Pleased with an opportunity of detaining their chiefs and nobles, he immediately advanced to a decisive action. So surprised and intimidated were the Germans, that they did not long withstand their incensed opponents. The slaughter was dreadful: it extended even to women and children. The pursuit was continued to the confluence of the Maes and the Rhine; and a considerable number of the fugitives perished in the stream¹⁹.

The proconsul, exulting in the ruin of his German adversaries, resolved that the Rhine should no longer be a barrier against the Romans. He sent deputies to the Sicambri, requesting, in an imperious tone, the surrender of the cavalry, who, after their predatory excursion to the Maes, had fled into Germany, without being involved in the late disaster of their countrymen. A spirited refusal being given, he ordered a bridge to be thrown over the river; and, having transported his troops, led them toward the Sicambrian territories: but he could not find the enemy whom he sought; for the terror of his name had driven the protectors of the fugitive cavalry into woods and other places of secure retreat. He resentfully ravaged their lands, and destroyed their villages²⁰. He then re-

18 Cæs. lib. iv. cap. 5, 6, 8.

19 Cæs. lib. iv. cap. 9—12.

20 Plut. Vit. Cæs.

turned to the Gallic side of the Rhine, meditating a remarkable expedition.

LETTER XXXIII.

A Progressive View of the ROMAN Affairs, to the disastrous Expedition of Crassus.

INTENT upon the increase of his fame and power, and not satisfied with his great success in Gaul, Cæsar wished to introduce his countrymen to the knowledge of Britain : but, before I treat of his two expeditions into our island, it is requisite that a sketch should be given of it's early history.

That the first inhabitants of Britain were Celts who emigrated from Gaul, no judicious antiquary will doubt : but not even those writers who pretend to trace the progress of that race, as if genuine records of each successive colonisation had been preserved, have ventured to fix the time when the first party crossed the channel and took possession of the vacant coast¹. To ascertain that point, is impossible. It might be six centuries before the Christian æra ; perhaps, it was much earlier. Long after this population, a number of Belgæ, who were of German or Gothic origin, passed over to the island, and encroached upon the Celtic possessions.

¹ In a treatise or essay concerning the world (*περί Κοσμου*), addressed to Alexander, and supposed, but perhaps without sufficient authority, to have been written by Aristotle, Britain and Ireland are, for the first time, specifically mentioned. "Beyond the country of the Celts (that is, Gaul) are situated two very large islands, called *Albion* and *Ierne*." The author does not say any thing of their state or population ; but we may conclude, that they were not uninhabited at that time,—namely, in the fourth century before our æra. Herodotus, who was a prior writer, may indeed be thought to allude to the same islands, when he speaks of the *Cassiterides*,—a name which Strabo restricts to the Scilly isles.

Those inhabitants who originated from the Celts were mere barbarians, at the time of Cæsar's invasion. Their clothing consisted of the skins of those animals which they hunted, or such as they kept tame for domestic use. Many had no other place of abode than a cave ; and the rest sought refuge from the inclemency of the weather in ill-roofed wattled huts, in which the interstices were closed by mud. Even in the useful arts they were very imperfectly conversant ; for they could neither spin nor weave, and had no skill in agriculture, or in extracting or working the metals with which the island abounded. Their priests, who were called Druids, are supposed to have possessed a considerable degree of knowledge : but we do not find that they applied it to purposes of real utility. They seem to have studiously kept the people in a state of ignorance, with a view of establishing their influence and authority.

The Belgic Britons were less rude and uncivilised than their Celtic neighbours. They were not altogether unskilful in the fabrication of utensils and implements of various kinds, in the art of building, or in the manufacture of clothing ; and instead of being mere hunters or herdsmen, they had advanced to the agricultural state of society. They were also good navigators, and not inattentive to the advantages of foreign commerce. In point of religion, they were more inclined, like the Celts, to entertain polytheistic ideas, than to preserve, in genuine purity, the original doctrine of divine unity ; but they had no Druids to fetter their minds, or to lead them into abject superstition ; and they had more rational and correct sentiments of morality than the inland inhabitants. Their government, at the same time, displayed a greater portion of freedom, because the people had a higher degree of manly spirit.

In addition to former Belgic colonisations, a numerous body of emigrants arrived on the southern coast of Bri-

tain, about eighty years before the Christian æra ; and, by force of arms, dispossessed the former inhabitants of a considerable extent of territory, which the invaders were not constrained by subsequent hostilities to relinquish. At the time of Cæsar's arrival, the maritime parts of the island were occupied by the Belgæ ; but, in his own account of his exploits and discoveries, he is not so explicit or so accurate as to enable us to ascertain the territorial boundaries between the different races of colonists².

Cæsar sailed with two legions from the nearest part of the Gallie coast, and approached the British shore near the place where Deal now stands. He found the natives ready to receive him in that mode which an invader might expect. Many of them boldly advanced into the water to oppose the disembarkation, and harassed their adversaries with considerable effect, but not so decisively as to repel the invasion. From the galleys so many missiles were discharged, that the Britons were at length intimidated. The Romans then sprang from their vessels, and waded to the shore, not without a fierce engagement in the sea. A brisk conflict ensued on land, and the islanders were routed. In consequence of this defeat, deputies from some of the states arrived in Cæsar's camp, and sued for peace. When a storm had driven off the coast the transports that were bringing his cavalry to the island, and had shattered the rest of his fleet, the war was renewed by the natives, who hoped to chastise the arrogant intruders. The neighbouring fields had been stripped of their corn by the legionary robbers ; and a more distant part was on the point of being cleared, when an ambushed force rushed upon the soldiers, slew a part of the number, and threw

² In endeavouring to adjust these boundaries, Mr. Pinkerton allows too great a share of South-Britain to the Belgæ, and Mr. Whitaker, as unreasonably, favors the Celts : but the Scottish antiquary seems to be in the right, when he distinguishes between the *Gael* from Gaul and the *Cumri* from Germany, as two grand Celtic colonies, arriving at distant periods, and represents the latter as driving the former into Ireland.

the rest into such confusion, that the assailants might have triumphed, if Julius had not hastened with succours, the sight of which produced a discontinuance of attack. A considerable army being levied by a new association of states, it was resolved that the Roman camp should be assaulted; but Cæsar,—unwilling to submit to the disgrace of waiting within his entrenchments, as if he despaired of success in the open field,—had already stationed his army before the camp; and he soon obtained such a victory as secured him from farther hostilities. He now granted peace to the renewed solicitations of the chieftains, and returned to Gaul, whence he sent an account of his exploits to the senate. So pleased were the members with the discovery of a new scene of glory and triumph, and with the prospect of an important addition to the Roman territories, that, when they also reflected on the late success over the Germans, they ordered a supplication to the Gods for twenty days³.

With a much greater force, Cæsar made a new attempt upon Britain. He landed unopposed; but, as he proceeded up the country, he found a hostile Ante Chr. 54. army stationed near a river. The spot was fortified with trees, which had been cut down and formed into a fence or rampart. It was not difficult for Roman soldiers to force these rude works. The Britons were driven from their post, and might have been pursued with effect, if the violence of a tempest had not occasioned such naval loss and damage, that it was found expedient to draw the remaining vessels on shore, and encompass them with strong entrenchments. To meet the storm of war, the chieftains of many states selected a generalissimo⁴, whose authority might silence dissension, and whose skill might usefully concentrate the disposable force. This com-

³ Cæs. lib. iv. cap. 21—32.—Di. Cass. lib. xxxix.

⁴ Cæsar calls him *Cassivellaunus*; but Dio Cassius gives him the name of *Suetla*.

mander, on one occasion, gained a considerable advantage over the legionaries; but, in a subsequent battle, he was so unsuccessful, that the confederacy was nearly dissolved by the discouragement and dejection of the chieftains. His principality was now invaded by Cæsar, who, having crossed the Thames in a part where the bed of the river was rendered dangerous by a number of stakes, traversed the country until he reached the chief town of his British antagonist, which he soon took by assault. About the same time, his lieutenant, who had the command of that part of the army which guarded the fleet, distinguished himself by repelling, with complete effect, an attack upon that important post. The adjustment of a treaty followed these hostilities. The negotiations were summary, because the British general found himself obliged, by his ill success, to acquiesce in the demands of the victor. A tribute was imposed, and hostages were required⁵.

As Julius no farther concerned himself with the island, the treaty was not honored with strict observance. Other cares and pursuits occupied his thoughts; and, for a long period, the Britons were unmolested by ambitious invaders. They maintained an amicable intercourse with the subjects of Rome; and the maritime states were encouraged to extend their commerce. Dissensions divided their states; and some princes enlarged their territories by artifice or by arms: but the national independence remained unimpaired.

By the expeditions which have been successively particularised, the warlike spirit of the Romans, and the aggressive violence of their government, had extended their empire in Europe to the north-western extremity of Gaul, and to the island in which we live; while, in Asia, it reached the Parthian confines. Gabinius, proconsul of

⁵ Cæs. lib. v. cap. 7—19.—Di. Cass. lib. xl.—Sueton.

Syria, eagerly wished to enlarge it on that side, and threatened to cross the Euphrates with a formidable army. But the efforts of Alexander, son of Aristobulus, for the acquisition of power in Judæa, first called his attention. It was his duty to support the pontiff Hyrcanus against his bold competitor; and, therefore, he advanced⁶ toward the Jewish capital, and attacked Alexander, whose followers he routed. In another conflict, near the fortress of Alexandrion, he was also victorious; and, on this occasion, Marcus Antonius (usually styled Mark Antony), grandson of the orator whom Marius put to death, highly distinguished himself. Leaving a sufficient force to besiege the castle, Gabinius traversed the country, and gave orders for the reparation of Samaria and other ruined towns, inviting the Jews to re-people them. He then returned to the fortress, and intimidated Alexander into submission. Depriving Hyrcanus of all share in the civil government, he divided the country into five parts, and appointed an aristocratic council for the administration of each, subject to the control of magistrates resident at Jerusalem⁷.

Aristobulus, having found the means of escaping from his captivity at Rome, re-appeared in Judæa, and soon collected an armed force. The Romans and their Jewish auxiliaries, under Sisenna and Antony, marched against him, slew more than one half of his army, and pursued him to a ruined fortress, in the defence of which he was made prisoner.

After this success, Gabinius was tempted by his ambition and rapacity to undertake an expedition against the Parthians; but, when he had passed the Euphrates, he received an application from Ptolemy, who was recommended to his protection by Pompey. The liberal offers of that prince tempted him to an act which he knew to be illegal, and repugnant to the declared opinion of the Sibyl

⁶ In the 56th year before Christ.

⁷ Joseph, de Bellis Judæorum, lib. i. cap. 6.

and the senate; and he resolved to lead an army into Egypt, to enforce the restoration of the royal exile. The majority of his officers remonstrated against this resolution; but the persuasions of the impetuous Antony overruled their cool advice, and banished all hesitation from the mind of the proconsul⁸.

Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy, had been permitted by the Egyptians to occupy his throne. Having murdered one husband, who had been invited from Syria, she sent for another adventurer to supply his place. This was Archelaus, son of that general who had revolted from Mithridates. In his way to Egypt, he was seised by Gabinius, who extorted a considerable sum from him for his release, and, that he might not be suspected by Ptolemy of duplicity, alleged that Archelaus had escaped from custody, notwithstanding all the vigilance of the Romans⁹.

Pelusium being taken by the vigor of Antony, the army marched toward Alexandria, in two divisions. Several conflicts occurred in the progress of the invaders, whose superiority of skill and valor appeared in every action. They subdued all opposition both by land and on the Nile, slew Archelaus, and restored Ptolemy, who first raged against his daughter, and afterward put her chief partisans to death, beside murdering many opulent citizens, that their wealth might be employed in the remuneration of the proconsul¹⁰.

In the absence of Gabinius from his legitimate province, Alexander renounced his extorted submission, and renewed the war against the Romans, declaring that he would put to death every individual of that nation, whom he could find in Judæa. He executed this menace in many instances; and rejecting such terms of accommodation as were proposed by Antipater, who had exerted his influence in drawing off a number of Jews from the

8 Plut. Vit. Antonii.—App. de Bellis Syriacis.

9 Di. Cass. lib. xxxix. cap. 15.

10 Di. Cass.—Plut. Vit. Antonii.

insurgent army, he resolved to risque a general conflict. His challenge was accepted by Gabinus; and his hopes and pretensions were crushed by a severe defeat. About 10,000 of the Jews are said to have fallen: the rest ceased to be embodied; and their leader fled in despair¹¹. The Romans then turned their arms against the inhabitants of Arabia Petræa, over whom they obtained a considerable victory. Gabinus, hoping that his military success would atone for his disobedience, returned to Rome with great wealth, the produce of injustice and extortion¹².

At Rome, the conduct of Gabinus was as warmly defended by some of the patricians, as it was assailed by others. By the people in general he was severely censured; and his trial was loudly demanded. Three charges were adduced against him. He was accused of impious and treasonable disobedience, of corruption, and provincial rapine. By the interest of Pompey and Cæsar, and the seduction of venal judges from their integrity, he was acquitted of the first charge; but, being tried for his other offences, he was convicted and banished, even though the eloquence of Cicero, who had been a witness against him at the former trial, was exercised in his defence. An inundation of the Tiber had recently made great havock at Rome, occasioning, beside other mischief, the loss of many lives; and, as the superstitious populace fancied that the disregard with which Gabinus had treated the oracle, had thus led to the infliction of divine vengeance, the life of the delinquent was exposed to great danger. He escaped, however, the fury of the multitude, and submitted to the mild sentence of exile¹³.

The judge who condemned Gabinus was Cato, who, while he pleased the people by not suffering the obnoxious

11 He was afterward beheaded by order of Pompey; and his father, restored to liberty by Cæsar, was poisoned by some emissaries of the opposite faction.

12 Joseph. de Bellis Jud. lib. i. cap. 6.

13 Di. Cass. lib. xxxix. cap. penult.

proconsul to elude punishment, displeased them by an attempt to check that corruption which prevailed in elections. He persuaded the senate to ordain, that all who should be chosen consuls or prætors, should, if they had no accuser, make their appearance before the judges, and declare, upon oath, what means they had used for the attainment of their offices. This proposal excited such a clamor among the mercenary electors, that many of them grossly abused him, and threw stones at him. He allayed their fury by his firmness of countenance and his impressive oratory ; but he could not procure the popular sanction to the senatorial decree¹⁴.

Pompey and Cæsar were still on terms of apparent amity ; but the former was jealous of the increasing popularity of his father-in-law, and reflected with self-reproach on the encouragement which he had so imprudently given to the early ambition of that artful and politic citizen. He now wished to check all advances to high power on the part of Cæsar, particularly after the death of Julia, whose influence over her father and her husband had contributed to the preservation of a friendly intercourse between them. The proconsul was greatly affected at the loss of so dear a relative ; but war and ambition precluded the permanence of his grief. He was eager to establish his power in Gaul, and, at the same time, to erect a strong fabric of interest at Rome.

The discontent of some of the Gallic states furnished employment for his legions. Indutiomarus exhorted the Treviri to shake off the oppressive yoke, and stimulated Ambiorix and Cativulcus, who were the leading men among the Eburones, to attack the lieutenants whom Cæsar had left in their country. An assault was consequently made upon the camp ; but the attempt was rendered abortive by the alacrity and courage of its defend-

ers. A conference being then requested, under the mask of amity, Ambiorix affirmed, that a general confederacy had been formed for a simultaneous attack of the dispersed legions, and that the Germans had lately crossed the Rhine in force, with a view of joining the Gallic insurgents. The Roman officers, he said, might act as they thought proper; but, as a grateful friend to Cæsar, he advised them to leave their present station, which was too near the Rhine to be secure from the Germans, and conduct their troops into the territories of the Rhemi, where they would have the ready assistance of a legion commanded by Labienus, or within the confines of the Nervii, where an equal force was posted. This intelligence and advice had a specious air; but suspicion and distrust, on the part of the Romans, would have been more prudent than hasty acquiescence. It was debated for many hours, in a council of war, whether any regard should be paid to the intimation. Aurunculeius Cotta declared it to be his opinion, that the troops would be sufficiently secure without removing; and some of the most respectable officers agreed with him: but Sabinus, whose courage gave way to apprehension, urged the expediency of retiring. His influence prevailed in the assembly; and, as soon as the sun re-appeared, the soldiers commenced their march¹⁵.

In the woods, near which the Romans were expected to march, Ambiorix had stationed his divided army; and, when the cohorts had made some progress in an intermediate valley, the ambushed troops rushed out upon them. Sabinus was so confounded, that he knew not how to act; while Cotta, by ordering the men to leave their baggage, and form themselves into an orb, discouraged them by making their case appear in a manner desperate. Sometimes a cohort left the circle, and cut off many of the assailants. Ambiorix immediately cautioned his country-

15 Cæs. lib. v. cap. 22—25.

men against so hazardous an approach, and desired them, when they had thrown their javelins from a distance, to retreat with celerity, and make another assault as soon as the Romans should desist from pursuit. By superiority of number, and by repetitions of attack, the Gauls secured the victory. Before it was decided, Sabinus sent an officer to their chief, requesting him to spare the surviving soldiers. Ambiorix would not answer for the safety of the remaining party, but promised to save the lieutenant, who, thus encouraged, surrendered himself, and threw down his arms. This submission did not preserve him from the fury of the Gauls, who slew him during a pretended negotiation. Cotta had refused to concur with Sabinus in soliciting favor from a treacherous enemy; and he fell in the exercise of the most determined valor. Of about 9000 men, the small remains regained their camp; but, when they could no longer defend it, some killed themselves, and the rest escaped to the station of Labienus¹⁶.

This success so elevated the confidence of Ambiorix, that he considered the Roman interest in that part of Gaul as nearly ruined. The legion among the Nervii, he thought, might easily be crushed; and the troops left to over-awe the Morini might subsequently be chastised for their arrogant intrusion. Being joined by the Atuatici and the Nervii, he assaulted the camp of Quintus Cicero, following the Roman mode of attack. Great courage was displayed on both sides, and severe loss was sustained by each. At length Cæsar arrived with about 7000 men; and his appearance put an end to the siege. Ambiorix now hoped to prevail over the general himself: but he weakly suffered himself to be drawn from a spot where he might have acted with advantage, and began to attack the entrenchments within which the Romans were posted. Cæsar was so eager to take vengeance for the death of his lieu-

tenants and their followers, that he led out his gallant party, and put a numerous host to flight with great facility and expedition.

The Treviri delayed their insurrection, that they might see what course events would take. Having in vain solicited the advance of a German army, they resolved to act without foreign aid, and, under the conduct of Indutiomarus, marched against that legion which secured the obedience of the Rhemi. While they were provoking the Romans by ridicule and reproach to quit their camp, Labienus sent out all his cavalry, with particular orders for selecting the Gallic chief as the primary object of attack. The enemy retreating with precipitation, Indutiomarus was overtaken in the act of fording a river; and his head was sent to the camp as an acceptable trophy. Many of his countrymen were also slain; but the survivors continued in arms, and prevailed upon several states to give promises of co-operation ¹⁷.

In the following spring, Cæsar called a Gallic Ante Chr. 53. council, that he might distinguish his friends from his enemies. He then enforced the submission of some of those principalities which had not sent deputies to the assembly; and, in the mean time, Labienus was actively employed against the Treviri. A river parted their army from his legions: it was so difficult to pass, that he neither intended to cross it, nor supposed that they would be induced to make the attempt. He therefore resolved to assume the appearance of timidity, and to retire, as if he dreaded an attack. His rear-guard had scarcely left the camp, when the Gauls, eager to prevent the escape of their hated adversaries, passed the river, and began the engagement in a disadvantageous spot. The Romans, turning upon the assailants, threw their javelins with their usual alacrity, and were preparing for

¹⁷ Cæs. lib. v. cap. ult. vi. 2.

the use of their swords, when the Treviri fled toward the neighbouring woods. The cavalry cut off many of them by a brisk pursuit; and the leaders of the state again submitted to Rome¹⁸.

Invited by the Treviri, the Suevi were approaching to risque an encounter with the Romans; but they hastily retired, when they found that Labienus was the victor. Cæsar again invaded Germany, in the hope of displaying the superiority of the Roman arms. All the courage of the Suevi could not prompt them to meet him in the field. They sought refuge in the woods; and he re-entered Gaul with keen sensations of disappointment. He then wreaked his vengeance upon the Eburones, by a course of devastation. A body of Germans, at first, concurred in these ravages; but, expecting to find more valuable spoils in the Roman camp, from which Cæsar had marched to a considerable distance, they fiercely assaulted it. Vain were their efforts in this attack: yet they found an opportunity of making some havock among troops that were returning to the camp.

The new proconsul of Syria was not so fortunate in his command as the governor of Gaul. In the grant of provincial authority to Crassus, Parthia was not included; and, even if it had been, the war would have been unjust, because it was unprovoked. That consideration, however, was overlooked by one whose sense of honor was absorbed in views of interest. The tribune Ateius had remonstrated against the iniquitous intentions of Crassus (for he did not make a secret of his extensive views), and endeavoured to obstruct his departure from Rome; but the other plebeian magistrates opposed the attempt; and Pompey kept the people in awe by all the remains of his personal influence, while he accompanied his friend beyond the walls. The incensed tribune vented his indignation in solemn curses,

which were disregarded, if not ridiculed, by the devoted object.

Hastening into Syria, Crassus entered the Holy Land, and gratified his thirst of spoil by an act of sacrilege. The keeper of the treasures of Jerusalem offered him a valuable bar of gold, on condition of his swearing to abstain from farther pillage ; but an oath that militated against his avarice was not by him deemed obligatory. He plundered the temple without scruple or hesitation, and carried off (as we are informed by a Jewish historian) 10,000 talents ¹⁹.

Thus enriched, he over-ran Mesopotamia ; and, boasting of this imperfect success, he returned into Syria, instead of continuing the campaign. He passed the winter in rapine and extortion, rather than in the exercise of the functions of a governor, a judge, or a general. Before the re-commencement of hostilities, he was visited by deputies from the Parthian king, who wished to know the reason of the war, and who promised, Ante Chr. 53. if Crassus had no authority for the invasion from the senate or people of Rome, to give him the opportunity of an unmolested retreat. He did not pretend to justify the war, but haughtily declared, that he would give an answer to the envoys on his arrival at Seleucia. One of them hinted, that the promised time would never come ²⁰.

When intelligence of the great preparations of the Parthians reached the Roman camp,—and when it was added, on the authority of the soldiers who had been left to garrison the Mesopotamian towns, that the prospect of victory was very uncertain, as the enemy not only possessed the most undaunted courage, but displayed uncommon address in baffling the efforts of an army,—great discouragement and dejection prevailed among the troops of Crassus, without affecting the general himself. He was requested

19 Josephi Antiq. Jud. lib. xiv. cap. 12.

20 App. de Bellis Parthicis.—Di. Cass. lib. xl.

to call a council, that all the circumstances of the war might be deliberately examined, before any attempt should be made to penetrate into Parthia: but he neglected this advice, and blindly rushed into danger. The Armenian king Artabazes arrived with a reinforcement, and promised him more effectual assistance, if the Romans would pass through his country: but Crassus preferred the *route* of Mesopotamia, alleging that his honor was concerned in providing for the safety of his garrisons in that province. He weakly suffered himself to be influenced by the treacherous suggestions of the prince of Edessa, who represented the enemy as so intimidated by the progress of the Romans, that a speedy advance would ensure triumph, and offered to conduct his friend by the shortest and most convenient course. Being led into an extensive sandy desert, where the Parthians might have an opportunity of surrounding the invaders, Crassus perceived his error, but continued his progress ²¹.

The reported advance of a numerous host so confounded the Romans, who were incommoded by heat and thirst, and harassed by fatigue, that it was extremely difficult to enforce subordination, and restore their usual presence of mind. The general, however, was not wholly unsuccessful in his authoritative endeavours; and, having disposed his army in compact order, he marched forward to meet the enemy. The closeness of his phalanx proved injurious, as it enabled the Parthian arrows to fall with greater execution. The Romans suffered severely by repeated showers of missiles, patiently waiting for the trial of their courage in a close encounter. When they found that this was avoided by their artful adversaries, the son of Crassus was ordered to advance with select troops, so as to force them to a collision. By pretending fear, they drew him to a considerable distance from the rest of the army, and,

²¹ Plut. Vit. Crassi.—Di. Cass. lib. xl.

turning upon their rash pursuers, slew many, and disordered the whole detachment. The cavalry, however, both Roman and Gallic, fiercely assaulted the cuirassiers, and made some havock among them: but the impression was not permanent, and the assailants were driven back with their wounded commander, who, sensible of the approach of ruin, as his father did not send troops to his succour, desired one of his attendants to stab him. He was a young man of great merit, who promised to be an ornament of his country. Some of his officers, despairing of escape, fell upon their own swords. The enemy, rushing on the remains of the deserted division, took inhuman vengeance for the invasion, only sparing the lives of about 500 men²².

Crassus was at first induced to give credit to a hasty rumor, announcing the victorious progress of his gallant son; but a messenger soon appeared, demanding instant relief for the endangered detachment. While he was advancing to afford the desired succour, the Parthians approached with indications of joy. He ordered his men to answer the shout with a firm tone: but the cry was faint and spiritless, intimating dejection and despondency. Volleys of arrows soon threw the Romans into confusion; and they had no opportunity of close conflict; for the assailing force, consisting almost wholly of cavalry, evaded, by celerity of movement, that collision which would have been more advantageous to the legionaries. Night afforded only a short respite; and the morning dawned with a prospect of ruin. Crassus, knowing himself to be the cause of this misery, shunned the sight of those who might justly have reproached him, and threw himself upon the ground in an agony of despair. His chief officers in vain endeavoured to rouse him from his torpor. They therefore acted without orders from him,

and put the troops in motion, in the faint hope of reaching Carrhæ, a town of which the Romans were in possession. All who, from illness or wounds, were unable to march, were left to their fate. A generous enemy would have relieved these unhappy men: but the Parthians massacred 4000 of them; and then, pursuing the fugitive army, destroyed several cohorts that did not keep pace with the main body. Crassus was not so inattentive to his safety as to remain on the field of battle, when his troops began to move. He shook off his dejection, and arrived at Carrhæ with the remains of his force ²³.

The Parthian general was not content with the advantages already obtained: he wished to make Crassus a prisoner, and to accomplish the ruin of his army. He approached Carrhæ, and demanded a surrender of the Roman commander and the quæstor Cassius. The troops disdained a compliance with such a requisition; and, in the ensuing night, they retired from the town. Crassus, trusting to a treacherous guide, was led into danger; while his lieutenant Octavius with about 5000 men, and the quæstor with 500, escaped into places of security. The unfortunate general having retired to a hill, less secure than the station of Octavius, this officer quitted his post, and hastened to the scene of peril. He checked the approach of the foe, and surrounded Crassus with his division. The artful Asiatic now held out the lure of a negotiation, apprehending that the Romans would otherwise escape in the night. Crassus was unwilling to agree to a proposal which he considered as deceptive: but his soldiers urged him to meet these advances; and, when he advised them to wait patiently until the evening, they became so refractory and mutinous, that he consented to an interview with the Parthian commander. A horse was brought to him, as a present from the king: he was

placed on the animal's back with some degree of violence; and there seemed to be a determined intention of leading him into captivity. Hence arose a sanguinary contest, in which Crassus and Octavius were slain. The soldiers endeavoured to escape; but there were not many who were so fortunate. This disastrous expedition, it is said, proved fatal to 20,000 of the invaders, while 10,000 were made prisoners ²⁴.

Marcus Crassus was a man of courage, eloquence, and talent. He gave proof of the first quality on various occasions, particularly in the war with Spartacus. His abilities as an orator were frequently witnessed in the forum, where he readily offered himself to those who wished for an advocate; and his political talents were manifested in his rise to exorbitant power, as one of the triumviral despots. By the patronage of Sylla, the proscriber and confiscator, he acquired great wealth, which he increased by usury and by every kind of artifice. His slaves were more numerous than those of any other Roman; and, from their labors in various branches of art and manufacture, he derived a princely revenue. The augmentation of his wealth was his chief motive for rushing into the Parthian war; but ambition also had some influence in urging him to the rash expedition. He merited his fate, if it had been infinitely more severe, for wantonly throwing away the lives of myriads.

24 Plut.—App.—Liv. Epit. lib. cvi.

LETTER XXXIV.

The ROMAN History, continued to the Conquest of Gaul.

THE death which Crassus provoked by his unjustifiable and flagitious conduct, was, in one respect, a great misfortune to his country. It removed a powerful balance, which might have prevented a rupture between Cæsar and Pompey, each of whom would have been unwilling to rush into the extremities of contest, while so powerful a senator remained to throw his weight into the opposite scale.

Such was the disordered state of Rome, in consequence of the animosities of party, that no consuls were in office during the six months¹ which followed the magistracy of Domitius Ahenobarbus and Appius Claudius. Pompey promoted dissension, in the hope of procuring a grant of the dictatorial dignity; but, when some of his partisans ventured to hint the expediency of such an appointment, Cato and other senators exploded the suggestion. After riotous attempts to fill the vacancies, Pompey suffered Messala and Domitius Calvinus to occupy the consular station for the rest of the year. When the time for new elections approached, Metellus Scipio and Hypsæus contended with Milo for the exalted office, and not only practised bribery, but had recourse to open violence and sanguinary hostilities. Clodius, who was a candidate for the prætorian magistracy, eagerly promoted the pretensions of Milo's competitors; and, having a small army at his devotion, he studiously inflamed the disorders of the city. In returning from an excursion, he accidentally met Milo. The armed attendants began to offer mutual

1 Di. Cass.—Appian says, erroneously, *eight months*.

insults by looks and gestures; and Clodius, assuming an air of menace, was wounded on the head by a ^{Ante Chr.} gladiator. He was taken to an inn for relief and ^{52.} safety; but the ferocious Milo did not suffer him long to languish. Apprehending punishment for the violence already offered, he resolved to complete it. His men, by his order, forced their way into the house, and murdered the demagogue. When the body was exposed in the forum, the inferior people loudly lamented the death of their favorite, whose remains they carried to the senate-house, and burned with the building itself. They would have destroyed the house of Milo, if it had not been well defended; and, when he returned into the city, they would have taken summary vengeance upon him, if he had not escaped in disguise ².

Amidst this confusion, the senate appointed an *interrex*, by desiring Lepidus, in concert with Pompey and the tribunes, to provide for the public safety. The riots not being discontinued, all the young men throughout Italy were ordered to hold themselves in readiness for service³; and, out of the number, Pompey was authorised to make extraordinary levies. That the election of consuls might not be mischievously delayed, Milo offered to relinquish his pretensions, if such forbearance should be agreeable to Pompey, who answered, with seeming indifference, that he had no concern in the affair, and that it was the business of the people to decide the dispute. Many of the citizens requested the nomination of a dictator; and Pompey was pronounced the most worthy of that honor. Others expressed a wish for the election of Cæsar to the consulate; but the senate would not agree to either of those propositions. Bibulus, preferring Pompey to Julius, moved for the exclusive appointment of the former to the consular dignity, saying, "If the state cannot be restored

² Di. Cass. lib. xl. cap. 12.—App. lib. ii. cap. 8.—Liv. Epit. lib. cvii.

³ Cæs. lib. vii. cap. 1.

“ to peace and order without a master, let us at least make “ choice of the best.” Cato seconded the motion ; and it was adopted with little debate. A new *inter-rex* was named, who declared Pompey sole consul, with an intimation that, after the lapse of two months, he might choose a colleague ⁴.

New laws, more judicious than operative, signalled the administration of Pompey. As the prevalence of elective corruption required a more effectual check, he provided for a reform of the courts in which the offenders were to be tried, and enacted such regulations as rendered an evasion of justice much more difficult. By another law, he prohibited the assignment of provincial commands to any consuls or prætors, before the expiration of five years from the close of their offices : this, he thought, would check the usual eagerness for those magistracies, as the chief advantage derivable from them would be so distant.

Even if the people had not demanded the trial of Milo, the consul would have brought him to judgement, not from regret for the loss of a turbulent citizen, but because he wished to humble an offender, by whom he was not treated with that respect which he thought was due to his consequence and dignity. Cicero was so pleased at the removal of his enemy from the world, that he undertook the defence of Milo, whom, however, he could not save from a sentence of exile. Pompey attended the trial with a strong guard ; and some of the tribunes co-operated with him in over-awing the friends of the delinquent ; but the consul, to evince his impartiality, promoted the condemnation of several friends of Clodius for acts of riot and outrage. The two competitors of Milo were also tried for bribery. Hypsæus was condemned ; while Scipio was rescued from an unfavorable sentence by an irregular application to the judges from Pompey, who married the

⁴ Plut. Vit. Pompeii.—Di. Cass.—App.

daughter of that senator, and selected him for his associate in the consulship.

The proceedings at Rome were accurately communicated to Cæsar by his friends, who assured him, that he was still in favor with the people, while Pompey enjoyed the respect and confidence of the senate. The proconsul was now threatened with a formidable insurrection. In a council of deputies from various states of Gaul, the Carnutes distinguished themselves by their eagerness in the cause of revolt; and their zeal was, soon after, more strikingly manifested by the murder of some Roman traders. The Turones, Pictones, Parisii, and many other states, agreed to join them in the war. They had no difficulty in finding a leader; for Vercingetorix offered himself, and was readily accepted as a competent general. His father had been put to death by the Arverni, for aiming at arbitrary power; and the son was expelled from their chief town, for endeavouring to rouse the people to arms; but, when his influence had collected an army in the country, he returned to the capital, drove out his adversaries, and was proclaimed king by his followers. He was met by Cæsar in the territory of the Bituriges; and, while the Romans were besieging Avaricum, he set fire to twenty towns belonging to that state, that they might not have an opportunity of plundering them for the supply of their exigencies. It was debated in the invested town, whether it should be destroyed or defended; and nothing but the very earnest entreaties and supplications of the Bituriges, could dissuade the allies from its demolition. Vercingetorix did not personally defend it, but made choice of an able commandant, by whom the hostile approaches were long baffled. He fixed upon a hill that was almost surrounded by a deep morass, and made such dispositions for his security, that Cæsar, when he had reconnoitred the spot, declined an attack, even though his troops desired him to give the signal for action. A want of provision

bordering on famine, the severity of cold, and a great frequency of rain, did not discourage the hardy besiegers, who thought more of their own reputation, and the glory of their general, than of all the difficulties which attended the enterprise. When, after the labor of twenty-five days, they had raised a mount nearly to an equal height with the walls of the town, they were alarmed with an intimation from the sentinel of the night, that the new works were in flames; and, at the same moment, the garrison furiously sallied from two of the gates: but the courage of the Romans repelled the eruptors, and their activity extinguished the fire. The Gauls now resolved to quit the town, and would have retired in the night, if the women, conscious of their tardiness in flight, had not remonstrated against the proposal, and even threatened to give notice of such intention to the enemy. Taking advantage of a heavy rain, when the usual vigilance was relaxed, the Romans mounted the walls, and gained possession of the place; and, with the encouragement of their unfeeling general, massacred even the females and the children. Very few individuals of either sex, or of any age, escaped from the scene of wanton carnage⁵.

Having repaired, by new enlistments, the great loss of the allies, Vercingetorix posted his army near Gergovia, in the territory of the Arverni; but he could not prevent Cæsar from securing an advantageous spot which overlooked the town. The seizure of this post did not lead to a regular siege; for the Romans, having lost more than the amount of a cohort in an assault, and hearing of the discontent of the Ædui, whom the peculiar favor of the general had not rendered completely servile, advanced to the northward to check the rising storm.

The Æduan revolvers began their operations with the murder of some Roman soldiers and traders at Noviodun-

um, the seizure of the public money, horses, and corn, and the removal of the Gallic hostages to Bibracte, where a general council was convoked. The chief direction of the confederacy was eagerly desired by the Ædui; and, when this honor was denied to them, their zeal visibly declined, though they did not secede from the alliance. Vercingetorix, being permitted to retain the command, demanded a supply of cavalry, to the amount of 15,000 men; and, with this force, he attacked Cæsar, whose equestrian followers, reinforced by a body of Germans, routed the assailants with great slaughter. The Gallic leader fled to Alesia, severely harassed in his retreat.—Such was the strength of the town, both natural and acquired, that it could only be taken by the infliction of famine. Cæsar encompassed with very strong works the hill on which it stood, and raised other entrenchments, in a more distant circuit, for the protection of the blockading army.

Notwithstanding the loss which was sustained in the late battle and pursuit, and in a subsequent engagement amidst the preparations for the blockade, Vercingetorix, by the report of his great antagonist, had 80,000 men under his command, at the post which he had chosen for defence, after the dismissal of all his cavalry: but, with this force, he did not expect to prevail over the Roman army. He therefore urgently demanded the advance of the allies with such a force as might overwhelm the arbitrary and arrogant foe. In an assembly of chieftains, a certain proportion was fixed for every state which had entered into the confederacy. So extensive was the revolt, that it pervaded the greater part both of Celtic and Belgic Gaul. Troops were hastily levied, to the amount of 248,000 men. The principal commanders were Comius, Viridomar, Eborac, and Vergasillaunus. As soon as they had approached the Roman fortifications,

their cavalry engaged with spirit, but without the desired success. An assault was soon after ordered upon the exterior rampart, while a sally was made from the town. Both attempts were baffled with ease; and on neither side was the loss considerable ⁶.

When famine approached, the distress of the army led to an act of ingratitude and cruelty on the part of Vercingetorix and his officers. The Mandubii had received the troops within their town; and they were now ordered to quit it with their families. They offered themselves as slaves to the Romans, who brutally withheld all protection. In the view of both armies, they miserably perished for want of ordinary sustenance.

In observing the Roman works and arrangements, the confederate generals took notice of a hill which was occupied by a respectable force, but which was not so well secured by entrenchments as the rest of the station. Vergasillaunus was ordered to attack this post with the best troops that could be selected; and, at the same time, other divisions endeavoured to force the rampart in various parts; while a great proportion of the garrison rushed out to assail the nearest works. The Romans seemed to be in great danger, in consequence of such a variety and complication of attacks: but, by marching out of the lines, and trusting to manual vigor, they defeated and captured Vergasillaunus, and cut off the major part of his division ⁷.

A general retreat of the Gallic army ensued; and Vercingetorix, with the concurrence of his officers, proposed a capitulation. Cæsar accepted the offer of submission, and ordered all to be treated as prisoners, except 20,000, whom he restored to the Ædui and Arverni. When Vercingetorix appeared in the camp, he neither addressed his

⁶ Cæs. lib. vii. cap. 65, 69, 70, 75.

⁷ Cæs. lib. vii. cap. 76—81.

conqueror⁸, nor was received by him with that politeness which was due to the fallen fortunes of a gallant chief.

Considering Gaul as almost entirely subdued, the senate readily acknowledged the merit and services of the victorious general, and decreed a thanksgiving for twenty days, in consideration of his signal success. He was also allowed to sue for the consulate in his absence; which was regarded as a great favor: but he did not at this time offer himself as a candidate. The citizens who solicited that honor were Sulpicius, Marcus Marcellus, and Cato. All the interest of Pompey and Cæsar being exerted against the last, the two first were chosen.

New commotions having arisen in Gaul, the Ante Chr. 51. courage of the proconsul was again called into action. He presented himself among the Bituriges when they had no expectation of his arrival; captured a great number, and dispersed the rest. Several states, that were inclined to revolt, were terrified into a renewal of submission; but the high spirit of the Bellovaci would not so tamely suffer the galling yoke. They drew the Ambiani, the Atrebatæ, and other communities, into a confederacy; sent to Germany for military aid; and, under the command of Correns, took possession of an eminence, surrounded by a morass, with a wood in their rear. Cæsar fortified his camp at an inconsiderable distance from their post, without venturing to order an assault. When he had augmented his army, his adversaries were apprehensive of a circumvallation, and therefore retreated in the night to a spot which was even more defensible than the former⁹.

The Gallic chief, eager to employ his best troops in

8 Di. Cass.—Florus, however, has attributed a short speech to the captive, “Thou hast me in thy power: thou hast conquered a brave man, O bravest of men!” By one of his usual errors, this writer has applied to Gergovia the circumstances which attended the siege or blockade of Alesia.

9 Hirtii Comment. de Bello Gallico. cap. 1—15.

harassing the Romans, disposed 7000 men in an ambuscade. Cæsar, by obtaining early information of this scheme from a captive, was furnished with an opportunity of defeating it. He sent a strong guard with his foragers, and followed with his legions. The hostile cavalry soon rushed from a wood, and commenced an attack, but did not make any forcible impression. The infantry advanced to support them, and compelled the Roman horse to recoil. A body of light infantry stopped this retrograde motion; and the Gauls were so vigorously pressed, that they fled before the legions reached the spot. Correus, and the greater part of the detachment, fell; and this defeat so confounded the allies, that offers of submission were made and accepted. Comius, chief of the Atrebates, refused to concur even with his own state in the treaty, his resentment being highly inflamed by a base attempt for his assassination at a conference, which had urged him to vow that he would never again trust himself in the company of a Roman. After some desultory hostilities, he and his small band of horsemen were defeated: and he then sent hostages to one of Cæsar's lieutenants, making it a part of the agreement, that he should not be tortured with the sight of a Roman¹⁰.

In the Celtic division of Gaul, some states also revolted. The Andes and Carnutes were among the insurgents; and Dumnacus was the commander of the allied force. Being defeated with the loss of 12,000 men, he fled with few companions to the extremity of Gaul. The remains of his army were collected by Drapes, who, in concert with Luterius, resolved to invade the provinciated portion of Gaul; but, being pursued by a considerable force, they stopped at Uxellodunum, and made dispositions for defence. While the Romans were preparing for the circumvallation of the town, a party of Gauls had collected a

¹⁰ Hirtii Comm. cap. 16—19, 39.

supply of corn ; but they were not able to secure it ; for their enemies intercepted the detachment, and slew almost all who composed it. They soon after assaulted a camp which Drapes occupied, stormed it, and captured that chieftain. The town was defended until a considerable part of the garrison died of thirst ; and, when it was at length surrendered, Cæsar, with vindictive cruelty, maimed, and rendered helpless for life, the assertors of independence¹¹, lest others should be tempted to revolt and obstruct his views of usurpation.

In the succeeding year, tranquillity prevailed throughout Gaul ; and Cæsar took the opportunity of conciliating the subjected states, which had severely felt the vigor of his hostility. The chieftains, despairing of the efficacy of resistance, acquiesced in his sway, and, admiring his ability and accomplishments, seemed to forget the injustice of the war, and the cruelties which he had perpetrated in their country.

While this great warrior was bringing the Gallic war to a close, after acts of the most unjustifiable nature,—another citizen of high reputation distinguished himself in his provincial command, not by the exploits of an able general, but by a course of admirable government. Being intrusted with the administration of Cilicia, Cicero resolved to practise those rules of conduct which he had recommended to other statesmen and governors. In his way to Asia Minor through Greece, he testified unusual forbearance, in not suffering the charges of his progress to be defrayed by the inhabitants, or out of the provincial funds. Although he had no inclination or genius for war, he was induced to give early attention to military affairs by the intelligence which he received of the movements and intentions of the Parthians. That he might be prepared to meet the danger of invasion, he reviewed his

11 He cut off their hands, and *graciously* permitted them to live. *Hirtius*.

army in Cappadocia, and strengthened it by Asiatic enlistments. Having been ordered to act as the protector of the vassal king of that country, who dreaded the intrigues of disaffection, he took prudent measures for the security of the government, and baffled the schemes of the mal-contents. While he was thus employed, the main body of the Parthian army invaded Syria, and a detachment attempted to enter Cilicia. His province was sufficiently guarded ; but Antioch, where Cassius had a small force, was for some time blockaded. Cicero now hastened over mount Taurus, and, proceeding to the pass of Amanus, intimidated the besiegers into a retreat. Cassius pursued them, and slew a considerable number. Pleased at this success, the proconsul of Cilicia undertook an expedition against the barbarians of mount Amanus, destroyed their forts, and effectually crushed the independence of those freebooters. As, with his army, it was easy to perform this service, the remark of his biographer is rather too complimentary, when he says, “ Now that he “ found himself engaged, and pushed to the necessity of “ acting the general, he seems to have wanted neither “ the courage nor conduct of an experienced leader¹².” From his civil government, however, no one can justly withhold the tribute of high praise. He exercised, for the public benefit, the high power with which he was invested. He listened with condescension to the complaints of the meanest individuals ; prevented the rich from oppressing the poor ; distributed justice with strict impartiality and the most incorrupt integrity ; checked the extortions of inferior magistrates ; corrected various abuses, and effected a general reform¹³. Such ought to be the

¹² Middleton's Life of Cicero.

¹³ Hooke uncandidly insinuates, that Cicero had no better motive, for doing what was right, than mere vain-glory and the desire of applause, and affirms, that, while he thus acted, he was a *detestable hypocrite and a villain in his heart*. Indeed, the grossest abuse of that party with which the great orator was connected, is the principal feature of this part of the work alluded to, which, as

conduct of every governor ; but the generality of the Romans, in their provincial administration, pursued a very different course, disgraceful to themselves and to their country.

LETTER XXXV.

History of the ROMAN Republic, to the Commencement of Cæsar's Usurpation.

ALL eyes were now turned upon the movements of Cæsar. It was no longer doubted, from the whole Ante Chr. 51. tenor of his conduct, that he intended to make his provincial government instrumental to the acquisition of exorbitant power in Italy ; and the attachment of his soldiers, with his extraordinary popularity, seemed to render his success almost certain. Yet the leaders of the senate were far from despairing of the accomplishment of their wishes for his humiliation : they fondly hoped that the habitual reverence of the people for the conscript fathers would not be annihilated by the arts of an aspiring demagogue, or by the traitorous views of a refractory general. In entertaining such confidence, they did not sufficiently reflect on the talents and vigor of Julius, or on the influence which he had obtained among all orders of men, except the highest and least numerous class.

The consul Marcus Marcellus was particularly desirous of the dismissal of Cæsar from his command, before his power and influence should be so established, as to enable him to rise above control. In his public as well as private

the writer proceeds, degenerates into a collection of memoirs, or materials for history, hastily transcribed, in a great measure, from various works, even from translations.

speeches, he freely animadverted on the conduct of that general; but, when he proposed a vote of recall, it was resisted by some of the tribunes, and postponed to another year. Even Pompey, alleging that the granted term had not elapsed, ostensibly favored the continuance of the proconsul's authority¹.

The adversaries of Cæsar having procured the election
 Ante Chr. of Caius Marcellus to the consular dignity, he
 50. apprehended that Paulus Æmilius, the other consul, would also oppose him. He therefore had recourse to corruption, and, by liberal presents, engaged Paulus to support his interest. He likewise bribed the tribune Curio to defend his cause, and prevent his removal from military command. This magistrate had been a warm opponent of Cæsar; but, being released by him from a great burthen of debt, he attached himself to that powerful leader. For some time after his interested change of sentiment, he pretended to be still friendly to the senatorial party, that he might obtain such intelligence as might be useful to his new friend, to whom, by his activity and address, he proved a valuable auxiliary².

When the appointment of a successor to Cæsar was again proposed, Curio did not resist it, but hinted that Pompey ought, at the same time, to be superseded in his government. The republic, he said, would then be free from all arbitrary control. He did not really wish that Cæsar should be deprived of his authority; and, being assured that Pompey would not comply with such an order, he considered that the former general would have a fair excuse for the retention of his command. The friends of Pompey were disgusted at the behaviour of Curio, whom the censor Appius menaced with expulsion from the senate. Piso, the other censor, joined the consul Æmilius in defending the tribune; and the majority of

1 Di. Cass. lib. xl. cap. 15.

2 Plut. Vit. Cæsaris.—Di. Cass. lib. xl. cap. ult.

the members voted in his favor. The people also were so pleased at his conduct, that they flocked about him on his return to his house, scattering flowers on his head, and strewing them in his way³.

If the respect thus shown to Curio evinced the decline of Pompey's popularity at Rome, where he had given offence by his encouragement of the law against bribes and largesses, it did not appear that he had universally lost the good opinion of the multitude ; for, when his life was endangered by illness at Naples, the citizens and the neighbouring provincials publicly prayed to the Gods for his recovery ; and, in almost every considerable town of Italy, the restoration of his health was celebrated with festive joy. This public flattery so elevated his confidence, that he expressed his contempt for all the efforts of Cæsar ; and, when a friend expressed his doubts of the practicability of withstanding the power of that general, he exclaimed, with a smile of triumph, " If I only stamp upon " the ground, an army will start up to support me⁴."

When the question of dismissal was again brought forward, Curio insisted upon it's extension to both commanders ; and his proposition was voted by the senate. Marcellus instantly dismissed the assembly, saying with a sneer, " Take Cæsar for your master !" A rumor of the approach of that formidable warrior being propagated, the consul proposed that he should be declared an enemy of the republic ; and, when Curio counter-acted that suggestion by his forcible negative, Marcellus declared that, if he could not obtain the concurrence of the senate for the public defence, he would act by his own authority in so just a cause. Presenting a sword to Pompey, he desired him to march against Cæsar with all the troops that were then ready, and gave him permission to levy more. Curio,

3 App. de Bellis Civil. lib. ii. cap. 10.

4 Plut. Vit. Pompeii.

having in vain endeavoured to obstruct all farther preparations, left the city, and hastened to Cæsar's camp⁵.

Affecting a desire of peace and concord, Julius requested his friends at Rome to propose, that Cis-Alpine Gaul and Illyria, with only two legions, should remain under his command until he should re-obtain the consular dignity. Pompey allowed, that this request was not unreasonable; but Marcellus opposed it as delusive. A letter, addressed to the senate, was soon after presented. Beside

Ante Chr. self-praise, it contained a promise of resignation,

49. depending upon the similar conduct of Pompey ;

and threats were mingled with patriotic declarations⁶. Lentulus, one of the new consuls, intimated his hope that the senators would not, as at the last meeting, be overawed by the audacity and power of Cæsar, but would freely deliberate and boldly act ; and Scipio, tutored by Pompey, declared the readiness of this general to defend the state, if they would display that spirit which the alarming conjuncture required. Marcus Marcellus advised a postponement of all inquiries into the state of the nation or the rivalry of particular commanders, until new enlistments should have taken place throughout Italy. Calidius and Rufus proposed, that Pompey should be ordered to repair to his province, to remove all pretence for war, as Cæsar had cause to apprehend that his opponent would otherwise employ against him the two legions which had been sent back from Gaul⁷. The consul sharply reproved these speakers for their suggestions ; and Scipio exhorted the assembly to command the immediate dismissal of Cæsar's army, with a denunciation of vengeance for contumacy⁸.

5 App. lib. ii. cap. 12. 6 App. lib. ii.—Cicero's Epist. lib. xvi. 11.

7 The senate had voted, that Pompey, as well as Cæsar, should send a legion for the exigencies of the Parthian war. That which the former supplied had been lent to the governor of Gaul, who now sent it back with one of his peculiar legions. When Cæsar found that these troops were detained at Capua, he loudly complained of the hostile intentions of his adversaries.

8 Cæsar's Comment. de Bello Civili, lib. i. cap. i.

A grandson of the orator Antonius, whom Marius put to death, was at this time tribune of the people. He is usually called Mark Antony. He was the dissolute companion of Clodius and of Curio, and was nearly as fond of power as of pleasure. Being an admirer of the character of Cæsar, and thinking that fortune promised to favor that general, he attached himself to his cause, and abetted his pretensions with zeal and effrontery. In concert with Quintus Cassius, he peremptorily prohibited the senate from adopting the proposal of Scipio. At the next meeting, Piso requested a delay of six days; during which, he said, he would endeavour to dispose Cæsar to an accommodation: but Lentulus, Scipio, and Cato, protested against this indulgence, and strove to intimidate the tribunes into acquiescence. Failing in this point, the majority changed their dress, as in times of public calamity. So incensed were the friends of Pompey at the continued opposition of the tribunes, that a motion was made for their punishment. The consul having advised them to retire from the city, before an unfavorable resolution should pass, Antony rose from his seat in a paroxysm of anger, poured out bitter execrations, and denounced horrible vengeance. Pretending that the adverse party meditated sanguinary violence, he disguised himself in the habit of a slave, and fled with Cassius to the camp of his patron⁹.

Disregarding the tribunitian negative, the senate ordered Scipio's proposition to be registered as an ordinance; and it was also voted, that the chief officers of the republic should diligently provide for the public safety¹⁰. The partisans of Julius vehemently exclaimed against this decree, which, they said, was calculated to load his conduct with unmerited odium, as if, like Catiline, he had conspired with villains to burn the city, and subvert the government¹¹.

9 App. lib. ii. cap. 12.—Plut. Vit. Marci Antonii.—Cæs. de Bello Civ. lib. i.

10 Liv. Epit. lib. cix.

11 Cæs. lib. i. cap. 4.

The decree, however, was not unseasonable ; for his arbitrary views were evident to all who were not duped by artifice and plausibility.

Cicero endeavoured to mediate a peace between the irritated rivals : but his moderation did not suit the views of either. Both offered to make concessions, while both were determined not to resign the essentials of power. If they had cordially coalesced, they might have ruled without control : but, while Pompey (according to the remark of a Roman poet) could not bear an equal, nor Cæsar endure a superior, both were ready to rush into arms, without the least regard to the feelings of humanity. Cicero was willing to give all his interest to Pompey, whose cause appeared to him, and to the most respectable citizens, more just and legitimate, and consequently more worthy of zealous support, than that of his aspiring competitor. But a conviction of the superior energy of Cæsar, and a dread of his more decisive character, delayed the orator's determination. He was tortured with doubt and perplexity, while he bitterly lamented the misfortunes of his country.

When the senate re-assembled, Pompey expressed his high approbation of the late conduct of the majority ; boasted of the number and readiness of the republican legions ; and affirmed, from what he considered as indisputable authority, that the troops of Cæsar were by no means disposed to assist him in his rebellious schemes. The assembly immediately commissioned him to act against all insurgents, and to make use of the public money for military preparations¹². In the adjustment of provincial commands, Gaul was assigned to Domitius, and Syria to Scipio ; and Faustus, the son of Sylla, would have been sent into Mauritania, if the tribune Philippus had not resisted the appointment.

¹² Cæsar says, that not only the towns were obliged to contribute money, but the temples were pillaged by his adversaries, by whom (he adds) all divine and human laws were confounded and violated. What regard did he pay to any laws, except those of his own mind, or the dictates of his own will ?

Cæsar, after the retreat of the tribunes to his camp, harangued his soldiers with artful eloquence. He enumerated the injuries which he had received from his enemies; complained of the envious ingratitude of Pompey, whose dignity and interest he had studiously promoted; reprobated the gross insults offered to the plebeian magistrates, whose negative even the tyrant Sylla had respected; inveighed against that decree which provided for the public security, as wholly unwarranted by any of his acts or proceedings, and as calculated to excite a dangerous ferment in the republic; and exhorted those warriors who had so bravely fought under his auspices for nine years, had subdued Gaul and diffused terror in Germany, to support his pretensions and maintain his honor. The only legion that witnessed this inflammatory appeal, declared its readiness to avenge the cause of the general and his tribunitian friends. Sending this legion from Ravenna to Ariminum, he advanced at night with a small party to the Rubicon, a rivulet which bounded his province.

His daring courage failed him, when he stood on the verge of the stream. A sense of humanity arrested his steps: he assumed a thoughtful air, and communed with his friends. If he should pass over without dismissing every one of his soldiers, he would necessarily be considered as an insurgent and a rebel: and, if he should return to Rome as a private man, his opponents, he thought, would effectually obstruct his views of power. To such control his high spirit could not submit: he therefore discarded all those feelings which tended to relax his profligate ambition, and passed the Rubicon with his subservient legionaries¹³.

When he had formed this unjustifiable and sanguinary determination, he could not be expected to listen to any proposals of accommodation. Some overtures from Pom-

pey were treated with contempt; and, after the seisure of Ariminum, other towns were taken by the rebel cohorts¹⁴.

The irregular movements of Cæsar, and his audacious defiance of the constitutional authority of the senate, disgusted and alarmed all the friends of that assembly. From their knowledge of his character, they expected some disdain of submission; but they did not think that he would commence open hostilities against the governing power of his country. The senate assembled, but broke up without decision. Rome was no longer considered as a place of safety for the zealous partisans of Pompey. Frequent emigrations ensued; but the majority of the inhabitants remained, intending to submit to Cæsar.

Much depended, at this crisis, on the conduct of Pompey. He had not an army in the city; and, as he did not confide in the attachment of the people, he abstained from levying troops among them. He hastened to the legions which were at Capua, attended or followed by the greater part of the senate¹⁵. In that neighbourhood he increased his strength, and assumed an apparent firmness of demeanor, worthy of his former fame and his present pretensions.

Cæsar, advancing through the Picene territory, found the provincials ready to favor his cause. Asculum was occupied by ten cohorts, whose commander endeavoured to draw them off, but could only prevail upon a small part of the number to accompany him in his retreat. Julius then took possession of that town; and, having ordered his friends to enlist as many individuals as they could find, he proceeded to Corfinium. Here it was expected that the senatorial troops would resist with vigor: but Pompey, when the commandant Domitius urged him to approach with his army, that Cæsar might be hemmed in,

or at least severely harassed, disregarded the application, and blamed the officer for attending to the defence of the town, when he might be better employed in co-operating with the consular force. This answer induced Domitius to determine upon a retreat, with only a few friends. The garrison, discovering his intention, seised him, and surrendered him to Cæsar, to whom they at the same time resigned the town. He was dismissed in safety by that general, as were also many persons of distinction who had joined him¹⁶.

Pompey, not deeming his force sufficient to cope with the increasing army of his opponent, retired toward the coast, but was overtaken at Brundisium, and so far blocked up, that he almost despaired of escaping. The consuls had already sailed to Dyrrhachium with the bulk of the army ; and, that he might be enabled to follow them, he endeavoured to destroy the boom which Cæsar had partially framed across the mouth of the harbour. When the transports had been sent back from the opposite coast, he found means, by artful precautions, to carry off his troops in security.

As it seemed desirable that Cæsar should fix his authority in Italy upon a firm basis, before he ventured to engage in a remote enterprise, he directed his views to Rome. The senators of his party being called to a meeting, he declared, that, instead of aiming at extraordinary honors, he would content himself with those which were open to every citizen ; and re-asserted his willingness to be fully reconciled to his adversaries, however he might disapprove the illiberality and injustice of their conduct.

The daring rebel now became an usurper. He resolved to seise the public money, and apply it to his own use. Ordering the keeper of the treasury to open it, he was

opposed by the tribune Metellus, who alleged that the money was reserved for the purposes of the Gallic war, and could not be embezzled without impiety. "It is no longer required (said Cæsar) for that use; for Gaul has been subdued by my exertions." "The laws, however, (said Metellus) forbid you to seize the national treasure."—"Arms and law (replied Julius) cannot be expected to agree." Proceeding to menaces of personal violence, he gained his point, and stole a great quantity of gold¹⁷.

As Italy in general, and Rome in particular, had submitted to the direction of Cæsar, he repaired to Gaul, in his way to Spain, which he earnestly wished to subdue. When he approached Massilia, he sent for some of the principal citizens, and exhorted them to follow the example of all Italy, rather than listen to the individual dictates of Pompey. They professed an equal regard for both competitors; but, when Domitius arrived with a small armament, he was readily invested with the government of the city.

Pompey had sent Vibullius Rufus into Spain, to secure his interest in that important province. When that officer had communicated the instructions of his friend to the three lieutenants who divided the command of the peninsula, it was resolved that the storm of war should be first met at Ilerda. Near that town five legions were posted, beside a considerable army of provincials. Cæsar soon arrived with a great force, having added the best troops of Gaul to the veteran warriors of Italy. His first care was to fortify his camp; and he finished that work with little molestation from the enemy. In a contest for a commanding eminence, he was unsuccessful; and, for some time,

17 Plut.—App.—Di. Cass.—Flor.—Cæsar has omitted the mention of this act of robbery. He merely says, that Metellus was tutored to obstruct his views and purposes.

his means of subsistence were seriously circumscribed : but, by his dexterity and address, he secured his army from famine, and obtained the most flattering advantages.

His fame and progress drew promises of submission from many of the communities between the Pyrenees and the Ebro ; and, by these, he was well supplied with every kind of assistance and support. His adversaries, who had lately exulted in their resources, now felt the approach of want, and therefore resolved to try their fortune in Celtiberia. Having early intelligence of their determination, he prepared to harass them in their retreat. When they had forded the Segre, and were marching to a bridge which they had erected over the Ebro, his cavalry crossed the former river, and hastened to attack them. The infantry, displeased at not being ordered to follow, demanded permission to attempt a passage. The rapidity of the stream endangered some ; but none perished by it's violence. As soon as the main body approached the partisans of Pompey, Afranius, who acted as general against Cæsar, drew up the army in order of battle upon an eminence, but rather for defence than for aggression. He called a council, to deliberate on the means and the time of escape ; and it was resolved that some mountainous defiles, not very distant, should be seised in the morning. Cæsar was equally desirous of pre-occupying the same station ; and his superior celerity obtained it. He destroyed a detachment which had been sent to take possession of the most elevated spot, harassed his foes in the rear, and, in front, precluded their advance¹⁸.

Thus were the adherents of Pompey involved in extreme danger. They were considerably out-numbered by the troops of Cæsar : their officers were less skilful and experienced, beside being less zealous in the cause which they had embraced ; and famine threatened them with

severe calamity. When they deliberated on the critical state of their affairs, they were inclined to enter into an accommodation; and, being gratified by Cæsar's forbearance with opportunities of conversing with his soldiers, they expressed their unwillingness to contend with their countrymen, and proposed that all animosities should be consigned to oblivion. The two camps seemed to be united in friendly intercourse. Many of the officers under Afranius signified their readiness to submit to Cæsar; and the general's son sent a lieutenant to stipulate for his own safety and that of his father. Petreius, who was associated in the command with Afranius, was so disgusted at this communication between the armies, that he rushed among the Cæsarians, some of whom were put to death for their intrusion. He labored to substitute the zeal of hostility for the harmony of reconciliation, and exacted an oath of fidelity to Pompey, whom, he said, it would be highly criminal to desert or betray. He then proposed that the army should return to Ilerda, where some provisions had been left. Cæsar ordered his cavalry to harass the marching enemy without intermission; and, when a new encampment was formed by Afranius and Petreius, he commenced the work of circumvallation. They drew out their force, as if they intended to obstruct his preparations for blockade: but they did not venture to attack him. When their necessities became more importunately urgent, even Petreius agreed to a conference with Cæsar, who, while he sharply reproved that commander for his late conduct, declared that he would not take the least revenge for the sanguinary outrage, but would consent to the safe departure of the whole army. Faithful to his engagements, he neither suffered any injury or affront to be offered to the retreating soldiers, nor compelled any one of them to enlist under his standard¹⁹.

19 App. lib. ii. cap. 13.—Cæs. lib. i. cap. 66—72.—Di. Cass.

The other commander in the peninsula was Terentius Varro, who boasted that he would firmly maintain the authority of Pompey in Ulterior Spain and in Lusitania. He found, however, that a great number of the provincials were disposed to favor the pretensions of Cæsar; who, having correct intelligence of the state of the public mind in this respect, prepared to take advantage of his popularity. While the tribune Cassius advanced with two legions, Julius held a great council at Corduba, where he was met by Varro, who, as he could not depend on the fidelity of his troops, had recourse to complete submission²⁰.

Pompey was blamed by his friends for neglecting Spain, where his presence and exertions might have checked the progress of his rival. He thought, however, that his lieutenants in that country had ample means of defence, and that he might be better employed in directing the application of the resources of Greece and the East; but, with all his merit, he was not equal to Cæsar, either as a general or a statesman. His opponent, indeed, allowed him the praise of an able commander, by saying that, after conquering an army which had no general, he was going to attack a general who had no army²¹: but, in the same breath, he severely animadverted on his negligence, imprudence, and want of judgement.

Among the distinguished citizens by whom Cæsar was supported, Cicero had been repeatedly solicited to enroll himself; but his republican zeal would not suffer him to join that ambitious warrior, who evidently wished to rear a fabric of despotism. He was pleased at the clemency which Cæsar had displayed at Corfinium, and did not apprehend that the new master of Italy would imitate the atrocities of Sylla: yet he foresaw that no remains of liberty would exist under his sway. When he had de-

20 Cæs. lib. ii. cap. 16—18.

Liv. Epit. lib. cx.

21 Sueton. Vit. Cæs. cap. 34.

clined all co-operation, his observance of neutrality was solicited without effect. He was advised by Atticus, a friend whom he particularly esteemed, to remain in Italy when Pompey had left it, and quietly await the course of events, without joining either of the contending parties: but, after long deliberation, he resolved to attach himself to Pompey; and, accompanied by a son, a brother, and a nephew, he presented himself in the camp near Dyrrhachium. If he did not impart, to the cause which he embraced, the energy which a great warrior would have given, he at least added weight and consequence to the senatorial confederacy in the public opinion.

In the same camp was the philosophic Brutus, supposed to be a descendant of the bold subverter of the Roman monarchy. He was nephew and son-in-law to Cato, whose austerity of character he was disposed to imitate. A regard for his country alone induced him to join Pompey, whom he considered as a far less dangerous enemy to the republic than Cæsar. If he had been actuated by passion or resentment, he would have warmly opposed the general, by whom his father (an accomplice of the insurgent Lepidus) had been put to death: but he waved all personal animosities, when a public cause seemed to demand his support.

The same cause was dignified by the sanction and authority of Cato, who did not, however, exert that vigor which was expected from him by his friends and the public. He was governor of Sicily when the civil war commenced; and, having a respectable fleet and army, he might have defended the island against Asinius Pollio, whom Cæsar had sent to take possession of it: but, hearing that Curio was on his way with a great force, he declared that he would not expose the unoffending inhabitants to that danger which would attend resistance, and resolved to relinquish his government. Expressing his wonder at the mysterious counsels of the Gods, who had

permitted Pompey to prosper when his designs and enterprises were not the most justifiable, and now deserted him when he wished to defend the state against usurpation and tyranny, he bade adieu to the assembled citizens of Syracuse, and embarked for Corcyra²².

While Pompey and his friends were holding consultations, and preparing for action, Cæsar, having assigned to Cassius the chief command in Spain, returned into Gaul, and prosecuted the siege of Massilia. The inhabitants, assisted by a body of Gallic mountaineers, had resolutely defended the city against his lieutenant Trebonius, and harassed the besiegers by frequent sallies: but, when a tower of extraordinary dimensions had been constructed, and brought into such effectual use, as to injure the works and make breaches in the walls, a suspension of hostility was so pathetically desired by the garrison, until the arrival of Cæsar, that the conductor of the siege acceded to the request. Several days had passed in mutual inaction, when suddenly the besieged rushed forth, and set fire to the adverse works. The wind aided the progress of the flames, and the labors of months were destroyed in an hour. But the zeal and diligence of the Romans soon repaired the loss; and, when Cæsar had undertaken the personal direction of the siege, the garrison, weakened by a pestilential disorder, and dreading the extremity of famine, purchased security by a surrender of arms, martial engines, vessels, and treasure²³. The Grecian origin of the colony, and the fame of the inhabitants for high civilisation, softened the resentment of Julius, and induced him to abstain from that violence and outrage which their enmity would otherwise have provoked.

When Curio had settled the affairs of Sicily, he sailed to Africa with two legions, to oppose Attius Varus, who commanded for the senate in the Roman province. He

²² Plut. Vit. Catonis.

²³ Cæs. lib. ii. cap. 8—15, 20.

met with another adversary in the person of Juba, king of a part of Numidia²⁴, who had been grossly affronted by Cæsar in a dispute between him and one of his countrymen at Rome, and had been threatened by Curio, when tribune, with the seizure of his realm. Having prevailed in an equestrian skirmish, the friend of Cæsar suffered the soldiers to salute him *imperator*, as if he had obtained a signal victory. Encouraged by this honor, he advanced with alacrity against a strong body of Numidians near Utica, and slew a considerable number.

An associate of Attius was the senator Quintilius Varus, who had been dismissed by Cæsar at Corfinium. Not considering that favor as a ground of obligation, he endeavoured to draw the troops of Curio (chiefly consisting of the legionaries who had acted under Domitius) into the service of their former patron : but the fame of their present master, and the eloquence of their commander, kept them in a state of submission. They were soon after led into action, and behaved with such spirit, as to put the Pompeian army to flight. As the camp was not deemed sufficiently secure, the fugitives retired to Utica, where they were subjected to the perils of a siege²⁵.

The inhabitants of the invested town were friendly to the interest of Cæsar, or unwilling to expose themselves to the miseries of war. They therefore requested Varus to abstain from that vigor of defence which would exasperate the besiegers, and urged him to a speedy surrender : but the arrival of messengers, announcing the approach of Juba with a great army, counter-acted all proposals of submission. The same intelligence, being communicated to Curio, induced him to retire to a strong post, where he resolved to remain, in expectation of fresh legions from Sicily. A new report, propagated with views of de-

24 In the Epitome of Livy, he is called king of *Mauritania*.

25 Cæs. lib. ii. cap. 25--32.

ception, drew him from his retreat. It was affirmed, that the Numidian prince had been recalled into his kingdom by affairs of immediate urgency, and had sent an officer toward Utica with a moderate force. This was a temptation which the martial zeal of Curio could not resist. He quitted his secure post, and blindly rushed into danger.

Near the Bagrada, the cavalry attacked in the night a considerable body of Numidians, and so quickly prevailed, that Curio became impatiently eager for a general engagement. To Sabura, the commander of the routed detachment, the king sent a select reinforcement, while he followed with his main body, at such a distance as prevented him from being discerned by the adverse general. Curio, observing that Sabura gave way, suffered the artful Numidian to draw him into a plain, where the king's numerous cavalry had an opportunity of acting with decisive effect. Fresh troops being occasionally sent by Juba, the Cæsarians were surrounded and overwhelmed. Curio did not attempt to escape. He declared, to an officer who engaged to protect him in his flight, that he was determined not to survive the ruin of his army. He fell, combating with all the courage of despair: of his infantry, not a man escaped; but some horsemen fled amidst the confusion, and reached the camp, where five cohorts remained as a guard. Such soldiers as were more active than the rest, arrived at the sea-side, and sailed to Sicily; while those who were left in the camp submitted to Varus, who had not sufficient influence over Juba to prevent that barbarian from murdering almost the whole number²⁶.

This misfortune did not occur alone; for, in Illyria, ill success likewise attended the arms of Cæsar. Octavius and Libo, who commanded Pompey's fleet on the Dalmatian coast, attacked Dolabella, and destroyed or captured his squadron. The vanquished officer escaped to

²⁶ Cæs. lib. ii. cap. 34—40—App. lib. ii. cap. 15.—Di. Cass. lib. xli. cap. 8.

the camp of Caius Antonius, near the borders of Istria. This commander, being also defeated, fled to the isle of Curicta, and was constrained, by a blockade which threatened him with the most serious deprivations, to surrender the greater part of his force. Some parties endeavoured to escape in three vessels; in one of which, the fugitives, who belonged to Opitergium, madly resolved to perish, rather than fall into the hands of the Pompeians. Being encompassed by hostile ships, they rushed upon each other, and fell by the wounds which their friends inflicted²⁷.

In the absence of Cæsar from Rome, that city was quietly governed by the prætor Lepidus; while Mark Antony had the command of the troops, and the general government of Italy. Without regard to regularity of appointment, Lepidus declared his patron dictator, pretending that the authority both of the senate and the people favored the nomination. Cæsar was on his way to Rome to exercise his new office, when one of his legions mutinied at Placentia, from disgust at not having found the war sufficiently productive of spoil. He ordered all the discontented soldiers to quit his service, and, by this tone of contempt, so roused their feelings, that they earnestly implored his forgiveness: but he would not reinstate them before he had punished twelve of their number with decapitation²⁸.

Some acts of indulgence distinguished his dictatorial magistracy. All exiles, except Milo, he recalled. He pardoned some individuals who had been convicted of bribery. He distributed corn among the poor citizens. A prudent regulation with regard to debts followed these displays of kindness and liberality. He did not ordain (as some unprincipled debtors wished) that creditors should give a general release; but he made such arrangements as secured to them about three-fourths of the whole

²⁷ Freinsh. Supplem. in Livii librum ex.

²⁸ Di. Cass. lib. xli. cap. 7.—App. lib. ii.

amount of their demands, and thus quieted the debtors, without disgusting the claimants. He then gave orders for the annual elections ; and the people readily made choice of him for one of the consuls, Servilius Vatia being the other—the son of that citizen who derived an honorable epithet from his exploits in Isauria.

LETTER XXXVI.

The ROMAN History, continued to the Ruin and Death of Pompey.

CÆSAR did not reflect, with the plenitude of joy or with absolute satisfaction, upon his success in Italy ; and Pompey hoped to deprive him even of that power which he had acquired. The preparations of these rival leaders corresponded with the importance of the contest. Troops, ships, and money, were eagerly collected ; and the most powerful means of destruction were sought by both parties with all the intemperate zeal of ambition. Cæsar fixed the rendezvous of his army at Brundisium ; but, when he arrived at that port, he only found a sufficient number of vessels for the transportation of a part of his force. Impatient of delay, he sailed in the winter with seven incomplete legions ; and, un-^{Ante Chr. 48.}observed by Bibulus, who, having the command of a powerful fleet, ought to have interrupted the voyage, he arrived on the coast of Epirus, and enforced the surrender of Oricum. Bibulus was so mortified at his own negligence, that, when he met thirty of Cæsar's transports returning to Italy, he destroyed the seamen in the flames in which he involved the vessels¹. He soon exhibited an-

¹ So Cæsar informs us. Dio merely says, that he sank some of the ships.

other instance of cruelty, disgraceful to the cause in which he fought; for, when Calenus had sent a reinforcement to Cæsar from Brundisium, and, from fear of loss, had recalled the ships, the interception of one of them gave Bibulus an opportunity of wreaking his vengeance upon the whole crew.

After some fruitless attempts for the negotiatory settlement of all disputed points, the opposite commanders remained for some time inactive, Pompey at Dyrrhachium, and Cæsar to the southward of the Apsus. During this interval, commotions arose at Rome. The prætor Cœlius Rufus declared himself the friend of debtors, and endeavoured, by proposing new regulations, to relieve them much more effectually than Cæsar had lately favored them. His views being resisted by one of his judicial brethren, he instigated the rabble to attack his opponent, who, after a short but not bloodless conflict, was driven from his tribunal. The consul Servilius, complaining of this outrage to the senate, procured a decree for the removal of Rufus from official power. Resenting this disgrace, he invited Milo to join him in an insurrection; but he and his associate were soon checked in their career. Milo was killed while he was besieging Cosa with a band of gladiators; Cœlius was slain near Thurium².

The delay of reinforcement rendered Cæsar so anxious and uneasy, that he assumed the dress of an ordinary individual, and set sail at night in a bark for the coast of Italy. As the wind obstructed the intended voyage, the chief mariner wished to decline all farther attempts; but Julius insisted upon a renewal of effort, and, to enforce his desire, announced himself as the consul. "You may proceed (said he) with confidence: you carry Cæsar and his fortune." The increasing gale, however, did not second

² Liv. Epit. lib. cxi.—Cæs. de Bello Civili, lib. iii. cap. 18—20.

his wish : the vessel was driven back, and the consul reluctantly disembarked³.

As it was obviously advisable to attack Cæsar before the arrival of fresh legions in the camp of that commander, Pompey led his army to the banks of the Apsus ; but, when *two* of his men, in seeking a ford, were killed by *one* Cæsarian, the incident appeared so ominous, that he ordered a retrograde march, amidst the murmurs of his soldiers, who regretted the loss of an opportunity of victory.

While Gabinius conducted a part of Cæsar's army to the north of Italy, with an intention of proceeding by land into Macedon⁴, Antony drove away a squadron which hovered about Brundisium, and sailed with four legions to join his friend. Both generals descried the fleet, and both advanced with their troops to pursue their respective interests. Pompey, however, had not the spirit to attack Antony, but contented himself with mere observation, and tamely suffered Cæsar to be amply reinforced. The consul in vain endeavoured to draw the champion of the senate to a general conflict, and could not prevent him from encamping at Petra, a commodious station near the sea. Here, however, he resolved to blockade him, by forts and éntrenchments extending across the isthmus, upon which Dyrrhachium was situated. This blockade could not be completely effectual, while the sea was open to the Pompeians ; by whom, therefore, the attempt was derided⁵.

Many trials of strength occurred while Cæsar was prosecuting his course of fortification ; and, when the works were nearly perfected, some vigorous sallies were risked.

3 This adventurous attempt is not mentioned by Cæsar himself ; but the incident is recorded by Plutarch, Appian, Dio, Suetonius, and Florus.

4 According to Appian, the Illyrians cut off almost the whole of this division, consisting of fifteen cohorts.

5 Cæs. lib. iii. cap. 27, 35—38.

On one occasion, Publius Sylla, at the head of two legions, rescued the Cæsarians from defeat, and, if he had closely pursued the retiring enemy, might (in the opinion of many of the officers) have ruined the Pompeian cause⁶. The courage of a centurion, named Cæsius Scæva, was particularly noticed. He defended a post with extraordinary pertinacity; and, when it might have been thought that he was entirely disabled by numerous wounds, he attacked two soldiers whom he had invited to receive his surrender, wounded one, slew the other, and maintained his station until relief arrived. On a subsequent occasion, Pompey sallied out with six legions to force the entrenchments, and sent a strong body of light infantry by sea, to co-operate in the assault. The works were stormed in the part where the quæstor Marcellinus commanded; and the assailants diffused such terror by the impetuosity of their courage, that many cohorts fled in confusion. That division would have been overwhelmed, if Antony had not hastened to the scene of danger, and seasonably checked the career of the Pompeians.

A conflict, still more alarming to the Cæsarians, soon after occurred. A detached legion was attacked by Julius himself, and obliged to recoil: but, when another legion approached, under the immediate conduct of Pompey, the battle became apparently so favorable to this commander, that his adherents conceived the sanguine hope of ultimate triumph. His firmness of countenance appalled even the bravest followers of the consul; and a general flight ensued⁷. Satisfied with the honor of repelling his adversaries, he did not attempt to profit by the consternation

6 Cæs. lib. iii. cap. 43.

7 App. lib. ii. cap. 19.—Cæs. lib. iii. cap. 57.—Plut. Vit. Pompeii.—Immediately after the battle, Labienus (who, not thinking that his services in Gaul were sufficiently acknowledged or rewarded by Cæsar, had embraced the interest of Pompey,) put all the prisoners to death, when he had sharply reproached them for their conduct.

which he had produced. If he had pursued with vigor, he might have stormed the camp of his presumptuous rival, and perhaps have finished the war. "Pompey knows not how to conquer," said Cæsar: "if he had pursued his advantage, he might have destroyed my army."

Finding the blockade ineffectual, and being unable to procure a sufficient supply of corn, Cæsar resolved to conduct his troops into Thessaly. He had sent Cassius Longinus to secure that province; which, on the other hand, Scipio endeavoured to reduce under the sway of his son-in-law. Domitius Calvinus, at the same time, was employed in Macedon, in the assertion of Cæsar's pretensions. The terror of Scipio's superior force drove Longinus into Epirus; and the Pompeian general then entered Macedon.

Cæsar, professing those pacific sentiments which he did not really entertain, sent a friend to Scipio to propose an accommodation: but the overture had no effect. When he had relinquished the blockade, he sent an order to Domitius for a conjunction of force; and, after a safe progress through Epirus, proceeded to Gomphi, which, with other Thessalian towns, he compelled to submit to his arms. Scipio, in the mean time, occupied Larissa with a great army; and Pompey, exulting in his late success, arrived with his whole force from Macedon. His principal officers and most strenuous partisans were so eager for action, that they sharply blamed that considerate prudence which induced him to propose such a delay as might weary out an ill-provided enemy. He weakly suffered his own judgement to be overborne by the rash advice of his friends⁸; and, when the hostile armies approached the Pharsalian plains, he ordered such dispositions as coincided with the general wish for an immediate conflict.

8 Plut.—App.—But Patereulus says, that, while some recommended a protraction of the war, Pompey followed his own inclination in hazarding a battle.

The late advantage had so elevated the spirits of his followers, that they considered the discomfiture and destruction of Cæsar as contingencies which no reasonable person could doubt. Labienus, who commanded the cavalry, swore that he would not return to the camp without the honor of victory; and every other officer readily took the same oath.

In this scene of action, the Pompeians were far more numerous than their adversaries. About 65,000 men, levied in Italy, composed the aggregate force upon which both parties chiefly depended. Of that number, Pompey had more than 40,000; and, while he had an extraordinary mass of auxiliary force⁹, his competitor had only a small accession of foreign strength. Each commander addressed his army in a short speech. “ My fellow-soldiers (said Pompey), as it is by your desire that I am now preparing to fight, rather than from my own inclination, I may reasonably expect that you will act with that spirit which the occasion requires. You will be encouraged by reflecting, that your numbers are considerably greater; that you have lately been victorious; you have more of the vigor of youth; you are armed in a good cause; you will fight for freedom and the laws, against one who seeks exorbitant power through rapine and murder¹⁰.” Cæsar, in his address, disclaimed all eagerness for wanton hostility; boasted of his zeal for peace, which, by repeated applications, he had labored to restore; and spoke contemptuously of his adversaries, who, being inexperienced and ill-conducted, would quickly yield to the vigor of veteran warriors¹¹.

Cæsar, apprehending ill effects from the superiority of

⁹ From Spain, Greece, and Thrace; from almost every province or region of Asia Minor; from Armenia, Syria, Phœnicia, Judæa, Arabia; from Cyprus, Rhodes, and Crete.

¹⁰ App. lib. ii. cap. 21.

¹¹ Cæs. lib. iii. cap. 75.—App.

Pompey's cavalry in point of number¹², selected six cohorts from his rear-guard, and ordered the captains to take the first opportunity of assaulting the horsemen, who, it was supposed, would eagerly endeavour to surround his right wing, which he personally commanded. In that wing he had, beside other battalions, an useful body of German infantry, accustomed to fight among cavalry. Crastinus, one of the most intrepid officers in the whole Cæsarian army, resolved to distinguish himself by his zeal and alacrity, and therefore began the battle with 120 followers, rushing amidst the thickest ranks of the enemy. He fought with unabated spirit, until he received a mortal wound; and his example contributed to the propagation of that striking display of courage, which gratified the wishes of the ambitious consul.

The Pompeian cavalry and archers rushed forward, with an intention of flanking and turning Cæsar's right division; and, when they saw their adversaries recoil, their confidence seemed to become sanguine. Then advanced the select cohorts, upon whose energetic operations Julius so much depended. They hurled their javelins into the faces of the young horsemen, and threw them into such confusion, that they quickly fled; and the archers, thus deprived of their accustomed support, suffered themselves to be slaughtered with impunity. The same battalions proceeded to attack the infantry who fought under the immediate command of Pompey; and, charging them in the rear while others harassed them in the front, effectually disordered and repelled them. Their leader was so confounded at this disgrace, that he retreated to his camp, and, instead of animating the efforts of the central and right divisions, weakly resigned himself to despair. The consternation of the left wing extended it's paralyzing influence to the other divisions; and fortune, skill, and

12 In the proportion of seven to one.

valor, gave a complete victory to the Cæsarian combatants¹³.

When the camp was stormed, Pompey fled to the vale of Tempe. He passed the night in a fisherman's hut; embarked on the Peneus at day-break; and, descriing a mercantile vessel in the Thermaic bay, hailed the master, who, commiserating the forlorn fate of the vanquished general, gave a ready admission to him and his friends. On the arrival of the ship at the capital of Lesbos, the wife of the unhappy fugitive rushed into his embrace, and fell at his feet, exclaiming, "Oh what a change of fortune! Are you now reduced to the scanty convenience of one poor vessel,—you who, before our ill-fated marriage, used to parade over these seas with five hundred ships?" He and his companions then sailed to the coast of Pamphylia, where they deliberated upon their future course and prospects¹⁴.

A considerable part of the fugitive army had retired toward Larissa; but, being closely pursued by Cæsar, the officers, with general consent, agreed to submit to the powerful victor. Other bodies of the vanquished also surrendered themselves; while many small parties escaped by different *routes*. Domitius Alienobarbus, commander of the right wing, was not so fortunate; for, when his strength failed him from fatigue and anxiety, he was overtaken and slain. Brutus had fled from the camp; but, trusting to the clemency of Cæsar, he submitted to him, and was received into favor.

The victory seemed so complete, that a renewal of the war by Pompey was highly improbable. Yet Cæsar apprehended that his rival would recruit his army, and again try the fortune of the field. To obviate this con-

13 Plut. Vit. Pompeii et Cæsaris.—Cæs. lib. iii. cap. 76, 77.—Di. Cass. lib. xlii. cap. ult.—Flor. lib. iv. cap. 2.—About 10,000 men lost their lives on the side of Pompey; while Cæsar lost a much smaller number.

14 Plut. Vit. Pompeii.

tingency, he sent out parties in various directions, in search of Pompey, whom, however, neither himself nor his detachments could overtake; for the unfortunate general fell into the hands of foreign enemies.

Leaving Asia Minor, Pompey fled to Cyprus. Not supposing that his interest was annihilated in Syria, where he had formerly exercised the power of a sovereign, he entertained the idea of seeking refuge in that country; but, hearing that the people of Antioch had declared their determination of excluding him and all his adherents, he resolved to retire into some country which the Romans had not provinciated, and directed his views to the Parthian realm. Theophanes, his Lesbian friend, dissuaded him from trusting to so base and faithless a court as that of Parthia, and advised him to sail to Egypt, where he would meet with a prince to whose father he had been a powerful friend. Ptolemy Dionysius, the son of Auletes, had ascended the throne with his sister Cleopatra; but he soon endeavoured to exclude her from all participation of the sovereignty; and, when Pompey approached the Egyptian coast, each of the discordant relatives had an army, ready for mutual collision. Ptolemy, who was about the age of thirteen years, would not, in all probability, have acted with violence against a general whose cause he had lately embraced; but he suffered himself to be influenced by his preceptor Theodotus, who, in a council convoked for the purpose of determining what answer should be given to an application from Pompey for an asylum, said, "If we consent to receive him, he will endeavour to become our master, and Cæsar will be our enemy: if we refuse to admit the fugitive, he will be displeased at our unkindness, and the conqueror will blame us for not receiving and detaining his adversary. Let us therefore vote for Pompey's death; for we shall thus conciliate one, without fearing the displeasure of the other." The opinion of

the sophist prevailed over all opposition; and Achilles, the chief commander of the army, was sent with Septimius, who had served under Pompey in the war with the pirates, to carry into effect the determination of the council. These ministers of cruelty went from Pelusium in a boat to meet Pompey, and invited him by friendly gestures to approach the land. His friends, suspecting danger from the unceremonious manner in which he was desired to enter the boat, dissuaded him from putting himself in the power of the strangers: but, either trusting to the gratitude of the young king, or sensible of the difficulty of escaping, when some Egyptian vessels were on the point of sailing toward him, he accepted the treacherous invitation. The silence of Achilles and Septimius excited his suspicions. When he addressed the latter as one whom he had formerly known, he was treated with contempt; and a wound, which soon followed, convinced him of his danger. Covering his face with his robe, he coolly submitted to his fate. He was repeatedly stabbed, then beheaded, and thrown overboard; but one of his freedmen took up the remains, and performed, with devout respect, the obsequies due to his patron ¹⁵.

Cæsar crossed the Hellespont into Asia, in pursuit of Pompey; and, having conciliated the provincials by a diminution of tribute, he directed his course to Egypt. As soon as he had disembarked, Theodotus ¹⁶ presented to him the head of his unfortunate competitor,—a sight which drew tears even from a general who was habituated to bloodshed. Not seriously displeased at the murder, he entered Alexandria with an air of arrogance, as if he had been master of Egypt. The appearance of the *fascēs* roused the indignation of the Egyptians, who complained of this insult to the majesty of Ptolemy. The rising tu-

¹⁵ Plut. Vit. Pompeii.—Cæs. lib. iii. cap. 85.—Liv. Epit. lib. cxii.—App. lib. ii.

¹⁶ This base and inhuman sophist was justly punished by Brutus, who met the despised vagabond, and put him to death. *Plutarch*.

mult was repressed by the vigor of the consul ; and, while he waited for the arrival of fresh troops from Asia, he assumed the character of a dictatorial judge, and declared that he would decide the grand dispute between the king and Cleopatra. Disgusted at his arbitrary presumption, the people regretted the death of Pompey, under whose auspices they might have checked the intolerable arrogance of Cæsar.

The character of the unfortunate general does not seem to require a diffuseness of remark. He was indisputably brave, and appeared, in his youth, to possess judgement and prudence ; but, as he advanced in years, his conduct was frequently inconsistent and injudicious, and all the firmness of his mind gave way to indecision. His ambition was ill concealed by the mask of moderation : he wished to direct the administration, and to move the political machine at his pleasure, while he affected all the humility of a private citizen. So great was his influence, so high was his military fame, and such was the general opinion of his integrity and patriotism, that, if his mind had been, merely in a small degree, more comprehensive, resolute, and vigorous, than it appears to have been in the decline of his life, he would probably have triumphed over all the interest, arts, policy, and energy of Cæsar. If he had been successful in the great contest, his triumph would have been less arrogant, and less offensive to the friends of liberty, than that of the dictator. He would undoubtedly have assumed a commanding authority ; but he would not have annihilated the power of the senate, or have wantonly violated the laws of the republic.

LETTER XXXVII.

Sequel of the ROMAN History, to the Death of JULIUS CÆSAR.

NOTHING but a want of common sense, in the majority of mankind, can suffer the contests of ambitious rivals to proceed to sanguinary outrage. If the generality of the Romans had possessed that quality, neither Cæsar nor Pompey would have been supported, when they wantonly rushed into arms; and they would have been left to settle their disputes by arbitration or by duel. But both derived myriads of advocates from the perverse folly of their fellow-citizens, who raged against their countrymen with as much rancor as if they had been malignant aliens and inveterate foes. The disastrous fate of one leader, my son, you have already witnessed: the other, being the aggressor, had still less right to expect permanent safety or long impunity. How long he prospered, what power he obtained, and in what manner his career was closed, you will soon be informed.

Ante Chr. 48. The statesman who principally directed the administration of Egypt, was an eunuch named Pothinus, whose ambition prompted him to act as the enemy of Cæsar, after the removal of Pompey from the scene of action. He resented the intrusion of a foreign general, and endeavoured to inflame the public indignation to a height that might crush the daring interloper. All his intrigues and exertions, however, could not prevent the consul from holding a court of judicature in the Egyptian capital. Cleopatra, as well as her brother, deputed some eloquent friends to plead before him; but the princess trusted more to the impression which she might make upon him at an interview, than to the arguments or allegations of her advocates. Charmed with the

beauty of her person and the elegance of her address, he became her enraptured admirer, and, having summoned Ptolemy into his presence, desired him to acquiesce in her joint sovereignty. The king, finding her in familiar conversation with her Roman gallant, ran out of the palace, and, exclaiming that he was betrayed, threw his diadem from his head with an air of indignation. The people seemed willing to assist him; but he was re-conducted into the palace; and the spirited eloquence of Cæsar checked the ebullitions of tumult¹.

The decision of the cause, whatever might be the inclination of Cæsar to favor Cleopatra, had the appearance of impartiality. In a public assembly, at which the princess and her brother were present, he recited the will of the late king, which divided the royal authority between them; and, as the Roman people were urgently desired by the testator to provide for the strict execution of the will, he, by virtue of the consular authority, confirmed the arrangement. He, at the same time, did not neglect the interest of the brother and sister of the new king and queen; for he gave them the isle of Cyprus, as if it had been his private property or patrimonial estate.

This adjudication did not restore peace to Egypt. Pothinus, unwilling to submit with patience to that diminution of influence which the association of Cleopatra with her brother gave him reason to expect, resolved to employ, against that princess and her adherents, the army which Cæsar had desired Ptolemy to disband. It consisted (according to his account) of Syrian and Cilician robbers, and of criminals, vagabonds, and adventurers, from other countries; and among them were many of the Roman soldiers who had been instrumental in the restoration of the late king. With this force, Achillas endeavoured to dislodge the consul from Alexandria; and,

1 Di. Cass. lib. xlii. cap. 10.

as he had a very great superiority of number, he did not conceive that it would be a difficult task. But his attempts were unsuccessful; and, when he had
 Ante Chr. 47. been joined by the king's younger sister Arsinoë, he was murdered by her order, because he wished to prevent her from assuming uncontrolled authority. Ganymedes, who was her accomplice in this outrage, became her favorite general, and proved a dangerous enemy to Cæsar: but, after various hostilities both by sea and land, the undaunted consul maintained his ground, and secured ultimate success².

In one of the conflicts near Alexandria, he was exposed to such extremity of danger, that his escape seemed almost miraculous. He had stormed the isle of Pharos, which was connected with the city by a mole and two bridges. As one of these required strenuous efforts for its seizure, and the zeal for its retention was equally strong, the contest was perseveringly maintained. At length the Cæsarians gave way on all sides; and, while many were drowned by the submersion of the vessels, others were slain by the weapons of their fierce assailants. Their leader, as usual, was among the last who retired; and, when the galley into which he had thrown himself was so filled with the fugitives, as to be unmanageable and in danger of sinking, he leaped out of it, and swam to another vessel³: that which he quitted was immediately swallowed up by the waves, with all the men who had entered it. After some other hostilities, Cæsar, with a magnanimous contempt of the royal influence, sent back Ptolemy to the Alexandrians, who requested the favor with hints of pro-

² Cæs. de Bello Civili, lib. iii. cap. 89—93.—A. Hirtii Pansæ Comment. de Bello Alexandrino.

³ Suetonius has given a ludicrous picture of Cæsar on this occasion. He represents him holding up his left hand, that the papers which it contained might not be wetted, and dragging his military garment by his teeth, that the enemy might not carry it off as an honorable spoil. Voltaire properly ridicules this idle story

bable submission to the consul. The king pretended, that he did not wish to quit the agreeable and instructive society of his Roman friend; but, as soon as he reached the camp of Arsinoë, he prosecuted the war with strenuous zeal ⁴.

When Cæsar had received great supplies of force from Asia, and Pelusium had been taken by those troops in their way to Alexandria, his affairs wore a more favorable aspect. A detachment, sent by Ptolemy to meet the advancing army, received a severe defeat: another *corps*, in endeavouring to obstruct the progress of Cæsar, suffered equal or greater loss: the royal camp, though advantageously situated and well-fortified, was stormed, with the destruction of a multitude of its defenders; and the king was drowned in the Nile, by the sinking of a crowded vessel ⁵.

The people, in all parts of the realm, now submitted to the consul; but, instead of provinciating the country, he resigned it to the sway of Cleopatra and her younger brother. In suggesting this arrangement, love had a more apparent influence than policy over the conqueror's mind; and his protracted residence in Egypt, after he had subdued the kingdom, more clearly evinced the prevalence of that passion. Charmed by the attractions of the young queen, he seemed to forget the political interests which called him to other scenes of action. Having expressed a desire of seeing all the wonders and curiosities of the country, he was accompanied by Cleopatra in a voyage up the Nile, with an escort of 400 vessels. He even entertained the idea of passing beyond the southern boundaries of Egypt; but, on farther reflexion, the imprudence of such an unnecessary journey forcibly struck him.

⁴ Hirt. Pans. cap. 14—16.—Di. Cass. lib. xlii, cap. 12, 14.

⁵ Liv. Epit. lib. cxii.—Hirt. Pans.—Plutarch says that he disappeared, and no one could ascertain his fate.

His absence from Italy, which might have expected to weaken his interest, did not prevent his re-acquisition of the dictatorial dignity, which was granted to him for the unprecedented term of a year. The citizen whom he chose for his lieutenant, on this occasion, was the profligate Antony, with whose talents he was pleased, and of whose attachment he was assured. The augurs declared that Antony could not lawfully hold the office of master of the horse above six months; a remark which exposed them to public ridicule, as they had not objected to the length of time (equally unconstitutional) assigned for the dictator's magistracy, although this point was much more important in the case of the principal than in that of the deputy. Two consuls were also chosen; but they did not enjoy the power which legitimately belonged to their function. Calenus, one of these subservient magistrates, had earned the favor of the usurper, not by virtue or patriotism, but by the courage and zeal which he had evinced in subduing a considerable part of Greece for his patron, and in the general promotion of his interest. His colleague Vatinius had exerted himself in Illyria, where he crushed the Pompeian party, headed by Octavius.

The master of the horse affected popularity, by convoking the senate, and by pretending to leave the prætors and other magistrates at full liberty: but, in reality, he acted the part of a despot, and constantly bore the sword, the emblem of military government. This mark of arrogance was particularly noticed at the games and sports, the people observing, with indignation, that, even amidst the display of public joy, they were reminded of the servitude to which they were subjected⁶. From the magisterial airs of the lieutenant, the eventual cruelty of the dictator himself was dreaded. It was allowed, that he had

⁶ Di. Cass. lib. xlii. cap. 8.

shown his clemency, by sparing even the most zealous of his captive enemies: but his power, it was added, was then precarious, and, if he should be able to establish it effectually, he might be so far corrupted by it's possession, as to become an inhuman tyrant.

Two of the tribunes, Trebellius and Dolabella, ventured to oppose the new government. The latter, being involved in debt, aimed at the general relief of those who were in similar circumstances; while the former, without having that object in view, wished to acquire popularity and power. They armed their respective partisans, and publicly contended against each other; and also counteracted the authority of Cæsar's deputy and the senate. Some lives were lost in occasional conflicts; and, when Dolabella was preparing to pass a law by violence for the abolition of debts, a more regular engagement occurred, in which about 800 of the plebeians were slain⁷.

At the time of this commotion, Cæsar was employed in the chastisement of Pharnaces, whom, after the death of his father Mithridates, Pompey had permitted to rule the Bosphoric kingdom. In the hope of extending it by the conquest of the Pontic realm, while the confusions of a civil war seemed to present an opportunity of success, he had levied a numerous army, and made great progress. Having seised the Colchian territory and Armenia the Less, he threatened the Cappadocian king with dethronement, and quickly obtained possession of a part of Pontus. Domitius Calvinus, who acted as the deputy of Cæsar between the Euxine and the Mediterranean, advanced into Armenia with a mixture of Roman and Asiatic soldiers, and met Pharnaces near Nicopolis. His foreign troops fought with so little vigor, that the chief weight of the conflict fell upon one legion. The Bosphoric prince, taking advantage of the timidity of the Cappadocians and

⁷ Liv. Epit. lib. cxiii.—Plut. Vit. Antonii.—Di. Cass.

other auxiliaries of Domitius, slew a great number of those feeble opponents, repelled the Romans, and was enabled by the fame of this victory to subdue all opposition in the Pontic kingdom⁸.

The triumph of Pharnaces, however, was as transient as a meteor. When the dictator arrived in Pontus, the king's ruin was inevitable. No force that he could raise was able to withstand the fortune and the vigor of Cæsar. To use his own emphatic expressions, he "came, saw, and conquered." He effectually profited by the folly of his adversary, who, presuming upon his late victory, and encouraged by omens which he deemed auspicious, quitted a very advantageous post, near Zela, for one of an opposite description. The effect was such as might have been expected. The scythe-armed chariots, indeed, produced some confusion among the troops of Cæsar; but, when the occupants of these vehicles had been repelled by showers of missiles, a veteran legion which had been reduced below the amount of 1000 men, drove the assailants of one wing down a steep hill, and chased them from the field. In the other wing, and the centre, the resistance of the enemy was much more vigorous: yet it did not prevent the Romans and their auxiliaries from obtaining a complete victory⁹.

While, by this defeat, he lost his recent acquisitions, Pharnaces still hoped to retain his dominions near the Palus Mæotis: but one of his officers, named Asander, instead of receiving the vanquished prince with the submissive respect due from a subject, took arms against him, and slew him; and, defending himself with the same spirit, annulled by the sword the grant of the Bosphoric territories, with which Cæsar wished to reward an Asiatic friend.

Cæsar, having regulated the affairs of Pontus, marched

⁸ Hirt. *Pans.* cap. 25—31.—*Di. Cass. lib. xlii.* cap. 15.—*App. lib. ii.*

⁹ Hirt. cap. 59—61.—*Sueton. cap. 35.*

into Galatia; and, when he had exercised his judgement in the settlement of political affairs and the accommodation of civil disputes, he left the greater part of the country under the government of Mithridates, a citizen of Pergamus, to whom he gave the royal title. In Bithynia he also acted the part of a sovereign and a judge; and, in other regions and divisions of Asia Minor, he not only displayed his talents, but indulged his rapacity¹⁰.

As the disordered affairs of Rome seemed to require his presence, he passed some time in that city before he resumed his military functions. He suffered his adversaries to live in security, from an unwillingness to follow the example of Marius or Sylla. He, at the same time, plundered both parties, alleging that he had devoted his own property to the benefit of the state, and that the public exigencies ought to be cheerfully supplied by citizens of all ranks, in proportion to their means and possessions.

When he had quelled, by coolness and address, a mutiny which had proceeded to bloodshed, he resolved to pass over to Africa, where the seeds of a new war had been sown. After the battle of Pharsalia, Cato had sailed from Corcyra with all the force which he could collect, and directed his course to Africa, expecting to find his fugitive friend on that coast. In his voyage he was joined by the widow and one of the sons of Pompey, who had witnessed the disastrous fate of that commander. The melancholy intelligence induced many of the soldiers to return to Italy; but the majority consented to accompany Cato, who, having disembarked in the Cyrenaic territory, commenced a laborious and dangerous march over the desert to the country which had been taken from the Carthaginians. Scipio was already employed with Varus in expediting military preparations against Cæsar; and Juba the Numidian was zealous in the same cause. The assem-

bled army offered the chief command to Cato ; but he desired that Scipio, as he had been consul, might be preferred to him. He accepted, from the new general, the government of Utica, after he had with difficulty prevailed upon Juba, and his associates, to refrain from destroying a town, in which the interest of Cæsar preponderated over that of Pompey¹¹.

Before the whole army intended for the African war could be prepared for embarkation, Cæsar sailed to Adrumetum, and stationed his small force at Ruspina. When
 Ante Chr. many fresh cohorts had arrived, he marched out
 46. of his camp, not expecting the approach of the enemy. His former lieutenant and friend, Labienus, hoped to overpower him, principally by the exertions of a numerous body of horse, and by the activity of the light infantry of Numidia; and the Cæsarians were, indeed, exposed to great danger; but, when they were actually encompassed by the foe, they dexterously separated one part of the assailing force from the other, and compelled both divisions to retreat. Labienus, being reinforced, made another fruitless attempt to triumph over Cæsar. Each commander then sought security in strong entrenchments¹².

It was the particular interest of Cæsar to bring the war to a speedy conclusion, because his men, from a scarcity of provision, suffered much greater inconvenience than their opponents : but the danger of being overwhelmed, if he should be adventurous, rendered it expedient to wait for an accession of force. When he had been gratified with a considerable augmentation, he endeavoured to bring Scipio to a general engagement. For some weeks, however, only partial conflicts were risked by the Pompeian commander. At length, the siege of the maritime

11 Plut. Vit. Catonis Junioris.—Liv. Epit. lib. cxlii.—Di. Cass. lib. xlii. cap. ult.

12 Hirtii (vel Oppii) Comment. de Belle Africano, cap. 10—17.

town of Thapsus roused him to that boldness which superseded his caution and forbearance.

If Juba had not been obliged, by the attempts of a Cæsarian officer and Bogud the Mauritanian, and by a revolt of the Gætulians, to leave troops for the defence of Numidia and the chastisement of the rebels, he would have aided Scipio with such a force as might perhaps have enabled him to prevail over all the efforts of Julius, or, at least, have cherished much longer the vigor of contest. But the seasonable diversion, on the part of Cæsar, tended to weaken, in no small degree, the allied army. Scipio, however, so far trusted to his remaining superiority of number, that he resolved to hazard an engagement. Before he had completely fortified his camp near the sea, the impatience of the Cæsarians, who rushed forward to an attack without waiting for the usual signal from their general, first threw the elephants into confusion, and afterward, with little difficulty, routed the wings. The main body suffered the same fate; and the fugitives, unprotected by the strength of the camp, were massacred with the most savage inhumanity. Another part of the army occupied a different station; but neither the courage and experience of Afranius, nor the exertions of the legionaries and their African associates, could save his division from defeat, or prevent his camp from being effectually stormed. The troops of Juba, being separately attacked, did not long resist; and the triumph of Cæsar was thus completed. About 10,000 of his adversaries were slain, with a very small diminution of his army¹³.

A general submission or dispersion of the Pompeians in Africa soon followed; but the high soul of Cato scorned to yield to one who had overborne the liberty of his country. He resolved to withstand a hated enemy as long as he had the means of action. All the male inhabitants

¹³ *Comment. de Bello Africano*, cap. 70—73.—*Di. Cass. lib. xliii. cap. 1, 2.*—*Plut. Vit. Cæs.*

of Utica, whom he suspected of being attached to Cæsar, had been disarmed by his order, and removed to the space between the walls and the entrenchments which he had raised; and he was obliged to keep a guard over them, as well as over the municipal assembly. After the battle of Thapsus, he found it extremely difficult to preserve order in the town. The approach of the conqueror being daily expected, those who had ranged themselves among his adversaries were intimidated and confounded, and thought more of submission than of defence. Cato endeavoured to allay their anxiety, and prevent flight or emigration. He summoned, to the temple of Jupiter, three hundred Roman citizens, whom he had been accustomed to consult; and, having exhorted them to act with courage and unanimity, he flattered himself with the idea of their being animated with a portion of his own zeal. But he found, when they retired from the meeting, that they were more inclined to submit than to defend themselves. A multitude of horsemen who had fled from the field of battle, being requested to enter the town, declared that they would not join the defenders, unless all the friends of Cæsar should be either put to death or banished. This proposal being firmly rejected by Cato, the horsemen, without regard to his authority or remonstrances, attacked the mal-content citizens in their secluded post, but were repelled by stones and clubs. They then rushed into the town, and perpetrated many acts of murder and rapine. Cato and Faustus Sylla, shocked at these outrages, purchased with pecuniary contribution the retreat of the licentious party¹⁴.

Cato was sufficiently acquainted with the character of his powerful adversary, to believe that his life would be safe: but he could not bear the thought of being indebted for it's continuance to a subverter of public freedom. He

¹⁴ Plut. Vit. Catonis.—Comm. de Bello Afric. cap. 75.

therefore resolved to offer violence to his own person, that he might not be an object of that mercy which he thought it degrading to accept. In an interview with his relatives and friends, he did not dictate a particular course of action, but left them to the suggestions of their own prudence; while he particularly advised his son not to engage in political pursuits; “for (said he) you cannot, under a corrupt government, maintain inviolate that integrity which the offspring of Cato ought to possess.” He passed the evening in philosophical conversation; but, when he found that some hints which he had thrown out had excited a suspicion of his suicidal intentions, he turned the discourse to other topics. In the solitude of his bed-chamber, he read the *Phædon* of Plato, and revolved in his mind the consolatory doctrine of the immortality of the soul. Missing his sword, which had been privately taken from him, he loudly called for it, and angrily asked, whether his son and friends wished to surrender him defenceless into the hands of his enemy. His sword being restored to him, he resigned himself to the temporary enjoyment of sound sleep; and, as soon as he awoke, thrust the weapon into his breast. The noise of his fall drew his attendants into the chamber; and the wound was bound up; but he tore off the ligaments, widened with his hands the opening which he had made, and would not admit the smallest relief¹⁵.

Cato was considered by the Romans as a model of virtue. His inflexible regard for justice, his high sense of honor, his disinterested patriotism, and his strict principles of morality, were subjects of admiration and themes of panegyric. But it may be observed, that his attachment to justice was not uniform; his patriotism was not sufficiently extended to the popular part of the commu-

15 Di. Cass. lib. xliii. cap. 3.—Plut. Vit. Catonis.—App. lib. ii.—Flor. lib. iv.

nity; and his ideas of honor and virtue were not precisely correct.

The chief opponents of Cæsar in Africa did not long survive their high-minded associate. Scipio, being baffled in an attempt to escape into Spain, slew himself: Afranius was put to death by the dictator's order, as was also Faustus Sylla, for taking arms against him after having been once dismissed in safety¹⁶. Lucius Cæsar was treated with the same rigor, having offended his victorious relative by torturing and destroying some of his freedmen and slaves. Juba, being excluded from his own towns, persuaded Petreius to encounter him, that each might fall by the sword of his friend. When the Roman had been killed, the fortitude of the African prince seemed to fail him at the sight of his expiring fellow-warrior; and he had recourse to an attendant for the favor of a mortal wound¹⁷.

Having provinciated the Numidian realm, Cæsar committed the administration of it to a friend, whose literary merit was superior to his political wisdom, to his integrity and virtue. This was Sallust the historian, whose government was such as might have been expected from the profligacy of his character: but his patron suffered him to escape punishment.

Elate with his success, Cæsar returned to Italy, to impose more fully upon the Romans the yoke of servitude. He found them, at that time, as passive as he wished, and ready to submit to all his regulations. He received extraordinary honors and grants of authority from the senate; but, while he enjoyed the dictatorial sovereignty, additional appointments were wholly unnecessary. Four triumphs succeeded these grants, in consequence of his achievements in Gaul, Pontus, Egypt, and Africa Propria.

16 Liv. Epit. lib. cxiv.—Di. Cas. lib. xliii.

17 Comm. de Bello Afric. cap. 82.

He afterward feasted the people at 22,000 tables, and amused them with all the varied sports which they were pleased to behold.

With regard to his laws and edicts, it may be observed, that, with an exception of the consulate, he consented to admit the people to an equal participation, with himself, of the right of election, but would not allow them any share of the judicial function, that honor being exclusively reserved for the senatorial and equestrian orders; that he supplied, by his own choice, those deficiencies which the civil war had occasioned in the complement of the senate; and that he increased the number of magistrates in almost every department, while he limited the term of proconsular and proprætorian government. He dissolved all the companies or fraternities of the city, except those which were of ancient establishment; being probably of opinion, that those institutions tended to cherish a seditious spirit. He was not so eager to repress luxury as to check sedition; yet he enforced the sumptuary laws, and enacted new regulations against idle splendor and wanton excess. As persons banished even for high offences had been suffered to retain their whole property,—a degree of lenity which he justly disapproved,—he ordained, that parricides should lose all, and other delinquents one half of their possessions¹⁸.

A war in Spain called him from the pursuits of peace and the establishment of civil order. Cnæus Pompeius, son of Pompey the Great, had summoned to his aid all his father's friends in that country; and he soon found himself at the head of a considerable army, to which his brother Sextus brought an important accession from Africa. He received the surrender of some towns, and enforced the submission of others, while Fabius and Pedius, who commanded for Cæsar in Spain, remained on the de-

Ante Chr. 45. fensive. When Julius arrived, Ulia was in a state of siege; but the garrison, being opportunely aided, withstood every assault. Ategua was blockaded, and taken with difficulty by Cæsar, who, having supplied the wants of his soldiers with the corn which he found in the place, hastened to the decision of the great contest.

Near Munda, the two parties tried their strength with eagerness and zeal. The troops of the gallant brothers out-numbered the Cæsarians, and were more conveniently posted; and, in the earlier part of the battle, victory seemed to shine upon their arms. Before the collision, the dictator was observed to be unusually serious, thinking perhaps that he might be deserted by his accustomed fortune; and, while the conflict raged, he seemed uncommonly anxious for the event. His anxiety was roused to the keenest sense of alarm, when even his veterans began to give way. He strove, by every exertion of voice and of gesture, to inspire them with fresh vigor; and, lifting up his hands in prayer, he earnestly besought the Gods to avert the dire disgrace of defeat. As the men still yielded to the pressure of the foe, he began to despair even of his own safety. Hitherto (to use his own words) he had fought for victory; but now he contended for life itself. Seising a shield from one of his retiring men, he said to some of the officers, "There will soon, perhaps, be an end of my life and of your service;" and, rushing forward, he exposed himself to the most furious attacks. The legionaries, ashamed of their conduct, resumed their courage; and the vigor of the fight was restored. All the efforts of the Pompeians were ultimately unsuccessful. Great havock was made among them; and the survivors fled in dismay¹⁹.

19 App. lib. ii. cap. 34.—Flor. lib. iv.—Liv. Epit. lib. cxv.—Paterc. ib. ii.—The author of the history of the Spanish war (Hirtius or Oppius) does not mention the extreme danger of Cæsar, or his temporary desperation. Both this writer and Plutarch affirm, that the victors slew above 30,000 men, and lost only 1000:

The recovery of Spain was the consequence of this victory: but the Pompeians did not submit before they had suffered severely in the defence of various towns. Two of their generals (Varus and Labienus) had fallen in the battle; and Cnæus lost his life in wandering through a wood with few attendants; but Sextus escaped, and reserved himself for new adventures²⁰.

Cæsar now enjoyed the parade of a fifth triumph. If he had maturely reflected upon the subject, he would probably have declined an honor which was not only useless and unnecessary, but was highly displeasing to the generality of the people, because the victory which led to it had been obtained over the subjects of the Roman state, not over foreign princes or barbarian warriors. Nothing could more clearly demonstrate the degradation of the senate, than the obligation of allowing a triumph over the sons of Pompey, the lamented champion of that assembly.

All the honors that his friends could propose for his gratification, or his secret enemies could devise to render him odious, were lavished upon him. He was styled the liberator of the republic, and father of his country; and a temple was ordered to be erected to the Goddess of Liberty, as if he had introduced or restored that blessing to the Roman people. All magistrates were subjected to his authority and control: he alone was empowered to levy troops, and exact pecuniary contributions; and, being declared perpetual dictator, he was elevated above the necessity of regarding the laws of the republic. His statue was placed in the Capitol, among the sculptured representations of the ancient kings of Rome. He was dignified

but this extraordinary inequality is highly improbable, and is unsupported by Dio, who speaks of a great slaughter *on both sides*, or by Appian, who represents the engagement as very long and obstinate; and, surely, if the Cæsarians lost so few in comparison, the resistance of the Pompeians must have been much more feeble and spiritless than it appears from every account to have been.

²⁰ Di. Cass. lib. xliii. cap. 8.—Flor.

with the title of *emperor*, or absolute sovereign, which was also assigned to his posterity²¹. As if these distinctions were insufficient, the religion of the country was insulted by the votes of the senate, in favor of the new potentate. It was decreed, that, in processions, a splendid car should contain his effigy, as well as the figures of the immortal Gods ; that temples and altars should rise to his honor ; and that, like Jupiter or Apollo, he should have his peculiar priests²².

These lavish grants were not calculated to inspire sentiments of humility or moderation, but might easily have intoxicated a less assuming man than Cæsar. Indeed, he could not refrain from manifesting the elation of his heart, in occasional remarks which prudence would have repressed. "The republic (he said) is nothing : it is a mere "name, without a body or visible form." At another time, he said, "Sylla only showed his weakness and "ignorance, when he resigned the dictatorial dignity."—A soothsayer having declared that the appearances of a victim were far from being favorable, he assured him that they would be more auspicious, whenever it was his particular wish that they should be so.—When popular respect to him was the topic of conversation, he said, "Men "ought to be guarded in their behaviour and expressions, "when they speak to me ; and what I say ought to be a "law²³." These observations, being quickly propagated among the citizens, were considered, not merely as in-

21 M. de Larrey, in his *Histoire d'Auguste*, says, that this title of sovereignty (*imperator*) commenced in the person of Augustus, not being transferred, in honor of Julius, from it's ordinary signification of military commander, in which sense it had frequently been given by the soldiers to their general, immediately after some exploit or success which they were willing to applaud. But it appears, from the express authority of Suetonius and Dio, that the conqueror of Pompey was styled *emperor* in the new and comprehensive acceptance of the honorable word.

22 App. lib. ii. cap. 35.—Plut. Vit. Cæs.—Sueton. cap. 76.—Di. Cas. lib. xliii. cap. 10.—Flor. lib. iv.

23 Sueton. cap. 77.

stances of confidence and spirit, but of presumption and arrogance.

The degradation of the senate, and the loss of public liberty, severely wounded the feelings even of some who had been highly favored by Cæsar. They lamented the disgrace of their country, in being subjected to the arbitrary will of a single citizen, who, though not rigid or cruel in his government, did not bear his high fortune with exemplary moderation, or with a dignified forbearance of insult. Brutus, to whose conduct during the civil war I have already adverted, was admirably qualified to take the lead among these high-minded citizens and zealous patriots. He had been appointed governor of Cis-Alpine Gaul; and he and his chief friend Cassius (who had served with reputation in the disastrous expedition against the Parthians) were prætors under the dictatorial despotism. Decimus Brutus and Trebonius were Ante Chr. 44. equally desirous of a revolution; and other advocates of freedom, without having yet organised a conspiracy, anxiously watched the emperor's movements.

In two instances, Cæsar's conduct aroused, not the mere feelings of disgust, but even the warmth of indignation. While he was sitting in the vestibule of the temple of Venus, the consuls, prætors, and the whole senate, attended him with votes of new honors; and he did not even rise to receive them. This unprecedented behaviour was considered as the height of arrogance, although the answer which he gave, implying that his honors ought rather to be diminished than augmented, had an appearance of modesty. The other point of offence was his treatment of two tribunes who had imprisoned a citizen for placing a laurel wreath, adorned with a white fillet (the emblem of royalty), upon the head of one of his statues. He severely reproached them for their interference, as unnecessary and invidious; and stigmatised them with deprivation of dignity, and expulsion from the senate.

He earnestly wished for the royal title ; but, as he knew that it was particularly odious and offensive to the nation, he pretended that it was unpleasing to him ; and he was offended at the conduct of the tribunes, for bringing so delicate a point into question, or for anticipating him in the refusal of an offered honor. He, indeed, outwardly rejected it, when Mark Antony, who was then consul, running naked about the forum at a festival, twice presented a diadem. The spectators, who murmured at the offer, shouted with joy at the refusal. Antony pretended, that the people had given him authority for the presentation ; and it was so stated in the public records, by order of Cæsar, who, having replied, that Jupiter was the only king of the Romans, sent the diadem to the temple of the revered God, and registered, as an important fact, that refusal upon which he prided himself ²⁴.

Many intimations of discontent were now publicly given. When a consul, newly appointed by the emperor, had entered a theatre, and a lictor had called for the usual marks of respect to so dignified a magistrate, a number of the spectators cried out, “ He is no consul.” To a statue of Cæsar a placard was affixed, couched in these words : “ The elder Brutus was first made consul, for his “ expulsion of kings from Rome : but this man was at last “ made king, for having ejected consuls.” On the effigy of the great adversary of Tarquin, it was written, “ How earnestly we wish that thou wert now alive !”—and, on the tribunal of the patriotic prætor, these words were inscribed ; “ Art thou asleep, Brutus ?—Thou art not “ Brutus.”

Observing with pleasure the progress of disaffection, Cassius exhorted his friend to make a bold attempt for the ruin of the despot ; and it required little persuasion to draw him into a conspiracy. It was resolved, that an at-

²⁴ Liv. Epit. lib. cxvi.—App. lib. ii. cap. 35.—Sueton. cap. 78, 79.—Plut.—Di. Cass.

lack should be made upon the destroyer of public liberty even in the place of senatorial meeting: a secret or clandestine assault was deemed unworthy of a patriotic arm. If Cicero's courage had been equal to his eloquence and republican zeal, the conspiring friends would have disclosed to him the important scheme, and have solicited his concurrence: but they apprehended that his timidity would damp the spirit of the party. Casca, Ligarius, Cimber, and many other citizens, were easily prevailed upon to join in a measure which was sanctioned by the high authority of Brutus; and, without the usual formality of an oath of association, arrangements were made with cordial concert ²⁵.

Cæsar had formed many schemes of internal policy and general benefit: but a thirst of military fame still influenced his ardent mind, and he resolved to lead an army against the Parthians, that he might unite vengeance with glory. Hearing of his preparations, the Illyrians dreaded a previous visit, as they had taken a decided part against him in the late contest: they therefore sent ambassadors to Rome, to sue for pardon and peace. A reproachful answer was given to their application; but he promised that he would not attack them, if they would deliver hostages and pay tribute ²⁶.

Treating with contempt all hints of danger, the lord of the empire presented himself before his senatorial subjects. Cimber, approaching on pre-^{March 15.} tence of urgent business, and receiving an evasive answer, gave the preconcerted signal. Casca instantly wounded the alarmed dictator, who rushed from his chair, and resisted the farther attempts of this bold conspirator. Cassius then wounded him in the face, and Brutus pierced his thigh. Being at the same instant assaulted by others of the party, he folded his robe about him, that he might fall

25 Plot. Vit. Marci Bruti.

26 App. de Bellis Illyricis.

with decency, and soon met with the punishment which he deserved²⁷. It is an insult to humanity to allow the tranquillity of a natural death to the flagitious author of a civil war; and, as so powerful an offender could not be regularly brought to justice, the mode in which he was attacked is at least excusable, if it be not strictly and positively legal.

While the talents of the warrior are more regarded than all the good qualities which can enter into the composition of a private character, the name of Cæsar will continue to be the object of admiration. Even his insatiable ambition will be considered, not only as pardonable, but as a proof of the greatness of his character. The outrages and calamities which it produced will not, indeed, be forgotten while history remains; but they will be deemed trivial specks in the lustre of his orb. A freedom of remark, however, is allowable in speaking of the most elevated personages; and, if I should reduce the character of Cæsar below the standard at which it is usually rated, I shall not violate the laws of truth, or injure the interests of morality.

Nothing is more obvious, than that ambition was the leading feature of his portrait. All his thoughts seemed to be directed to fame, power, and dominion. Even in the midst of pleasure, those attractive objects did not escape his attention: or, if there be an exception from this remark in the case of Cleopatra, he confided in that height of fame and strength of influence which could easily retrieve his affairs.

In the prosecution of his ambitious views, he was not checked by any considerations of humanity. The Gallic

²⁷ App. de Bellis Civil. lib. ii. cap. 36.—Sueton. cap. 82.—Plut. Vit. Cæsaris.—Florus says, that the *senate* attacked him: the majority of that assembly, indeed, evidently favored the views of the conspirators. The same writer concludes his sketch of Cæsar's history with a remark, quaint and affected, rather than elegant or dignified: "Thus he who had filled the world with civil blood, at length filled the senate-house with his own blood,"

war, which he commenced and pursued for the extension of his fame and the elevation of his character, exhibited repeated instances of a brutal disregard to human life, without immediate reference to the carnage of the field. The passage of the Rubicon still farther evinced his want of those feelings which distinguish man from the herd of inferior animals. He knew that a perseverance in his scheme of opposing the established government would entail multiplied miseries upon his country : yet he audaciously balanced his own hopes of aggrandisement against the peace of the community, and resolved to wade through blood to the possession of lawless power. His ruffian bands, instead of surrendering him as a traitorous delinquent into the hands of the consuls and the senate, abetted his unjust and criminal enterprise, and were as ready to plunge their swords into the bosoms of their countrymen, as they had been eager to murder the unoffending inhabitants of Gaul. If the leaders of the supreme assembly wished to deprive him of the power which had been delegated to him, that was very far from being a sufficient reason for his rushing into war : it was his duty to submit, and resume the station of an ordinary senator.

To the moral virtues he had not very strong pretensions. His sense of honor was easily relaxed by self-interest : his ideas of justice and rectitude were warped by ambition. If he cultivated temperance, it was more from inclination than principle. Of chastity he was so inobservant, that his deviations from it were frequent and notorious.

His courage no one will dispute : but that is a quality which is, in general, possessed by the meanest of the people, and which confers no merit, unless it be manifested in a just and honorable cause. That he had a great share of political firmness and fortitude, must also be allowed. Instances of magnanimity may likewise be found in the records of his acts and conduct : but his clemency has been too warmly applauded. For not shedding the

blood of Roman citizens after his success with the barbarity of a Sylla, he did not deserve great praise. If he had raged against those who merely resisted his illegal attempts, his iniquity would have been (not indeed unprecedented, but) highly atrocious. When clemency is emblazoned, it ought to be more truly meritorious and honorable than that which Cæsar under these circumstances displayed ²⁸.

Whether his abilities, as a statesman, were equal to his talents as a warrior, may reasonably be doubted. He certainly gained much by policy and address; but he appears to have gained more by the exercise of martial skill, and by the predominance of his military fame. To such an able and fortunate commander, every enterprise, apparently the most difficult, became easy: the mastery of the camp led to political supremacy.

LETTER XXXVIII.

History of ROME, and it's Dependencies, to the temporary Reconciliation of Octavius with Mark Antony and the younger Pompey.

Ante Chr. ^{41.} AMIDST the confusion which the murder of the dictator produced at Rome, while the senators were hastening in every direction from the scene of danger, the conspirators ran into the city, brandishing their ensanguined weapons, and boasting of the glorious deed which they had perpetrated. They called the people to a meeting, and declared that they were solely influenced

²⁸ Montesquieu may properly be quoted in support of this remark. "*César pardonna à tout le monde; mais il me semble que la modération que l'on montre après qu'on a tout usurpé, ne mérite pas de grandes louanges,*"

by a regard for the general welfare, and by a wish to restore the violated freedom of the republic. Having pacified the multitude, they retired to the Capitol, under apprehensions of an attack from the disbanded soldiers of Cæsar, and the troops commanded by Lepidus. Antony had fled in disguise, in the first emotions of terror; but his courage returned, when he observed the forbearance and caution of the opposite party. To a proposal of reconciliation and concord from Brutus and Cassius, he replied, that he would meet them in the senate-house, and leave the settlement of affairs to the temperate determination of the majority ¹.

When the senate re-assembled, it was decreed after a warm debate, at the suggestion of Cicero, that no inquiry should be instituted on the subject of Cæsar's death, and that, for the sake of peace, all grounds or pretences of complaint and animosity should be consigned to oblivion; and it was at the same time voted, that his acts and ordinances should be confirmed. The conspirators did not attend this meeting, thinking themselves more secure in the Capitol. From that fortress Brutus harangued the people, enumerating the arbitrary and tyrannous acts of Cæsar, and justifying the conspiracy against him. He was heard with some appearance of favor; and his promise of not opposing that distribution of land among the veteran soldiers, which had been arranged by Julius, allayed the rising disgust of that body; while the offer of indemnification from the treasury gratified the former possessors. The consuls afterward called a popular assembly; and, when Cicero had eloquently enforced the expediency of an immediate and complete reconciliation, Brutus and his friends left the Capitol, and embraced the leaders of the Cæsarian party. Cassius, being entertained by Antony, was asked what weapon he had about him: he answered,

1 App. de Bellis Civil. lib. ii. cap. 38.

with the bold spirit of a tyrannicide, "One that will serve
" to dispatch you, if you should dare to aim at arbitrary
" power ²."

The recitation of Cæsar's will soon disturbed this seeming harmony. When it appeared that the dictator had fixed upon some of the conspirators as guardians to his son (if he should have one), and had named Decimus Brutus among his secondary heirs, the ingratitude of these men to their illustrious patron shocked the sensibility of many; and, when it was found that to every one of the citizens a legacy had been bequeathed, the zeal of the people broke out into expressions of regard and attachment. The exhibition of the mangled body increased the ferment of the multitude; and a funeral oration from Antony, couched in a style of artful pathos, contributed to turn the tide against the partisans of Brutus. With such rage were the people inflamed, that many of them ran to burn the houses of the republican leaders, whose lives were also in extreme danger.

Brutus had reason to lament that he had over-ruled the advice of Cassius, not only in sparing the life of Antony, at the time of the attack upon his friend, but in allowing a public funeral. He might have foreseen, that the ambitious, unprincipled, and depraved consul, would strenuously oppose all the efforts of the advocates of liberty, and that the publicity of the posthumous honors proposed by Piso, to whose charge the will of Cæsar had been intrusted, would excite disturbance and commotion. Atticus, who was not devoted to either party, was one of those who recommended privacy on this occasion, from a desire of preserving the public tranquillity.

As Antony, by his recent conduct, had displeased the senate, he endeavoured, by an act of violence, to retrieve his credit in that assembly. A Cæsarian, named Amati-
us,

² Di. Cass. lib. xlv. cap. 8, 9.—App. de Bellis Civil. lib. ii.—Liv. Epit. lib. cxvi.

having excited a tumult, was instantly put to death by the affected indignation of the consul; and his colleague Dolabella chastised, with equal severity, a party of rioters who had not been intimidated by the sacrifice of their leader. The arbitrary magistrates pleased the senate by this conduct; but it did not augment their popularity. Still courting the conscript fathers, Antony proposed, that Sextus, or the younger Pompey, should be recalled, and employed as admiral; and, for this and other marks of condescension, he was permitted to enlist a strong guard of veterans. Having gained possession of Cæsar's papers, he, on pretence of executing the intentions of his esteemed friend, introduced his partisans into the senate, and made such official changes as suited his own interest³.

The republican chiefs, aware of the interested ambition of Antony, and perceiving that he was artfully paving the way for his own elevation, although he had readily assented to a law, perpetually prohibiting the appointment of a dictator, left the city, and began to prepare for their defence. The governments assigned to them by Cæsar furnished them with opportunities of raising troops and collecting contributions; and they resolved to retain their present provinces, rather than agree to those exchanges which, with the consent of the people, but without the concurrence of the senate, were ordained by the two consuls.

While the death of Cæsar was the general topic of conversation in Italy, Octavius, who was particularly interested in the event, was resident at Apollonia, where studies and manly exercises alternately engaged his attention. Being the son of Cæsar's niece, and having early lost his father⁴, he had been adopted by his great-uncle, and declared by will his principal heir. He was shocked at the dictator's fate, — not so much (we may sup-

³ App. lib. iii. cap. 2.

⁴ Caius Octavius, who had acted with reputation as prætor and provincial governor.

pose) out of regard for his relative and benefactor, as because he apprehended danger to himself from the violence of the conspirators. But ambition began to animate his breast, as soon as he found that the murderous act had excited general regret and indignation. The empire, he thought, required the immediate care of a new sovereign; and why, he asked himself, should not he endeavour to supply the vacancy? Having been born in the consulate of Cicero, he was only in the nineteenth year of his age; but, with the aid of able ministers and experienced counsellors, he deemed himself fully competent to the task of government.

Hastening into Italy, he landed near Brundisium, but was afraid to enter that town before he had learned the sentiments of the garrison. He soon found that he had no cause of fear; and, being complimented by the officers, he assumed the name of Cæsar. With a respectable company of friends, he proceeded to Rome; where, visiting Antony, he blamed him for having saved the assassins from the public vengeance, and for promoting some of them to official stations; demanded a delivery of the money belonging to Cæsar (that he might pay the bequests due to the people), and a loan of the sums reserved for national purposes; and talked in a high tone which disgusted the consul. Having sold the estates which he had acquired by the will, as well as other property, he so conciliated the people by pecuniary distribution, that they refused to listen to a proposal for the recall of Brutus and Cassius to Rome, even while they were highly delighted with the games which were solemnised by the consul's brother Caius, in the name of the former of those republicans. Thus exiled, the two associates retired to their Macedonian and Syrian governments, and made preparations for war against the partisans of imperial despotism⁵.

⁵ App. lib. iii. cap. 4, 5, 7.

Octavius anxiously observed the progress of these dissensions, but did not actively interfere on either side. His increasing popularity induced Antony to court his favor; and a marriage was proposed between him and the consul's step-daughter. The aspiring youth reluctantly agreed to it, and promised to assist Antony in procuring from the people the government of Cis-Alpine Gaul, which the senate, jealous of his views, had refused to grant him. He performed his promise; but no real friendship subsisted between these rivals for power. They had a warm dispute respecting the tribunate, which Octavius solicited for a friend, and might have obtained for himself, notwithstanding all the opposition of Antony and of the senate. An outward reconciliation followed this disagreement, while each continued to distrust the other.

When Antony had left Rome to join the army, Octavius levied troops in Campania, and did not scruple to march with them into the city; but he soon stationed them in other quarters, where their presence gave less disgust. The consul, being coolly received at the camp, because he had not taken vengeance for the assassination of Cæsar, put many of his soldiers to death⁶ on pretence of mutiny, and changed the officers; and then returned to Rome with a select body. Two legions deserted his standard, and joined the heir of Cæsar, who occupied Alba with a considerable army⁷.

The senate seemed not to know how to act, being afraid of both competitors, and doubtful of the event. Every reflecting member concluded, that each of the rivals wished to domineer over the republic; and the assembly had not the strength or spirit requisite to control both. When Octavius made a boast of his regard for the conscript fathers, and assured them that he had a force sufficient to protect them against the violence of Antony,

⁶ Cicero said, 300, in a speech ascribed to him by Dio.

⁷ Liv. Epit. lib. cxvii.—App.

they affected to believe him, and promised to support him. The majority, indeed, secretly wished for his destruction ; but they were less hostile to him than to Antony, against whom Cicero, in particular, cherished a violent animosity. They promoted the election of Hirtius and Pansa to the consulate ; and, when the critical state of the nation had been warmly debated for three days, it was Ante Chr. proposed that Antony should be declared a public 43. enemy, as he was then employed in the siege of Mutina, against Decimus Brutus, the friend of the senate, and had arbitrarily recalled to Italy the legions which had been assigned to him for the repression of Thracian hostilities. Cicero, on this occasion, uttered a vehement Philippic against the bold partisan of Julius, the arrogant abettor of dictatorial sway. He exhibited a highly-colored picture of his dissolute life ; represented him as the chief instigator of the late civil war, as a determined enemy of the senate and of the republican constitution ; as one who had shamefully misbehaved in every office which he had discharged, who had no sense of morality or honor, whose cruelty was notorious, and whose public iniquity was equal to his private profligacy. Piso defended Antony with spirit ; while Fufius Calenus reviled Cicero with scurrilous malignity⁸. The majority decreed, that Decimus should retain the Gallic province, and that Antony, relinquishing the unauthorised siege, should retire into Macedonia, which he was permitted to govern. To this intimation he returned an incompliant answer, alleging that he acted by the authority of the people. He was immediately stigmatised as an enemy of the state ; and the

8 Dr. Middleton doubts whether the very abusive speech attributed by Dio to Calenus was really delivered. The senate, he thinks, would not have endured it ; and indeed we find that, on some other occasions, the assembly checked, by loud clamors, the acrimonious personalities of Cicero's opponents. Perhaps the historian, who was no friend to the illustrious orator, heightened (if he did not fabricate) the opprobrious parts of the speech.

troops were ordered to renounce his authority, on pain of senatorial vengeance?

From the rising influence of Octavius, this was rather considered as a contest between him and Antony, than between the senate and the refractory general. Accompanied by the ambitious youth, the consul Hirtius advanced in the spring toward Mutina. Antony, being informed that Pansa was on his way to join his colleague, endeavoured to surprise him; but Hirtius had sent his young friend, with a legion, to protect the approaching troops. Pansa was mortally wounded; and Antony, after the fall of many on both sides, put his adversaries to flight: but the appearance of Hirtius with fresh troops changed the aspect of affairs; for he proved victorious over the legions that were returning in supposed triumph. Antony now coolly prosecuted the siege; but he was drawn into another engagement by the *manœuvres* of Octavius. The consul was killed in the heat of action; and the young warrior, in providing for the removal of his body, was exposed to extreme danger, which he narrowly escaped. Darkness alone put an end to the conflict. Antony conceded to the youth the honor of victory, by raising the siege in the night⁹.

The senate ordered a thanks-giving for this success, and gave the command of the consular army to Decimus, without taking the least notice of Octavius, who was offended rather than surprised at the neglect, having been assured by the dying Pansa, that the leading members aimed at his ruin. He now made overtures for an accommodation with Antony, who would not, however, join him before he had ascertained the sentiments of Lepidus. Having crossed the Alps with the remains of his army, the

9 App. lib. iii. cap. 10, et seq.—Di. Cass. lib. xlv. xlvī.

10 App. lib. iii. cap. 15.—Paterc. lib. ii.—Di. Cass. lib. xlvī.—It was reported, by the partisans of Antony, that both the consuls had been murdered by order of Octavius; but this assertion seems to have been a mere calumny.

fugitive general drew the troops under that commander into his interest, and alarmed the senate by the magnitude of his force. Octavius was at length flattered by that assembly with a participation of authority over the legions commanded by Decimus; and he took advantage of this grant of power for the acquisition of the consulate. He was by many years too young for that dignity; but, as the strictness of the law had been occasionally relaxed, he demanded the senatorial permission, as a preparative to popular acceptance. His application meeting with a peremptory refusal, he passed the Rubicon with an army sufficient for the intimidation of the senate, and advanced to the metropolis. He was received by the people with loud acclamations: the servile senators complimented and courted him; and he obtained, with his co-heir Pedius, the high office to which he aspired¹¹.

Intent upon revenge, he procured the condemnation of Brutus and other assassins of Cæsar. Trebonius had already been put to death by Dolabella; and Decimus was sacrificed by order of Antony. Brutus, when cited to appear, replied, that he would present himself to justice, followed by twenty legions. The power and preparations of this great enemy of tyranny, hastened the accommodation of the rivals. Lepidus arranged that interview which was destined to lead to remarkable results and sanguinary enormities. On a river-island near Mutina, these three arbitrary and unfeeling politicians met to devise schemes for the gratification of private interest and personal animosity; and, while they mutually divided the Roman dominions, marked out a multitude of their countrymen for slaughter¹². The presumptuous partition of territory was sufficiently offensive and tyrannical; but the proscription has fixed indelible infamy on their names. Octavius, it is said, more readily agreed to the rest of

11 App. lib. iii.—Di. Cass. lib. xlv.

12 App. lib. iv. cap. 3.—Plut. Vit. Antonii.

the plan than to the murderous part of it ; but we may believe that he rather *affected* than really *felt* disgust even at this execrable height of enormity, if we reflect on his other acts of cruelty, and if the assertion of an impartial historian¹³ be true, that, when he had once acceded to the wishes of Antony and Lepidus, he enforced the proscription with more inflexible rigor than either of his accomplices. He gave up Cicero, the ornament of his country, to the vindictive rage of Antony ; and many other respectable citizens were assassinated, either by his direction or connivance.

It was agreed, at this nefarious meeting, that each of the three usurpers should have an equality of power for five years ; that Octavius should more particularly rule the African provinces, with Sicily and other islands ; that the Gallic territory should be assigned to Antony, and Spain to Lepidus, who should, however, reside at Rome, while his two associates were to conduct the war against the enemies of Julius. Liberal pecuniary rewards were promised to the troops for their expected services in the support of the triumvirate ; and, at the end of the war, they were to be put in complete possession of eighteen flourishing towns¹⁴.

The brutal soldiers were so eager to commence the work of slaughter, that, before the triumviral decree was promulgated, they murdered twelve obnoxious citizens. The consternation, which hence arose in the city, was allayed by Pedius, who said, that only a few criminals would be punished in this way, and that the rest of the inhabitants might repose in full security. By his exertions to preserve order, this wretched tool of tyranny is said to have thrown himself into a fever, which proved fatal.

Over-awed by the legions that attended the three ty-

13 Suetonius.

14 Di. Cass. lib. xlv. cap. ult.—App. lib. iv.

rants to Rome, the people sanctioned the articles which had been adjusted on the plausible pretence of a reform of the state. New victims were then pointed out for many successive days, until the amount far exceeded 2130¹⁵. As the soldiers could not easily find all the designated citizens, rewards were offered to any one who would kill a proscrip^t, or only point out the place of his retreat. Slaves were encouraged, by the additional bribe of emancipation, to act as assassins; but it must be mentioned, to the honor of those degraded and depressed beings, that some of them sacrificed themselves to save their masters, whose dress they assumed to deceive the *satellites* of despotism.

The fate of Cicero claims particular notice. When his great enemy was in power, and when murder was the order of the day, he did not expect the preservation of his life. He knew that Antony cherished implacable vengeance against him for the keen severity of those orations, in which he had indignantly inveighed against the base voluptuary and the profligate statesman. As soon as he found that he and Quintus were proscribed, he did not wholly neglect the means of escape. He hastened toward the coast, while his brother returned to Rome for temporary concealment. Finding a vessel near one of his provincial habitations, he set sail; but, being disordered by a short voyage, when the wind was unfavorable, he disembarked at Circæum, where, amidst anxious deliberation, he at one time thought of seeking refuge in the camp of an enemy of the triumvirate, and, in another moment, seemed dis-

15 The senators and knights who suffered death amounted to that number, or (according to Appian) to 2300; and there were also many victims of inferior rank. The sacred character of a tribune was violated in the person of Salvius, who was coolly beheaded in the midst of his family. A proscribed prætor, who had concealed himself, was betrayed by his own son, whom the usurpers rewarded with his father's property: but this parricide, returning intoxicated from an entertainment, was killed by the soldiers in a sudden quarrel. The wife of Septimius pointed him out to the assassins; and Salassus also found a treacherous foe where he might have expected to meet with the most affectionate friend. Some wives and relatives, however, acted a very different part.

posed to suicide. He again sailed, but soon returned to land, saying, "I will die in the country which I have "saved." After some hours of repose, he received intimation of the approach of assassins. His attendants hurried him back toward the vessel which he had left: but the soldiers, conducted by Lænas (an ungrateful villain, whom his eloquence had principally contributed to rescue from capital condemnation), discovered him in a wood, and eagerly approached him. The slaves, who were ready to defend him at the hazard of their lives, were checked by their master, and ordered to put down the chair¹⁶. He was so resigned to his fate, that when he had deliberately eyed the ruffians, he protruded his head, and, without the least indication of fear, received the fatal stroke¹⁷. His head and hands were exhibited in the *forum*, to the eternal disgrace of Antony, who exulted in that death which excited the keen regret of every man of feeling, worth, and honor, in the wide extent of the Roman dominions.

Some modern writers have ventured to affirm, that Cicero deserved his fate: but this remark is the effusion of malignity. We need not be surprised at the severity of that vengeance which was wreaked upon him by an unprincipled usurper of unconstitutional and inordinate power: but such revenge was disgraceful to it's author, who ought to have made a candid allowance for the warmth and occasional intemperance of that honest indignation which animated a patriotic orator. Cicero's chief defect, in his political character, was a want of mental vigor. He was timid by nature; and his mind, though impregnated with wisdom and enlightened by learning, partook of his animal weakness. His vanity was also inordinate and reprehensible; for no consciousness of merit can justify the

16 This vehicle was the *lectica* or *litter*, so called from having the convenience of a bed. It resembled a *palanquin*.

17 Livii Fragm.—Plut. Vit. Ciceronis.—Val. Max. lib. v.

extravagance of self-panegyric. But his virtues more than atoned for his failings. He was a friend of his country and of mankind; generous, beneficent, and grateful; temperate, chaste, and more observant of justice and virtue than the generality of contemporary senators.

When the number of victims had satisfied the policy, vengeance, and rapacity of the triumvirate, it was announced in the senate, that the proscriptions had ceased. Lepidus apologised for the violence which had been exercised, and promised future moderation. Octavius said, that he would yet claim the liberty of punishing guilty citizens¹⁸; as if all the proscripts had been offenders who deserved their fate, when it was well known that many worthy and innocent persons suffered, and some solely for their opulence, which excited a desire of confiscation.

Ante Chr.

^{42.} The fury of war followed the cool malignity of proscription. In the north of Africa, the triumviral arms prospered; for Sextius, aided by one of the native princes, routed the commander who acted for the republican party. Dolabella, who opposed Cassius in Syria, was besieged at Laodicea, both by land and sea. His fleet gained an advantage over the besiegers; but, in another engagement, he lost the victory. In a conflict near the town, neither party prevailed. Some of his men, being bribed by Cassius, took an opportunity of admitting the enemy within the walls; and the city was seized and pillaged. Despairing of mercy, as he had shown none to Trebonius, he killed himself by the reluctant agency of one of his own soldiers¹⁹.

It was the particular wish of Brutus, that Cassius should co-operate with him in Macedon, where the chief triumviral force was expected: but his friend alleged, that it would be imprudent for him to quit Asia, before he had secured Rhodes and subdued the Lycians, and thus check-

¹⁸ Sueton. Vit. Augusti, cap. 27.

¹⁹ App. lib. iv. 15.—Di. Cass. lib. xlvii.

ed the eventual attempts of their adversaries for the acquisition of power in Asia. Brutus adopted this advice, and undertook an expedition into Lycia, while Cassius prepared for the chastisement of the Rhodians, who had furnished aid to Dolabella. Their fleet met him on his way, and attacked his superior force. He prevailed both in this and in another engagement, and hastened to form the siege of their capital, which was soon yielded to him by the fears of the opulent inhabitants, who hoped to appease him by such submission. He doomed fifty of the citizens to death, because they had testified an attachment to the Cæsarian cause; and he robbed the rest of their gold and silver. Leaving troops to keep the island in subjection, he sailed to Abydos to wait for Brutus, who was not unsuccessful in Lycia. Xanthus, in that province, was bravely defended; and, when it had been taken by storm, the inhabitants set fire to the town, and almost all of them destroyed themselves in various modes. Patara was seized with less difficulty; and its wealth was carried off for the purposes of the war²⁰.

Sextus, the son of Pompey, had collected a considerable fleet and army; and, having taken possession of Sicily, he had afforded protection to many of the proscripts. Salvvidienus was sent against him; but, instead of defeating him, he was obliged to retreat. A consideration of the greater importance of a speedy meeting with Brutus and Cassius, called off Octavius from this scene of action; and, having joined Antony at Brundisium, he prepared for a voyage to Macedon. The powerful fleet of the republicans might have obstructed the transportation of troops from Italy; but the commanders were not very active or vigilant, and the wind favored their opponents.

When the republican leaders had crossed the Hellespont with their army, they advanced through Thrace to

Philippi;—a town which had woody hills on the northern side, a morass toward the south (extending to the sea), two very narrow passes to the eastward, and a spacious plain to the west, watered at one extremity by the Strymon. They would have seised Amphipolis, if the Cæsarians had not pre-occupied it as a *depôt*. It was the interest of one party to postpone or avoid a general engagement; of the other, to hasten it. The triumviral troops were distressed for provisions, which they could only procure in small portions from Macedon and Thessaly; while the army of Brutus had an abundant supply, and could easily obtain more from Asia. This general and his friend, therefore, were inclined (but not before they had a dispute upon the subject) to try the effect of delay and of mere defence, in wearying out the opposite host. Antony, eager to draw them into action, made a road across the marsh to the camp of Cassius; who demolished it, however, with great ease, and hastily formed entrenchments, by which the troops that had passed the marsh were greatly endangered. To support this detachment, the general advanced with his legions; and Cassius, imprudently accepting the challenge, drew out his division from the camp. During the conflict that ensued, a strong body forced the new entrenchments, and seised the camp; a disaster which so depressed the combatants in the field, that they ceased to act with spirit or alacrity, and commenced a retreat. The division of Octavius had not the benefit of his exertions; for he excused himself by alleging that he was severely indisposed. Brutus and Messala engaged that part of the army with such impetuous vigor, that they soon became victorious, and, after making great havock, penetrated to the camp, which they stormed and pillaged. They then detached a body of cavalry to assist Cassius, who, seeing the men at a distance, and hearing their shouts, concluded that they were exulting in the defeat of Brutus. He was so shocked at the supposed

ruin of his friend, and at his own danger, that he presented his breast to the sword's point, commanding one of his freed-men to stab him ²¹.

Cassius was a resolute warrior and an able general, although he did not display any extraordinary ability in the battle of Philippi. He affected to be a philosopher; yet he was so weakly superstitious, that he suffered trivial incidents or ridiculous circumstances to impress his mind with ominous apprehensions. He was temperate in his habits, and generally correct in his morals, but harsh and morose in his deportment. Of cruelty he was sometimes guilty; but his victorious adversaries were far more criminal in that respect.

It is said, that 200,000 men were in arms on both sides; but it is not probable, that every legion or cohort took part in the action. The Cæsarian infantry preponderated in point of number; while Brutus and Cassius had the advantage in cavalry. About 16,000 men fell in the former army, but not more than 8000 on the republican side.

Having re-assembled the fugitives, Brutus addressed the army with laconic spirit. The loss of Cassius, he said, was a great misfortune; but it arose from inevitable fatality, not from the valor of the enemy. His own division had indisputably acquired the honor of victory; and it would have been more complete, if the men had been more orderly and obedient. If their adversaries should even be allowed to have fought well, their courage was stimulated by a dread of famine, rather than by a sense of honor or patriotism. He had no doubt of the readiness of his gallant followers for a new encounter; but it would be better, he thought, to stand for a time on the defensive, and leave their foes to the effects of scarcity and privation.

Antony used every effort to produce a renewal of conflict; and his acts of insult and defiance at length had the

effect at which he aimed. A spirit of mutiny began to spread among the troops of Brutus. They blamed his passive coolness, and desired him to lead them into action. He yielded to their importunities, and promised to engage; but he previously issued an order that could only have been expected from a leader of banditti. Either out of resentment for the death of some prisoners who had been put to death for their concern in the conspiracy against Cæsar, or from a sense of the difficulty of guarding the captives, he ordered all the slaves among them to be massacred, while he released the freemen²².

When the two armies were ready for action, Brutus expressed his confidence in the valor of those who had so loudly called for an engagement; and Octavius urged his men to execute that vengeance which the Gods had decreed against the murderers of Julius Cæsar, as if myriads deserved to suffer for the death of one usurper, who, in the wantonness of ambition, had shed torrents of blood. When the battle raged, the victory was strongly contested. Brutus, who took the lead in the right wing, repelled Antony's division: but his left, in opposing the legions of Octavius, did not meet with equal success. For a long time, however, neither of the recoiling wings retired from the field. The efforts of the Cæsarian horse at last decided the fortune of the day. Having prevailed over the opposite cavalry, they assailed the left wing in flank, and threw it into great disorder. The confusion extended itself to the right, notwithstanding all the endeavours of Brutus to infuse his own energy into his discouraged battalions. "Is it thus (said the indignant republican) that "you testify your courage, in deserting your general, "after having forced him to give battle?"—His expostulations were wholly disregarded; and, to avoid falling into the hands of his vindictive foes, he fled with a party of

horse. He would have been taken by some Thracians, if Lucilius had not personated him, and offered himself as a captive, to facilitate the escape of his general. Not expecting to elude pursuit, Brutus summoned all his courage to the commission of suicide. "O Virtue! (he exclaimed) long have I followed thee as a substantial blessing; but I now find that thou art an empty name, or a slave to the caprice of fortune!"—"Death (he said to the philosophic rhetorician Strato) will be a welcome refuge from the miseries of life; but I will not receive it from the hands of my enemies. From you, my friend, I request the performance of the last kind office." Strato at first declined it; but, when a slave was called for the same purpose, the rhetorician offered his service, and held out his sword. Brutus, rushing upon the point of the weapon, was pierced to the heart, and died without a groan ²³.

The character of Brutus has been fiercely assailed by the sycophants of tyranny, by whom he has been represented as a monster of ingratitude and a vile assassin: but their reproaches are unworthy even of animadversion. If his treatment of Cæsar seemed ungrateful, it ought not to be imputed to malignity or perverseness of disposition, but may justly be attributed to that sense of patriotism which rose above all private views and partial considerations, and aimed only at the public good.

Among the officers in the army of Brutus, were some who had conspired with him against Julius: these put an end to their own lives, while the rest submitted to the victors. The men who had not escaped or dispersed themselves, and those who defended the camp, also surrendered. Antony, after the battle, offered some victims

to his revenge ; but Octavius, on this occasion, was more cruel than his associate.

The usurpers, being thus fortunate by land, were easily consoled for a loss which they sustained at sea. Their fleet was discovered by the enemy, and soon defeated ; and a considerable part of a military reinforcement perished in flaming ships, or amidst the waves. Yet neither the victorious fleet, nor that of Pompey, obstructed the return of Octavius to Italy.

A performance of the promises by which the soldiers had been allured to the support of the triumvirate, now occupied the thoughts of the ambitious heir of Cæsar : but the difficulty of finding the means of satisfaction delayed the accomplishment of his intentions. His indisposition returned after his victory, and detained him at Brundisium during the winter ; and, in the mean time, Fulvia, the wife of Antony, a woman of intrigue both in a personal and a political sense, formed a strong party against him, accusing him of a determined intention of seizing the whole power of the state. Manius, a turbulent citizen, was her privy counsellor ; the consul Lucius, brother of her husband, was subservient to her views ; and the senatorial leaders were willing to encourage and support her.

The promise of giving up a number of towns to the triumviral troops could not be carried into effect without the hazard of dangerous commotions. It was declared to be extremely unjust, that men who had fought for the interest of their employers, rather than for the benefit of the state, should be suffered to plunder the people ; and it was hinted, that this was a preparative to the general establishment of military despotism. Dreading the violence of opposition, Octavius softened the rigors of the scheme, by exempting senators, women who had lands for their dowry, and some other individuals, from the operation of the seizure ; but it was still iniquitous and oppress-

ive. His arrangements, after some opposition to the modifications, were applauded by the soldiers, who, after having been stimulated by Fulvia to seditious acts, which endangered the life of Octavius, expressed their penitence, and implored forgiveness. Resenting the conduct of that licentious woman, he repudiated her daughter; and, on the other hand, she continued her endeavours to seduce the troops from his interest²⁴.

Under the auspices of Lucius, many of the legionary officers had a meeting; in which it was resolved, that the triumviral government should be superseded by the sway of the two consuls; that the armies of Octavius and Antony should be disbanded; and that only the soldiers who had acted at Philippi should be rewarded with lands, but not with those of the proscripts. It could not be supposed, that a general who had acquired a high degree of power and influence, would agree to these resolutions. They were eluded by Octavius on various pretences; and, in particular, he vindicated the retention of his forces by the necessity of guarding against the enterprises of Fulvia. The consul had promised to confer with him at Gabii; and, each having sent out a party of horse, a conflict occurred, which served as a pretence for war. Octavius probably ordered his men to attack, and then accused Lucius of aggression.

The intrigues of Fulvia extended even to Africa, where Fuficius, the lieutenant of Octavius, governed one of the Roman provinces. Sextius, who had been obliged to resign his post to that officer, was now supplied with men and money, and desired to attack Fuficius, who, being defeated, fell upon his own sword. To Pompey, Fulvia also applied; urging him to take measures, in concert with Sextius, for the ruin of Octavius. But, although he had been greatly strengthened with troops and ships by the

²⁴ Di. Cass. lib. xlviii. cap. 4.—App. v. 7—9.

partisans of Brutus and Cassius, he had not sufficient judgement to make a proper use of his force, or that determined vigor which would have enabled him to take a decisive advantage of the divisions of Rome. If he had entered Italy, and joined the consul, who had a great and increasing force, he might have found an opportunity of crushing the Octavian party, and might have maintained his ground against the eventual efforts of Antony.

In the war which now arose, Antony did not engage. He disavowed the proceedings of his wife and brother²⁵; but it is not improbable that he secretly favored their attempts for the destruction of a rival whom he had only joined from motives of temporary policy, and whose ruin would leave a path open to his grasping ambition. After his Macedonian victory, he had visited Greece, where he pleased the philosophers and rhetoricians by the ease and vivacity of his conversation, and, in the seat of justice, gratified the people by his equitable decisions. He then sailed with his army to Asia Minor, to subdue all remains of the influence of Brutus and Cassius in that peninsula. He was courted by the native princes, and almost adored as a God; and the inhabitants of the provinces manifested all the meanness of servility. While his power over-awed them, they were conciliated by the affability of his manners; and the acts of clemency, which he mingled with instances of severity, were themes of extravagant praise. His pecuniary demands, however, were so exorbitant, that the provincial deputies, and the envoys of the tributary princes, took the liberty of remonstrating against such oppressive requisitions. He condescended to diminish the impost, and to extend the time of plenary payment: but it was still a grievous burthen. Some exemptions were granted to particular towns, which had been severely harassed by the rapacity of the republican leaders; and the

Lycian province was for that reason excused. The demand was not confined to Asia Minor, but extended through Syria to the borders of Arabia. The despot who thus indulged himself in rapine, gave an indication of his great power in another instance; for he acted as a judge of kings, and decided a contest for the Cappadocian royalty ²⁶.

While he was at Tarsus, he received a visit from Cleopatra, whom he had cited to his tribunal to answer a charge of disaffection to the triumviral cause. She was wafted up the Cydnus in a galley which had a golden stern, oars of silver, and silken sails: the rowers kept time to the sounds of music; and, while aromatics diffused their fragrance around, the voluptuous princess reposed under a splendid canopy, fanned by beautiful children, and attended by elegant women. She soon vindicated herself to the satisfaction of her judge; for, though her lieutenant in Cyprus had assisted the republicans, she had sent aid to Dolabella against them. When she had sufficiently captivated the amorous Roman, she left him at Tyre, and returned to Egypt. He joined her at Alexandria, and fixed his residence at her court; neglecting the concerns of empire for the dissolute pleasures of love, and passing his time in a succession of amusements; while the politic Octavius was pointing every effort to the acquisition of the sole supremacy.

The brother of Antony was not an ambitious or turbulent man; but he thought it his duty to check the career of Octavius. He drove Lepidus from Rome; and, assembling the senate and people, declared that he had only taken arms to re-establish the republic, by crushing the sanguinary tyranny of the triumvirs. The assembly applauded his intentions, and urged him to prosecute the war with vigor. His first object was to prevent Salvidi-

enus from uniting his force with the chief Cæsarian army ; but, when he had advanced to the northward for that purpose, Agrippa, the friend of Octavius, threw himself in the way, and, by attacking Sutrium, diverted the consul's attention, so as to afford an opportunity for the proposed junction. Lucius, not having a sufficient force to cope with the two generals, retired to Perugia, to the great joy of Octavius, who hoped, by a close blockade, to reduce him to complete submission. Pollio and Ventidius, the chief commanders under Lucius, had a respectable force ; but, not acting in harmonious concert (for each wished to be prior in rank), they suffered the enemy to obstruct their views for the relief of the consul, and retired to separate stations. The blockade assumed a very formidable aspect. The lines of circumvallation were furnished with 1500 wooden towers (as high as the walls of the town) in which were many archers and slingers, with a variety of engines. Some sallies were made for the destruction of the works, with very inconsiderable effect. In one of these eruptions, Octavius, who was sacrificing, was in great danger of being slain or captured ; but he was seasonably rescued from peril ; and some ill-boding appearances in the victim which he offered, were interpreted as unfriendly to his enemies, who had the remains of the sacrifice in their possession. This quibble revived the hopes of those superstitious soldiers who had been discouraged by the first declaration of the augurs. When the effect of the blockade appeared in the terrific form of famine, the garrison made a general *sortie*, and assaulted the works, without being able to force them. After a considerable loss of

Ante Chr. 40. men, Lucius ordered a retreat, and sent three of his officers to propose a capitulation. Dissatisfied with their report of the answer of Octavius, he advanced toward the hostile camp, and, being met by that commander, frankly remonstrated with him on the injustice of taking arms against the republic, and urged him to treat

his opposers with clemency, as they had only obeyed the orders of a consul. The answer that was given to this application was not so favorable as to preclude severity to all who were supposed to have had any concern in the conspiracy against Julius. On this pretence, three hundred senators and other persons of distinction were put to death by the inhuman conqueror, near an altar erected to the memory of Cæsar, on the anniversary of his murder²⁷.

All the troops in Perusia ranged themselves under the ensigns of Octavius ; and two legions of the consular party followed the example, while Pollio, with those which he commanded, joined Domitius Ahenobarbus, who, after having acted under Brutus, was disposed to become the friend of Antony. Other legions took different posts, undetermined how to act; and some cohorts dispersed themselves in various directions. Fulvia was escorted by a body of horse to Brundisium, whence she passed into Greece. Tiberius Nero kept up a small force near Naples; but, being attacked by the Cæsarians, he retired into Sicily. The wife and son of this officer²⁸ were destined to act distinguished parts in the Roman state.

Octavius improved his success by subverting the interest of Antony in Gaul. He hastened into that province, and persuaded the legions to enter into his service, permitting the officers to join their general, where-ever they might chance to find him. After his return to Italy, he endeavoured to secure some important stations, particularly the port of Brundisium ; and fortune continued to favor his views.

The conduct of Octavius roused Antony from his luxurious indolence. He found that he had sacrificed too long at the shrine of pleasure, and that a regard to his interest required vigorous exertion. He therefore sailed to Greece,

²⁷ Di. Cass. lib. xlviii. cap. 5.—App. lib. v. 13—17.—Sueton. Vit. Augusti, cap. 15.

²⁸ Livia and Tiberius.

and, meeting his wife at Athens, took her to Sicyon, where he left her in an ill state of health. His neglect increased her indisposition, and hastened her death. In his voyage to Italy, he descried the fleet of Domitius, and ventured to approach it with only five of his own vessels, when he was unacquainted with the favorable intentions of the admiral. Pollio had probably used his persuasions to fix Domitius on the side of Antony; and, as soon as one of the officers called for a mark of respect to a superior commander, Ahenobarbus lowered his flag, and made personal submissions to the general, who, having disembarked near Brundisium, demanded admittance; but the commandant refused to open the gates, alleging, as a reason, the association which Antony had formed with an obnoxious conspirator. The place was immediately invested; and the partisans of Octavius, in several other towns, were harassed with hostilities, not only by the troops of Antony, but also by those of Pompey, with whom, by the medium of Domitius, he now concluded an alliance²⁹.

This confederacy alarmed Octavius, who had hoped to secure the forbearance of Pompey by espousing Scribonia, the sister of Libo, who was the father-in-law of that commander. Immediately after his marriage, he repaired to Brundisium, and began to blockade the besiegers. But the soldiers, being anxious for an accommodation, proposed it to their generals, who, convinced of it's present expediency, listened to the persuasions of Julia, Antony's mother, and agreed to a treaty, which was negotiated by Pollio and Mæcenus, under the arbitration of Cocceius. A new division was made of the Roman dominions, the east being assigned to Antony, the west to Octavius, and the African provinces to Lepidus. The pacification was strengthened, if not durably cemented, by a marriage

between Octavia and the lover of Cleopatra. The lady who was thus honored was not merely distinguished by the beauty of her person : her estimable qualities and exemplary virtues were her greatest ornaments. She was the widow of Marcellus, and mother of the promising youth whose immature death has been so pathetically lamented by Virgil. Octavius, who was her brother by the father's side, had a great affection and regard for her, and perhaps wished that she had found a husband of better principles and greater moral worth : but considerations of convenience induced him to promote the union ³⁰.

One of the stipulations authorised the attack of Pompey, if he would not submit to reasonable terms of peace. He was highly offended at Antony's renunciation of the late alliance, and resolved to harass the triumvirs by stopping the supplies of corn intended for Italy. He had added the possession of Corsica and Sardinia to the mastery of Sicily ; and, having augmented his fleet, he threatened to starve the Romans into submission. The scarcity of necessary provision excited murmurs and commotions in the metropolis ; and some new imposts increased the public discontent. Octavius and Antony were assaulted, but escaped death by military interposition. Other riots would have occurred, if pacific overtures had not been made to Pompey. Libo and Julia used their mediation for that purpose ; and, when the generals had conferred near Puteoli, it was agreed, Ante Chr. that the three islands should continue for five ³⁹ years under their present ruler, who should send to Rome all his accumulations of corn, recall his troops from Italy, cease to obstruct the commerce of Roman subjects, and not fabricate any more vessels ; that his soldiers should be equally entitled to a portion of land with the triumviral troops ; that the fugitives in the islands should re-enjoy

30 Plut. Vit. Antonii.

the whole of their estates, and the proscripts should recover a fourth part ³¹.

If Octavius or Antony had been in Pompey's predicament, neither of them would have acceded to such terms as he signed. He kept the islands which they could not then take from him, and gave up all hopes of subduing Italy or restoring the republic.

The three leaders entertained each other, in token of amity. When Pompey treated them in one of his ships, he was secretly advised by his freed-man Menas to slip the cables, and carry off his two rivals: but he scorned to violate his honor, and suffered them to retire in safety.

LETTER XXXIX.

History of ROME, and it's Dependencies, to the Battle of Actium and the Conquest of Egypt.

Ante Chr. THE pacification, however precarious it might ^{39.} seem to those who were intimately acquainted with the dispositions of Octavius and Antony, diffused extreme joy through Italy. The people saluted the returning chiefs with loud acclamations, and hailed them as beneficent and god-like beings. Sacrifices, sports, and festivities, attested the public satisfaction; and, although the usurpation of power was deemed unjust and iniquitous, the lower classes acquiesced in that state of affairs to which the higher ranks were obliged to submit. The government was administered, in general, with moderation; and the course of law was not obstructed by glaring tyranny.

Leaving the western provinces to the uncontrolled sway of Octavius, Antony re-visited Greece, and passed

³¹ App. lib. v. cap. 25, 26.—Di. Cass. lib. xlviii. cap. 11.

many months at Athens with his new wife, not in the luxurious excess and degrading sensuality which had unmanned him at Alexandria, but in sober gratification, decorous amusements, and philosophic leisure. When the winter had elapsed, he exchanged the ease of ^{Ante Chr.} private life for the majesty of sovereign power. ^{38.}

Guards and lictors attended his movements: affability gave way to *hauteur*: he impressed terror, and enforced submission; and the fate of nations rested on his caprice¹.

While Antony, in the society of his amiable wife, seemed to forget his dissolute propensities, and to relinquish his fondness for variety, Octavius divorced himself from Scribonia, on pretence of her perverse and unaccommodating disposition, and either persuaded or commanded Tiberius Nero to resign his wife Livia. An objection, arising from her pregnancy, was declared by the priests to be nugatory, as there was no doubt with regard to the father of the child². Satisfied with this casuistry, the lord of the west espoused the fair object of his love, who, while she appeared as his bride, gave indication of a seeming, if not real, adultery. Her speedy *accouchement* excited smiles. "Cæsar (said a Roman wit) is fortunate in every thing: even the laws of child-bearing are relaxed in his favor: he has had a child within three months." The artful Livia soon acquired an extraordinary influence, and, in many instances, governed one who ruled over millions.

Italy was soon menaced with a renewal of war. Pompey, disgusted at the treaty, violated some of it's stipulations, by augmenting his fleet, and encouraging the depredations of pirates³. Octavius remonstrated against these irregular proceedings; and Pompey, on the other hand, demanded a full surrender of the Peloponnesus, according to a secret article of the agreement. The former,

¹ App. de Bellis Civ. lib. v. cap. 28.

² Di. Cass. lib. xlvi. cap. 13.

³ Liv. Epit. lib. cxviii.

having devoted some share of his attention to ship-building, had at this time a more numerous navy than the latter could boast; and he was encouraged by a transfer of the services of Menas (or Menodorus), who, being alarmed at the murder of some freed-men by the senatorial attendants of his master, and offended at a proposed inquiry into his official conduct, gave up Sardinia and Corsica, which he governed, and also surrendered a considerable squadron ⁴.

Naval hostilities commenced near Cumæ. Calvisius commanded for Octavius, and Menecrates for Pompey. Menas furiously assaulted the officer who had succeeded him, and wounded him so dangerously, that he threw himself overboard. Demochares, who assumed the command, observed with pleasure the disorderly manner in which Calvisius pursued some retiring vessels, and, instantly attacking the rest of the fleet, put some ships to flight, and dashed others against the rocks. The Cæsarian admiral, returning from the pursuit, rallied the remains of his squadron, and prevented Demochares from completing his victory ⁵.

Octavius was sailing to Messina to attack Pompey, when this misfortune occurred. He was attacked in the strait both by that commander and by Demochares, and, to avoid destruction, drove his own ship toward the shore, and leaped upon a rock. Danger still pursued him; for he was on the point of being taken by some Pompeians who were coasting along; but he escaped through a mountainous defile. In the night, a slave, in revenge for an act of tyranny, aimed a blow at him, but without effect ⁶.

Cornificius, after his master's retreat, continued the engagement until the arrival of Calvisius; and the enemy then desisted; but, the next morning, preparations were made to complete the ruin of the Cæsarian fleet. Suddenly a storm arose, which the squadron of Menas

⁴ App. lib. v. cap. 30.

⁵ Id. Cæs. lib. xlviii.—App.

⁶ Sueton. Vit. Augusti, cap. 16. — App.

weathered by standing out to sea, while it inflicted severe damage on the rest of the fleet, lying at anchor near the shore. A great number of soldiers and seamen perished amidst the waves; and this wreck, added to the effect of the two conflicts, deprived Octavius of two thirds of his fleet. If Pompey, who eluded at Messina the fury of the tempest, had acted with vigor on this occasion, he might have landed in Italy, and, perhaps, have made himself master of Rome.

In a state of dejection, Octavius reached Campania with a small squadron: but he soon recovered his spirits, gave orders for the construction of a new fleet, and resolved to make a descent in Sicily. When Antony, to whom he had sent an account of his misfortune, had arrived at Brundisium with 300 ships, a suspicion of his intentions overpowered that desire of assistance which had produced repeated applications to him. Jealous of eventual competition, Octavius stood upon his guard, and even declined a meeting; but his sister's entreaties subdued his reluctance; and, after a conference with her husband, he even passed the night without any other guard than the Antonian soldiers. In return for a fleet, consisting of 120 vessels, he gave two Italian legions; and, in the adjustment of usurped power, five years were added to the former term of triumviral partition ⁷.

The Sicilian expedition was undertaken with the most confident hopes, arising from magnitude of preparation. But it commenced unfavorably; for Ante Chr. 37. a storm inflicted great injury upon two divisions of the fleet. Octavius was so enraged at his loss, that he impiously reproached Neptune himself; while Pompey, pleased with the tempest, thanked the God of the sea for attending to his interests. Menas, who had rejoined his former master, seemingly with an intention of betraying

him, was intrusted with the command of a squadron, and sent to reconnoitre the position and state of the Cæsarian fleet. Attacking the guard-ships, he captured three, and destroyed some small vessels. He then intimated to an officer his wish to be again employed by Octavius; and, on surrendering his ships, he was favored with protection, but not gratified with official trust.

Lepidus took a personal share in this expedition: but a part of his force was defeated with great loss. Agrippa had the chief command of the whole armament; and he proved himself worthy of that distinction. In an engagement

Ante Chr. near Mylæ, he captured or destroyed thirty ships,

36.

with the loss of only five. This victory encouraged Octavius to invest Tauromenium, which, he thought, the enemy would not be able to relieve. He was fortifying his camp near the town, when Pompey unexpectedly arrived with a fleet and army. An attack upon the advanced guard diffused a panic among the Cæsarians, who might have been defeated, if the efforts of the assailants had been directed by an union of skill and vigor. Leaving Cornificius to superintend the operations of the army, Octavius resolved to assault the hostile fleet: but Pompey, who was a better admiral than general, was victorious on this occasion, making such havock, that his antagonist, thinking himself on the verge of ruin, fled in a boat with only one companion. To such danger was the sovereignty of the west reduced! He lost his cares in sleep; and, when he awoke, he found himself in the camp of Messala, who had formerly been his enemy, but was now his friend⁸.

To avoid the necessity of surrendering in consequence of a scarcity of provisions, Cornificius offered battle to Pompey, who, declining the challenge, blockaded his camp. The Cæsarians at length quitted their post, and,

on the fourth day of their retreat, were sufficiently reinforced to baffle the attempts of their pursuers. Tyndaris and other towns were now taken; and the capital was threatened with a siege. Pompey, dreading the loss of the island, proposed a maritime decision of the contest; to which Octavius reluctantly agreed. Each, by mutual compact, disposed three hundred ships in order of battle. At first, the vessels preserved their line, and fought with regularity; but they were afterward so intermingled, that it was not always easy to distinguish friends from foes. Agrippa made great use of grappling hooks, which he is said to have invented, although he merely improved a former invention. He highly distinguished himself by the effect of his peculiar vessel, which disabled many opponents; while his master either slept, or remained in a state of torpor, during the greater part of the engagement. Pompey did not exalt his reputation by his conduct on this occasion; for his division first gave way. Agrippa then redoubled his exertions against that part of the fleet which Tisienus commanded; and he at length fully prevailed. It is said, that only seventeen of Pompey's ships escaped capture or destruction, while the victors suffered scarcely any naval loss. Lepidus, who had no share in the action, now took Lilybæum, which ceased to be defended, and compelled the garrison of Messina to surrender the city and join his army. This assumption of authority displeased Octavius, who, eager to reduce him to his original insignificance, repaired to the camp with a small train, and, though treated with hostility, over-awed the troops into submission and obedience. He made no attempt on the life of Lepidus, but deprived him of all political and military authority⁹.

A mutiny among the troops allayed the joy of the victory. They demanded either dismissal, or an increase of pay;

and grants of land were desired by many, who alleged that they had fully merited such rewards by a long course of service. Octavius dismissed those who had served him for the longest period, and distributed money among the rest out of the spoils of Sicily. Having thus restored order, he returned to Rome; and, aware that a *triumph* over Pompey would excite displeasing sensations among the people, by whom that name was still venerated, he contented himself with the less invidious honor of an *ovation*. He testified his moderation by burning a list (presented to him by some sycophants) of the names of malcontents and secret enemies, and also the letters which were found among the papers of the vanquished general, implicating a number of citizens in supposed guilt: but he, at the same time, manifested great cruelty in his treatment of many of the slaves who had acted in the army of Pompey, and had been declared free in his treaty with that commander. Those who could not be placed in their former service, because their masters or their heirs could not be found, were put to death by the sanguinary despot.

When Pompey had lost that island which had long been the seat of his power, his first intention was to solicit the favor of Antony, and court him into a confederacy against the formidable power of Octavius: but, when he found that the general whom he wished to conciliate was engaged in a difficult and dangerous war, he endeavoured to establish an independent interest in Asia Minor.

The war that employed Antony was prosecuted against the Parthians. Julius Cæsar had formed the intention of attacking that nation; but he was prevented by the death which he had provoked by his usurpation. Still resenting the unjust invasion of their country by Crassus, the Parthians were ready to assist the enemies of the triumvirate. Invited by Labienus, they rushed into Syria, and defeated Saxa, governor of the province, who, mortified at his disgrace, and dreading captivity, pierced himself with his

own sword. Syria, and all Phœnicia, except Tyre, submitted to their arms ; and, invading Palestine, they seized Jerusalem, and deposed Hyrcanus : but Ventidius, being sent against them by Antony, changed the scene. He posted his troops on an eminence, to elude the impetuosity of the hostile cavalry ; easily drove down those who first ascended, and, by their means, disordered the succeeding ranks. He pursued them to the spot where Labienus was encamped ; and their flight so confounded the deserter of the Roman interest, that he fled in disguise during the night, leaving his soldiers to the mercy of Ventidius, who, after having killed many in an ambuscade, incorporated the rest with his army. Cilicia, over which Labienus had extended his authority, was now recovered ; and, in consequence of another victory over the Parthians, Syria again submitted to the sway of Antony. Ventidius advanced into Palestine ; exacted a considerable sum of money from Antigonus, who had been invested by the Parthians with the Jewish sovereignty ; and left troops under Silo to secure the ascendancy of Rome. This officer joined Herod, who, though not of the royal family, contended with Antigonus for the chief authority, and, by flattering and bribing Antony, had procured from the senate the title of king of Judæa. While the two rivals were engaged in hostilities, the Parthians made a new irruption into Syria ¹⁰, and attacked the elevated camp of Ventidius, who drew them on by assuming an appearance of timidity. Then the legionaries, sallying from the entrenchments, bore down all before them, until they reached the plain, where the battle, being more equal, was long contested. The Parthians were animated by the example of Pacorus, and fought with great prowess ; but the Romans, intent on vengeance for the disaster of Crassus, made such extraordinary exertions for victory, that the

10 In the 38th year before Christ.

enemy ceased to resist. The king's gallant son fell; and the greater part of the army shared his fate. Antony, meanly jealous of the fame thus acquired by his lieutenant, dismissed him from his command; but the senate decreed to him the honors of a triumph, which, in the opinion of the world, he well deserved¹¹.

Antony, by his negligence and procrastination, lost the credit of a signal victory. He at length arrived at Samosata, and, after a long siege, compelled the prince of Comagene to purchase peace, and renounce his alliance with the Parthian king. He regulated the affairs of Syria; and, postponing his intended expedition against the Parthians, returned to Europe. Sosius, whom he left as his deputy in Asia, directed his attention to the concerns of Judæa. Having been ordered to assist Herod, who, by his services in the late siege, had secured the regard and friendship of Antony, he joined that aspiring warrior in the investment of Jerusalem. Antigonus defended this capital for five months: it was then taken by storm, and the Romans and Jews vied with each other in acts of outrage and cruelty. Even females and children were put to the sword; and the temple itself was no asylum against the impious barbarity of the captors. Antigonus, throwing himself at the feet of the Roman general, implored mercy: but, at the instigation of Herod, he was scourged and beheaded. Thus the Asmonean family, which had been elevated to power by the courage and talents of Judas Maccabæus, ceased to reign; and a plebeian adventurer established himself on the throne of David¹².

Having shaken off, for a time, the enfeebling influence of love, Antony made preparations for that expedition which he had long meditated. He was particularly encouraged to undertake it by the success of Ventidius,

11 *Di. Cass. lib. xlviii. xlix.*—*App. de Bellis Parthicis.*—*Plut. Vit. Ant. ii.*—*Just. lib. xlii.*

12 *Joseph. de Bellis Jud. lib. 1. cap. 13.*

whom he hoped to excel in greatness of effort, and by the exploits of his lieutenant Canidius, who had triumphed over the kings of Armenia, Iberia, and Albania, and had extended to mount Caucasus the fame of his master. The death of Pacorus had so affected the Parthian king, as to concur with the infirmities of age in bringing him to the verge of dissolution. He named his illegitimate son Phraates for his successor; who was so impatient of the least delay, that he extinguished by violence the small remains of life which lingered in his father's frame. The cruelty of the new king soon rendered him an object of such odium and terror, that many of his principal subjects retired from his dominions; and some of these emigrants urged Antony, by promises of co-operation, to hasten his march. With 70,000 men, beside 30,000 foreign auxiliaries, he advanced into Media, and employed himself in a fruitless siege, while his engines and all his *apparatus* remained at a considerable distance, guarded by 10,000 men, who, being surrounded by a Parthian army, were almost all put to the sword¹³.

Finding it very difficult to provide for the subsistence of the army, and being unable to bring the enemy to a general engagement, the Roman commander listened to pretended overtures of peace, and promised to return into Syria, if Phraates would give up all the Roman prisoners who were in his country, and the standards taken from Crassus. No regular agreement was concluded: but the besiegers retired, and bent their course toward Armenia. In their march they were suddenly assailed by the Parthians, who cut off a considerable number. To avoid slaughter or famine, some even joined the foe; but, as these deserters, far from meeting with encouragement, were transfixed with arrows by the very men to whom they offered their services, their example instantly ceased to

13 Plut., Vit. Antonii.—App. de Bellis Parthicis.

operate. By having recourse to the *testudo*, a check was given to the pursuit. A multitude of the legionaries, each putting the left knee to the ground, held up their shields in compact order, so as to form a kind of roof which warded off the missiles¹⁴. Such a *mancuvre* had never been witnessed by the Parthians, who, imagining that their adversaries drooped from wounds or fatigue, desisted from the use of their bows, and approached with swords or spears to complete the work of hostility. Quickly rising, the Romans darted their javelins with great effect, and put the assailants to flight. After this display of address, they were less harassed or molested in their retreat. When they at length reached the Araxes, and entered Armenia, many of them shed tears of joy, and saluted the earth with reverence. On a review of the army, it was ascertained that 24,000 men had perished, more by famine and disease than by the weapons of the enemy¹⁵.

The joy of Antony at his escape was proportioned to the dejection which he had felt during the retreat, and which had prompted him to order one of his freed-men to take away his life in the extremity of eventual dangers that he might not become a prisoner to the insulting foe. He was incensed at the conduct of Artabazes¹⁶, the Armenian king, who had treacherously withdrawn his force, after the Parthians had cut off that division which guarded the engines: but he concealed his displeasure, while he meditated exemplary vengeance. Hastening into Syria, he left his army in cantonments, and retired with few attendants to the Phœnician coast, where Cleopatra again gladdened him with her presence; and in her society he forgot his late losses and disgrace. He so far concealed the misfortunes of the campaign, in the account which

14 Dio says, that not only men, but even horses and carriages, could go over this roof or platform, when the troops were in a hollow and narrow way. Can the reader believe this assertion?

15 Plut. Vit. Antonii.—App.

16 Or Artavastdes.

he sent to Rome, that Octavius ordered a thanks-giving, as if the general had been victorious.

During the absence of Antony, Pompey, hav-
 ing augmented his small force in Asia, defeated Ante Clir.
35.
 the troops that were led against him by Furnius, over-ran the province of Troas, and took some cities in Bithynia : but, when Titius had been sent with fresh troops to crush him, his father-in-law and other distinguished Romans meanly deserted him ; and he endeavoured to escape with 3000 men, with whom he forced his way at night through the camp of his enemies. He intended to seise and burn some of the ships in the nearest port, and embark his troops in the rest amidst the confusion of the scene ; but, being betrayed by one of his officers, he was made prisoner, and sent to Miletus, where he was sacrificed to the vengeance of Antony¹⁷. He had a greater share of courage than Octavius possessed, but less judgement and policy. His mind was not enlarged or comprehensive ; and, if he had triumphed over his rivals, he probably would not long have retained his authority.

By the dismissal of Lepidus and the ruin of Pompey, Octavius was enabled to divide the Roman dominions with Antony : but, while there was a prospect of obtaining the whole, he could not rest content with a moiety of empire. He professed himself, however, still a friend to that general, and urged him to tear himself from the enfeebling arms of Cleopatra. He exhorted him to attend to imperial concerns, and shake off the indolence of luxury. For his own part, he said, he was on the point of undertaking a new war, which the honor and interest of Rome rendered adviseable and necessary.

The people of Illyria, wishing to recover their independence, had expelled the Roman garrisons, and discontinued the usual tribute. The pride of Octavius could not

brook this insult; and he resolved to humble, by his personal exertions, that spirit which disdained subjection to a foreign power. Having quelled, by firmness and address, a mutiny among his veteran troops, he marched against the Iapydes, who had made incursions even to the gates of Aquileia. He dislodged them from various posts, and assaulted Metulium, their chief town, which was defended by the bravest of their youth. It was built upon two hills, separated by a narrow valley. Lofty towers were erected, from which four bridges were extended to the summit of the wall. Three of these soon gave way; and the soldiers were afraid to venture on the fourth. Their general, having in vain urged them to the attempt, leaped upon the bridge with Agrippa and some other officers. So many of the besiegers followed, being ashamed of their timidity, that the bridge was broken by the pressure. Some were killed by the fall; and Octavius was severely bruised; but he resolved to persevere, and ordered the immediate erection of another bridge. The defenders of the place now promised to submit to his will, and consented to receive a garrison: but, being ordered to give up their arms, they declined obedience, massacred in the night the Romans whom they had admitted, deliberately destroyed themselves and their families, and burned the town¹⁸. This catastrophe was followed by the general surrender of the Iapydian nation. Having over-awed some other Illyrian communities into submission, Octavius invaded Pannonia, without any other cause of war than the unjustifiable wish of extending the Roman dominion; a wish which he subsequently exploded from his political system. Approaching the Save, he besieged Segesta¹⁹ both by land and water, and reduced it by vigorous assaults; and, when the inhabitants of other towns and districts had yielded to his arms, he returned to Rome, which he had

18 Di. Cass. lib. xlix.—App. de Bellis Illyricis.

19 Dio says *Siscia*, which was also near the Save.

left under the administration of his friend Mæcenæ, the celebrated patron of learning and genius.

As another campaign was requisite to complete his success in Illyria and Pannonia, he again presented himself near the Save. His garrison at Segesta had been Ante Chr. 34. fiercely attacked; but his lieutenant repelled the assailants, and secured the town. The Dalmatians having been for some years in arms, the hope of final subjugation drew Octavius into their portion of Illyria, as well as into Liburnia, where they had seized and fortified Promona. He invested the town, routed the troops that came to the relief of the defenders, and, after the destruction of a third part of the garrison, gained possession of the place. He ravaged Dalmatia, set fire to the chief towns, and restored tranquillity by terror. In the mean time, Messala, advancing toward the western Alps, imposed the Roman yoke on the Salassi²⁰.

In compliment to Antony, his pretended friend permitted him to be chosen consul with Libo; but he resigned the dignity to Atratinus, and carried his arms into Armenia. He allured the king to his camp by plausible professions of friendship; and, leading him as a state-prisoner to several castles, ordered the commandants, in the name of their sovereign, to deliver up the treasures which those fortresses contained. They refused to comply with the unauthorised mandate, and called the king's eldest son Artaxes to the throne: but this prince, being defeated in battle, sought refuge in Parthia from the vengeance of Antony, who, having subdued Armenia, returned to Egypt, and entered Alexandria in triumph with the captive Artabazes²¹.

After this addition to his fame and power, Antony wrote to the senate in a style of moderation, expressing his

²⁰ App. de Bellis Illyr.—Di. Cass.

²¹ Di. Cass. lib. xlix. cap. ante-penult.—The Armenian king was put to death, in the sequel, by his inhuman conqueror.

readiness to relinquish his authority. If he should be expected to perform his promise, Octavius, he thought, would be first obliged to resign that power which he exercised in the seat of government; or, by retaining it, would lose his influence and popularity. But, in reality, neither of the rivals had the least intention of acting as mere senators, or of retiring into private life.

Still pretending friendship, Octavius desired his sister to join her husband where-ever he might choose to meet her, to gratify him with valuable presents, and conduct a select reinforcement to his camp. Antony promised to meet her at Athens, but, at the instigation of Cleopatra, he requested her to return into Italy. Octavius was pleased at this behaviour, because it excited the odium of the Roman people, who admired the virtues of his sister. After her return, she devoted her chief attention to the education of her children and those of Fulvia. She always spoke of Antony with respect; and, whenever any of his friends applied for offices, she supported their pretensions with all her influence. Her modesty was ridiculed, and her merit undervalued, by Cleopatra; but this dissolute princess, although she had weaned her admirer from his love for Octavia, could not prevent him from esteeming her.

The unprincipled and wanton prodigality of Antony had prompted him to gratify Cleopatra's ambition with territorial donatives. He had so presumed upon his great power, as to grant to her, without the authority of the senate or the people, Lower-Syria, Phœnicia, the isle of Cyprus, and considerable portions of Cilicia, Judæa, and Arabia. These transfers of dominion were loudly censured by the Romans; and the partisans of Octavius sharply inveighed against the arrogance and injustice of Antony. The public displeasure was aggravated by the report of his folly and ostentatious extravagance, exemplified in a splendid coronation at Alexandria. A throne

of silver was prepared with a golden seat for Ante Chr. 33. Cleopatra, and one for her lover, who appeared in the most magnificent apparel, dignified with a diadem and a sceptre. On the steps of the throne sat Cæsarion, whose name referred to his paternal origin; and Alexander and Ptolemy, the queen's sons by Antony, were stationed near him. Cleopatra was proclaimed sovereign of Egypt, Libya, Cyprus, and Cœle-Syria, in conjunction with Cæsarion: Armenia, and the unconquered kingdoms of Media and Parthia, were assigned to young Alexander, with the title of king of kings; and his brother was crowned king of Syria²².

These and other imprudent and unjustifiable acts were publicly alleged by Octavius, as grounds of accusation; and, to substantiate the charge, a will was produced, which Antony had deposited in the hands of the Vestals, pronouncing Cæsarion the legitimate son of Julius, declaring the infant kings his heirs, and ordering his remains to be interred in Egypt, even if he should die at Rome²³. These insults to the republic were deeply resented; and his conduct gave great advantage to his competitor, whose emissaries reviled him as a base deserter of his country, and as the degraded slave of an Egyptian harlot, to whom the arrogant distributor of Roman provinces would probably transfer Italy itself, if it should be in his power. He had been again elected to the consulate; but the appointment was annulled by the senate, and all his authority was revoked, as far as a vote or decree could operate or extend. War was, at the same time, declared Ante Chr. 32. against Cleopatra, under whose name her infatuated paramour was virtually included.

Aware of the unextinguished rivalry and ill-disguised enmity of Octavius, Antony had made great preparations for war, before the hostile decree was promulgated. He

²² Plut. Vit. Antonii.—Di. Cass. lib. xlix.

²³ Di. Cass. lib. l.—Plut.—Sueton.

entered into a league with the king of the Medes, promising to assist him against Phraates (with whom he had a dispute concerning the division of the Roman spoils), if he would act as the enemy of Octavius. The Median prince betrothed his daughter to young Alexander; and, having received some Roman cohorts in exchange for a body of his own subjects, he gained an advantage in the field over Artaxes and a Parthian army; but, when Antony, without sending back the auxiliary Medes, had recalled the legionaries, the king was defeated and made prisoner²⁴.

Two of Antony's partisans, Domitius and Sosius, had been permitted by the ruler of Italy to become consuls; but, when the latter began to act with intemperate violence, he was accused of being hostile to the republic; and, to avoid the consequences of the charge, he retired with his colleague to the camp of his patron. Many of the senators followed his example; and, on the other hand, Plancus and his nephew Titius, with other reputed friends of Antony, offered their services to Octavius.

A considerable fleet being ready to sail, Antony repaired to the port of Ephesus, as if he had intended to embark without delay: but he imprudently suffered Cleopatra to accompany him; and, when Domitius advised him to send her back into Egypt, her persuasions, and her boasts of the utility of her aid in supplying him with ships and money, induced him to retain her. Samos was his next station; but, while he lingered on that island, he seemed to have relinquished all thoughts of war; for pleasure was his only object. He made an excursion, with a pompous retinue, to Athens, where the queen's liberality drew from the people a complimentary address. At the head of the deputation which presented this effusion of flattery, was Antony himself,

²⁴ Di. Cass. lib. xlix. cap. ult.

who, proud of appearing as a citizen of Athens, amused the princess with a specimen of his oratory. After this frivolity, he prepared for his grand expedition; and he at length sailed to the gulph of Ambracia with an armament which seemed adequate to all the purposes of his ambition. Ante Chr.
31.

Octavius, having transported his army from Italy, landed at the southern extremity of Epirus, and fortified his camp; while his rival occupied the opposite side of the gulph, near Actium. Agrippa, with a detached squadron, cruised along the Grecian coasts, and, by naval captures and various exploits, supported the honor of his master. Sosius, who was equally eager to distinguish himself, attacked an Octavian division, and was pursuing the retreating vessels, when Agrippa, suddenly appearing near the scene of action, defeated the commander who thought himself victorious. These preliminary conflicts were comparatively unimportant; but they tended to elevate the spirits of the Cæsarian party.

The judicious naval arrangements of Octavius and Agrippa discouraged Antony's chief officers, and induced them to recommend a decision of the contest by land. Canidius, in whom he reposed great confidence, ridiculed the supposed disgrace of avoiding a maritime action, and the pretended honor that Octavius would derive from being master of the sea; and urged the expediency of taking a strong position in Macedon, where the valor of the legionaries, and the skill of their leaders, would be less affected by chance or fortune. But the idle fancy of Cleopatra, who considered the fleet as invincible, had greater influence than the prudent suggestions of experienced officers.

Antony, not thinking that all his vessels would be required in the engagement, on account of the narrowness of the gulph, ordered 22,000 of his infantry, beside 2000 archers and slingers, to take their stations in those which

he intended to bring into action²⁵. He chose the right division for his immediate conduct, and was seconded by Publicola. The wind was for some time adverse to him; so that his heavy ships could not bear down with effect upon the comparatively light vessels of Octavius; and he labored under another disadvantage—the want of a sufficient number of able seamen. It was not a close fight that ensued; for there was very little grappling; missiles of various kinds were scattered with profusion; torches and fire-pots were used with particular alertness and efficacy by the Octavian combatants. Antony's right wing first gave way, in consequence of the vigorous exertions of Agrippa and Aruntius; but it would probably have recovered itself, if Cleopatra had not suddenly retired with sixty vessels, the best in the whole fleet. Her lover leaped into a bark, and followed the pusillanimous queen, looking back occasionally with an eye of regret on the armament which he thus shamefully deserted. His men continued to act with some remains of spirit; but their enemies were at length completely victorious²⁶.

Without pursuing the ships which had fled, the Octavians attacked, in the proportion of two or three to one, the vessels that remained. From the superior height of the Antonian vessels, and the wooden towers which many of them contained, the conflict had the appearance of an assault upon a fortress. Notwithstanding the difficulty of entrance, some of these ships were ultimately thronged with daring enemies, who secured themselves in full possession. In many of the number the flames burst forth, in consequence of the lavish discharge of combustibles; and great confusion and calamity ensued. Some of the

²⁵ Plutarch says, that Antony had at first 500 vessels, but that he ordered all, except the largest and those of Cleopatra, to be burned. According to Florus, he had only 200 ships in the engagement, while Octavius had 400.

²⁶ Plut. Vit. Antonii.—Flor. lib. iv.—Di. Cass. lib. l. cap. ult.—Paterc. ib. ii. cap. 85.

combatants were suffocated before the fire broke out : others perished in the midst of the flames, by the most horrible of all deaths : some pierced themselves with their own weapons ; others leaped out, and were overwhelmed by the waves.

Canidius was at the head of an army capable of vigorous action and great exploits ; and reinforcements might soon be obtained from Asia. The men called for the re-appearance of a general who had formerly led the legions to conquest, and of whose skill and courage they had a high opinion. They waited seven days for his eventual return : Canidius then surrendered himself to Octavius, and the whole army followed his example.

The fugitive commander, having entered the ship in which Cleopatra sailed, gave way to melancholy for three days, and did not even speak to his beloved mistress : but, when he had disembarked in the Peloponnesus, he seemed to forget his misfortunes in the renewal of intercourse with the princess who had occasioned his ruin. He sent orders to Canidius to retire with the army into Asia, not supposing that this officer would presume to surrender without his authority. He then sailed to the African coast, and, landing in Libya, sent Cleopatra into Egypt, with a promise of joining her at Alexandria. Finding that the governor of Libya was disposed to serve Octavius, he hastened from the province, and presented himself at the Egyptian court. The queen, enraged at the defeat, had exercised her cruelty upon many persons of distinction, of whose influence she was jealous. Dreading the power of Octavius, she resolved to abandon her realm, and even gave orders for the conveyance of a *flotilla* in waggons over the isthmus of Suez, that she might embark on the Red Sea, and transport herself, with her court and her treasures, to a distant part of Asia. But the hostilities of the Arabs, who burned the galleys that arrived first, baffled this scheme. Her next resolution was, to court the favor of the con-

queror by betraying a lover, who, because he was no longer successful, was the object of her contempt. From a woman of her character, what other treatment could Antony expect ?

Deputies were sent, both by the queen and the van-
Ante Chr. quished commander, to make proposals of peace
30. to Octavius. He refused to give audience to the envoys of his former associate, but gave a favorable reception to Cleopatra's ambassadors. The king of Judæa advised Antony to put the perfidious queen to death, and seize her dominions : and, when he found that neither this nor any other counsel which he offered could make the desired impression, he resolved to submit to the fortunate Octavius ; who, after the suppression of a mutiny at Brundisium, sailed to Rhodes, in his way to Egypt. Pardon, friendship, and a confirmation of royalty, were granted to this prince, whose cruelty of disposition seemed to please the master of Rome.

The defection of Herod keenly wounded the feelings of Antony : but, as he had in a manner deserted himself, he could not expect the faithful adherence of others. He was then resident in a house which he had built near the Pharos, where his only companions were Lucilius (the friend of Brutus) and Aristocrates, a Greek philosopher. In this retirement, he seemed willing to renounce the vanities of the world, and trust to the resources of his mind : but the attractions of Cleopatra recalled him to Alexandria, and the lessons of wisdom lost their effect. He strove to banish thought, amidst dissipation and debauchery ; and the queen, to whose treachery he was blind, indulged him in his excesses. When he reflected on his danger, he courted, by a new deputation, the clemency of Octavius, offering to reside peaceably at Athens as his subject, in all the obscurity of private life ; requesting, at the same time, that Cleopatra and her children might not be deprived of the possession of Egypt. No promise of pro-

tection was given to him ; and the queen was secretly desired to put him to death, or expel him from her dominions²⁷.

Egypt soon submitted to the great power of Octavius. Having seised Pelusium, he proceeded to Alexandria ; and, although Antony, in a paroxysm of courage, repelled the foremost troops of the invader, the desertion both of a military and naval force to the enemy prognosticated the success of the siege. Enraged at this treachery, he challenged his competitor to a single combat. Octavius answered, with cool malignity, " If Antony be weary of life, he has other ways of meeting death." Cleopatra, menaced with the vengeance of her lover, retired to that part of the city which contained the tombs of the royal family, and ordered a report of her self-inflicted death to be propagated. The rage of her paramour was now absorbed in grief. He commanded one of his freedmen to stab him ; and, when the faithful attendant, instead of obeying, had given himself a mortal wound, Antony followed the suicidal example. An officer, sent by the queen, found him bleeding ; and, being informed that she was yet living, he requested that he might be conveyed into her presence. Unwilling to open the door of her monumental prison, she assisted her women in drawing him up by a cord, admitted him through a window, and received his last sighs²⁸. When the blood-stained sword was presented to Octavius, he seemed to be greatly affected at the sight. He called to his recollection the courage and high spirit of his former associate, whose exertions had so eminently contributed to the ruin of the republican party : he thought of the affinity between himself and his renowned countryman ; and declared that he had made war upon him only from public motives, not from personal hatred or animosity.

Antony was a man of talent and address, a pleasing orator, a lively and intelligent companion : but he had not a steady, comprehensive, or vigorous mind, and was not a profound statesman. He affected the spirit of a philosopher, but was a mere pretender to that honorable distinction. As a warrior, he was distinguished even in an age which abounded with great proficients in the military art; yet, from negligence and want of circumspection, he occasionally suffered signal disgrace. If some acts of generosity may be attributed to him, he was, at the same time, extremely rapacious and inhuman. His love of pleasure was carried to excess ; and, to that passion, even his thirst of power was secondary and subservient. He was unprincipled, profligate, and depraved, and did not deserve to be invested even with the smallest degree of power.

Apprehending that Cleopatra might be prompted, by her high spirit, to follow the example of her lover, Octavius sent Proculeius to soothe her anxiety, and secure her person. She refused to admit this messenger ; and, when he had found an opportunity of entering at the window, she made an attempt to stab herself, but was prevented by his quickness in seising her arm. She was now considered as a prisoner, but was treated with some degree of respect. Octavius entered her capital, and received the servile submissions of her people. He resolved to deprive her of the crown, and carry her to Rome as a captive, that her presence might add to the splendor of his triumph. In a visit which he paid to her, he surveyed her charms with the coolness of a statesman, and did not suffer her attractions to make the least impression upon his heart. He merely assured her of his good intentions, without giving her the least hope of a retention of power or dignity. Dissembling her disappointment and mortification, she thanked him for his kindness; and, in return for his offered protection, promised to deliver up all her treasures. An officer of her household having ventured to declare, that,

in the inventory which she had produced, her most valuable jewels were not specified, she was so exasperated at his insolence and ingratitude, that she sprang from her bed, seised him by the hair, and gave him several violent blows. Some have thought, that she only affected a warmth of anger on this occasion, being chiefly desirous of exhibiting her half-naked person in a new and striking attitude. Octavius smiled at the scene; and, with an air of confusion, she acknowledged that she had kept back some jewels with an intention of presenting them to Livia and Octavia; but he permitted her to retain them for her own use. When she found that he was preparing for his departure, and that he intended to take her and her children in his train, she firmly resolved to avoid that disgrace. As she was closely watched, it was apparently difficult to procure the means of self-destruction: but, to an artful woman, the difficulty was imaginary. She requested permission to take leave of Antony; and, being allowed, with two of her female attendants, to visit his tomb, she addressed him as if he still lived, and declared that the haughty victor should not triumph over him in her person. She then returned to her apartment, and arrayed herself in her robes of state; and, when she had, to avoid suspicion, indulged herself in the luxuries of the table, she expressed a wish for repose. Being left for a short time with only her women, she was found lifeless by the messengers whom Octavius had sent in consequence of a note from the despairing princess, lamenting her disastrous fate, and praying that her remains might be entombed with those of Antony. She had, as is generally supposed, destroyed herself by the poison of an asp. A peasant had brought some figs and other fruit in a basket; and, as the guards did not suspect that any thing mischievous was concealed among these innocent edibles, he was suffered to take them to the queen, who gladly seised the lurking serpent, and introduced its venom into her frame by a puncture in her arm²⁹.

²⁹ Plut. Vit. Antonii.—D. Cass. lib. li. cap. 3.

Octavius applauded her courage ; gave directions for a pompous funeral, according to the custom of her country ; and, while he ordered the statues of her gallant to be taken down, suffered those to remain untouched which had been erected to her honor³⁰. He granted his protection to the children whom she had borne to Antony ; but, by the advice of Arius, an Alexandrian friend, he put her son Cæsarion to death. He who professed so high a regard for Julius, might have been expected to spare the dictator's son.

The princess who thus sacrificed herself to her pride, resembled her Roman lover in manners and character. She had a quick apprehension, wit, eloquence, and some share of learning : her deportment was free, easy, and vivacious : she could conciliate with insinuating art, or over-awe by firmness of tone and spirit of aspect. Her passions were strong and impetuous ; and, not being controlled by wisdom or humanity, they frequently broke out into irregularity and exorbitance. She was dissolute, and devoted to sensual indulgence ; and, in the pursuit of power, or for the gratification of her revenge, she could perpetrate the most flagitious enormities. We may therefore reflect on her catastrophe, and view the concomitant misfortunes of Antony in the historic page, without the feelings of commiseration or the poignancy of regret.

³⁰ But it is said, that one of her courtiers purchased this forbearance with a large sum of money.

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